00022830

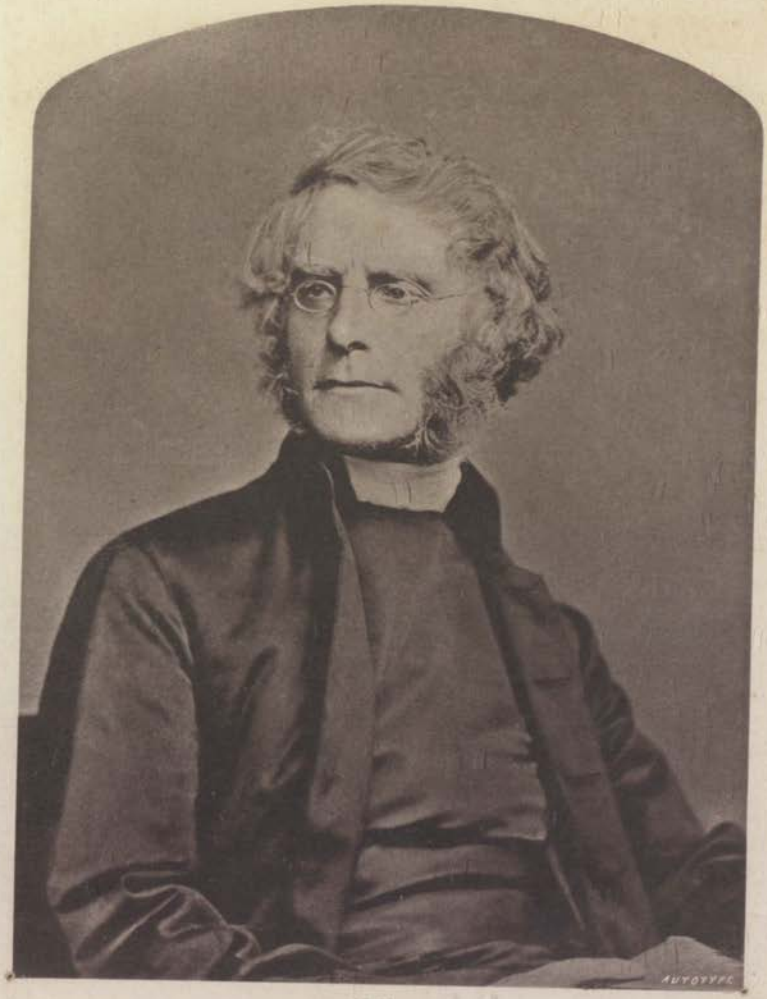
THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 05 October, 2018

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D.



1864.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY J. E. MAYALL.

Ever Yours affectionately

Geo. Eliot

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D.

Bishop of Natal.

B. 1771

BY THE REV.

SIR GEORGE W. COX, BART., M.A.

RECTOR OF SCRAYINGHAM.

22830
ac

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION.

London:

W. RIDGWAY.

1888.

All Rights Reserved.

00022830

PREFACE.

ALL that has been said during the last four months by members of various ecclesiastical or religious schools or parties has served only to show the indispensable need of that full and complete vindication of the words and acts of Bishop Colenso which I have laid before the world in the pages of this "Life." More clearly perhaps than in any other way has this need been shown by the piteous expressions of regret that I should thus have stirred what they are pleased to call the embers of a forgotten controversy, and that I should by so doing have thrust before the members of the Church of England matters on which they would prefer not to think at all.

No doubt, silence on such subjects as the proceedings of Bishop Gray, and the utterances of Bishop Harold Browne and of others who aided and abetted him in the crusade against the Bishop of Natal, would for the upholders of traditional systems of theology be the most welcome and the most convenient of all courses. There is only one insuperable hindrance to the adoption of this course; and this is, that it could be adopted only at the cost of failure in duty, as well as of falsehood. Bishop Colenso had a work to do: and to this work I am resolved, so far as in me lies, that full justice shall be done.

The great task which he set before himself was the exposure of all that is superstitious, ill-grounded and false in the traditional opinions current among members of the Church of England ; and he made no secret of his conviction that the work thus undertaken would, unless arrested and frustrated, issue in complete revolution. But he probably did not think that this result would be achieved in one generation or in two. A quarter of a century ago, when the Bishop put forth a few only of the conclusions now laid before the readers of this memoir, his words roused a storm of angry resistance, the violence of which was, manifestly, the outcome of an assurance (not that he was in the wrong, but) that his opponents would be able, by crushing him and casting him out of the communion of the Church of England, to lay his doctrine or teaching under a ban, and in some way or other to get for this ban sooner or later the sanction of the Church of England in this country. The opposition to Bishop Colenso was rendered all the more intense, because, remembering that recent efforts made by some theological schools or parties to obtain in the Final Court of Appeal the condemnation of certain clerks accused of heresy had been unsuccessful, they turned with eager and confident hope to a tribunal which could not, as they thought, fail to secure the discomfiture of a colonial bishop, and whose sentence would re-act on the law of the Church in the mother-country.

The machinery of the Metropolitan Court of Capetown was accordingly set in motion ; but so far as it was designed to affect the law of the Church of England and the Church of England itself in this country, the scheme ended in complete failure. The Bishop of Natal remained to the end of his life a bishop of the Church of England; and as no attempt has been made to obtain a condemnation of any portion of his teaching in the Court of the Sovereign in

Council, it follows that the members of the Church of England are free to adopt, teach, and maintain the whole; and, in short, that not only by the declaration of the law but by the acquiescence and consent of all schools and parties, his convictions and his teaching are declared to be not only beyond the reach of censure but in accordance with the spirit of the standards and formularies of the Church of England. That the acceptance of this position marks a complete revolution in the religious thought of this country, it is quite unnecessary to assert. The victory which the Bishop of Natal hoped for in the course of perhaps half a century seems thus to have been achieved already. For his method and for his conclusions generally I have claimed the sanction of the law of the Church of England; but it would be scarcely ingenuous to make full use of the victory thus gained without setting forth in the clearest language the extent of the revolution thus silently brought about. This I have done in a volume intitled *The Church of England and the Teaching of Bishop Colenso.* In this little book I have put into the form of a series of propositions all that is of any importance in the theological, religious, and critical opinions and method of the Bishop of Natal, the references appended within brackets to the propositions being to the volumes and pages of this "Life."

I believe that these propositions, taken as a whole, faithfully represent his meaning, being given, for the most part, in his own words. But if, with regard to some, any doubt should be entertained, I may say briefly that *I hold them all* without exception and without qualification; and I say this, well remembering that, when only a very small portion of Bishop Colenso's criticism of the Pentateuch had been published, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury spoke of it as involving "errors of the gravest and most dangerous character," and that Archdeacon Denison denounced him as

a sacrilegious person ready to damage the Bible by misrepresentation, to mutilate it, and to desecrate what he left of it, adding emphatically, "If any man asserts such things as are asserted in this book, *anathema esto*, let him be put away." Not some, I need scarcely say, but all, of the Bishop's conclusions and convictions have been set forth in these pages as in full accordance with the law and the spirit of the Church of England: and Archdeacon Denison's anathemas are not repeated.

The revolution thus brought about must be regarded as one of the most, if not actually the most, momentous, and perhaps the most rapid, in all the history of Christendom. Not five years have yet passed since the Bishop was released from the battle of life on earth; and even after his death there were not lacking those who declared that no man of delicate honour could have attempted to hold or retain office in the Church of England not merely one day after writing the volumes which deal with the Hexateuch, but even one hour after definitely forming the opinions which they were written to expound. The work has, indeed, been extended beyond the examination of matters connected with the Jewish kings and patriarchs. It has been of necessity carried through the whole domain of theology; and the revolution effected by it involves nothing less than a complete abandonment of every scheme, plan, or theory of partial salvation.

That such a revolution has been brought about without recrimination or conflict of any kind, is a matter for heartfelt thankfulness and joy. The Gospel of the love of our Heavenly Father for all His creatures may now be proclaimed without hindrance and without misgiving.

GEORGE W. COX.

SCRAYINGHAM RECTORY,
May 29, 1888.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

EARLY YEARS, AND LIFE AT CAMBRIDGE AND FORNCETT 1

CHAPTER II.

TEN WEEKS IN NATAL 51

CHAPTER III.

EARLY WORK IN NATAL 75

CHAPTER IV.

"THE COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS" 128

CHAPTER V.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE GREAT WARFARE. 1862-63 171

CHAPTER VI.

WORK IN ENGLAND, 1863-65. THE BATTLE 212

CHAPTER VII.

THE SO-CALLED TRIAL AT CAPETOWN 272

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE
CONSEQUENCES OF THE SO-CALLED TRIAL AT CAPETOWN 328

CHAPTER IX.

BISHOP HAROLD BROWNE AND THE ANTAGONISTS OF THE BISHOP OF NATAL 409

CHAPTER X.

THE PENTATEUCH: ITS MATTER 481

CHAPTER XI.

THE PENTATEUCH: ITS COMPOSITION 530

CHAPTER XII.

THE PENTATEUCH: ITS GROWTH 595

APPENDIX A.—*Letter to Bishop Gray, August* 7, 1861 697

APPENDIX B.—*List of Archbishops and Bishops*, 1848–1870 707

PORTRAIT, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1864 BY J. E. MAYALL . . . . . *Frontispiece.*

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF NATAL.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS, AND LIFE AT CAMBRIDGE AND FORNCETT.

JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO was born at St. Austell, January 24, 1814.

His father, who belonged to a Cornish family, held the office of Mineral Agent for part of the Duchy of Cornwall, an appanage of the Prince of Wales. While his son was still a boy, his own circumstances became seriously reduced by the adverse results of mining operations, which were arrested, as is not seldom the case in Cornish mines, by an irruption of the sea. From this time his son, struggling to complete his own education, was weighted with the responsibility of contributing to the support of his father and the education of his younger brother and his two sisters. Of his mother, who died when he was about fifteen years old, he always retained a most tender remembrance. An intimate friend has described her as "lovely both in mind and person."

Of his childhood there is little to be told. His youth brought with it a hard experience of the difficulties of life. A

letter written in 1830 (November 13) to an aunt throws light on the influences of various kinds then working upon him. It is written in an unformed style; but it shows a keenness of insight which points to steadiness as well as independence of judgement.

"On serious consideration and from reflexion on what actually transpired in my mind at the time, I cannot but agree with you in thinking that it was the mighty Householder who two years since planted the seed of life within me. The devil may have mixed tares with the Spirit's wheat, but the sower was God; the fruit must, and, I trust, has in some measure appeared. I have not the slightest recollection, nor had I ever, I believe, a conception of the time when I first thought of eternity and the danger of the soul. All I can say is, that 'whereas I was blind, now I see.'"

Turning to the subject of the ministry he expresses his longing

"To be engaged in this awfully pleasing work. There is a most awful grandeur in this solemn work. We are not meddling with the things of time, with this world's trifles. Eternity! Eternity is ours; for it is by the means of the ministry that the Holy Spirit is most generally pleased to give His blessing. At all events, it is the members of that sacred body who are to minister unto hungry souls their daily bread, to fill the thirsty with the nectar of heaven, to heal the sick, to establish the wavering. And who is sufficient for these things?"

But there was a choice between the ministry of the English Church and that of Nonconformists, to whom his mother and some other relatives belonged.

"I am now, since we have had Mr. Hockin[1] here, fully convinced that a Church minister may be a man of God;

[1] This exemplary man, then curate of St. Austell, was afterwards vicar of Blackawton, and for forty-five years before his death in 1886 chaplain of the Devon and Exeter Hospital.

and his opportunities of being useful must far exceed those of a Dissenting one. The first, and a very striking, advantage (so, at least, it appears to me) of the Church minister over the Independent is his actual *Independence*. There are not so many bigots in the Church as there used to be, nor have the bishops the same tyrannical power which they used to have over the body of which they represent the head. . . . When once the Church minister is settled in his church, unless guilty of some heinous dereliction of duty, he cannot be expelled. . . . Not so, however, with the Independent. He must preach not what he likes, but what his congregation likes: he must obey the voice of his flock, and in too many instances the flock turns out a flock of wolves in sheep's clothing, as for instance in our poor little Meeting, where all is riot and confusion. . . . But whatever may be the advantage on the one side or the other, I trust I am prepared to enter whatever situation the Almighty may in His unerring wisdom have designed for me. . . . I have as yet abundance of time before me, comparatively speaking, for I am not yet seventeen; but if nothing should occur to realise my wishes with respect to the Church, I am prepared for the Independents. Yet in either case let me pray that the doctrine of the Gospel may be mine, unclouded by party principles, unobscured by the impious intrusion of man's own ignorant wishes and baneful speculations."

A letter to his grandmother, Mrs. Blackmore, dated March 21, 1831, gives an account of his journey from Devonport to Dartmouth, there to serve as an assistant in a school kept by Mr. Glubb, the incumbent of St. Petrox. He found himself in a country the beauty of which gave him great delight, in the company of men who were "very pleasant and agreeable, and, best of all, pious characters," and in a post which left him about two hours of leisure daily. But even this respite was obtained by dint of strictly economising scraps of time from the round of school work, which began at

six a.m. (he had himself to call the boys at five o'clock) and went on, with breaks amounting to only five and a half hours, to eight o'clock in the evening.

Seven months later (October 26, 1831), he writes expressing the hope that his grandmother may be able to give him favourable news of Pentuan, the family property, and asked whether she was "much surprised at or interested in the fate of the Reform Bill," which had just become law.

> "We could not expect the Lords, I think, to do otherwise, bullied as they were by such a brawling set of ragamuffins as assembled at Liverpool, Manchester, and other places."

The cholera was now not far from England, and the approach of the pestilence leads to a review of his spiritual state, in which he remarks:—

> "For the last two years instead of (as I thought myself repeatedly) being a humble and hungry follower of Jesus, I have made a god of myself, and an idol of my own soul."

He has found too much refreshment in "thoughts and feelings," "in prayers that he may feel more of his Saviour's love, enjoy more of His presence," while he should have

> "Found his greatest happiness in *serving* God and in being made holy and like Him. The former without the latter I see to be mere enthusiasm, and not a spiritual worship of the Lord Almighty."

The great question of his life's work was thus already beginning to press upon him. The consciousness of the powers which were for him gifts from an all-wise and loving Father pointed in one direction: the straitened circumstances of his family seemed to point in another. If he looked in upon himself, everything called him to a university career. Must these hopes be dissipated, because the temporal means of his kinsfolk were not what they had been? Without some

help from them he knew that those hopes could never be realised: but he resolved at the outset that whatever they might do for him should be recompensed to them in full. The promise was nobly redeemed; but the years which must pass before he could redeem it were years of the hardest struggle, and seldom perhaps has such a struggle been faced and endured with so much patience, constancy, and cheerfulness, with so profound a sense of duty, and with a spirit so resigned to the will of One infinitely wiser and better than himself. But it was needful to provide for such outlay as on any calculation must be inevitable. From his grandmother he received an answer which held out little hope; and in a letter to his uncle, Mr. W. P. Blackmore (February 27, 1832), he expresses his trust that all his hopes may not be dashed by a refusal from him, his only stay in the present moment of difficulty.

"My object is to enter as a sizar at St. John's—which if I can effect (and I do hope the education I have received, and redoubled diligence through the next seven months will enable me to do it) my expenses would be comparatively nothing. But I do not ask you to support me at college. Mr. Glubb, and all I can converse with on the subject, assure me there will be no difficulty in supporting myself by private pupils, and a thousand other aids which a studious man cannot help receiving, provided I can at once establish my entrance there. Will you then—this is my only and shall be my last request—will you in October next, if all things are well, advance me £20 to place me at college? For the repayment of this you shall have my most solemn promise, whenever God shall place it in my power—my books are worth that sum, but these I trust it will never be necessary to apply to. . . . Whichever way your resolution is fixed, do write me by return of post, as nothing can be of more consequence to me than an immediate acquaintance with it."

The offer made by his uncle was that he would provide a sum of £33 for his second year of residence, if his other relations would furnish a like sum for the first year. Writing to his grandmother, with expressions of thankfulness for the "gleam of light" thus thrown "upon the darkness" of the prospect before him, he says in reference to these conditions :—

"It may be possible, may I not say probable, that I shall be put into such a situation as not to require your assistance the third year. At all events, believe me that no endeavours shall be wanting on my part to support myself or raise myself to a station which, under God's blessing, may enable me to provide for myself as well as for those who may perhaps hereafter become dependent on me.

"Can you then comply with dear uncle's request, or has the providence of God put it out of your power? At all events, please to give a speedy answer to this letter, as in the first case I shall instantly begin a course of reading and preparation for a foundation sizarship. . . . If, however, you cannot afford to comply with my wishes, why, I believe I must resign all thoughts of an university education. My best hours are fast fleeting—something must shortly be done. If, therefore, all my endeavours should prove fruitless, I shall turn my thoughts to some other profession; and in such case may the Lord preserve me from despondency and despair, for I candidly confess I am fit for nothing else but the university."

In a subsequent letter (April 16) to his grandmother, he enters more into the details of his probable expenditure at the university, referring to the advice and suggestions of Mr. Glubb, and also to the experience of Kirke White, who declared that he knew a fellow collegian who had only £20 a year.

Five months later (September 25) he writes again, announcing his immediate departure for Cambridge. Steam

from Falmouth to London was chosen as the cheapest mode of transit; and the narrative of his journey shows the rigidness of the economy to which he conscientiously and cheerfully submitted himself. He found, however, that the sea passage scarcely saved him money; nor, in spite of the unrelaxing bravery with which he fought the battle, was his yearly outlay at the first quite so small as he had hoped it might be. Writing from St. John's (October 28, 1832) he describes the general features of college life, speaks of his having cheerful and pleasant rooms, and mentions his having had to pay £2 for a Greek Lexicon and a book on conic sections. There were, further, for the first term, costs which would not come again, and some of which, as for furniture, he would recover at the end of his residence.

In a letter written towards the end of his first year, he speaks of the retrospect and the prospect as being both, on the whole, encouraging, and expresses the hope that the outlay for the next year may be met in part by his share in the half profits of two books which he had prepared for the publishers, the one consisting of some translations from Horace, the other of annotations on the Gospel of St. Matthew. These were followed by a translation of Plato's *Apology of Socrates*. His success in the Christmas examination had won for him an exhibition of £20; success in the great midsummer examination would, he hoped, obtain for him a Margaret sizarship, which, being worth £60, would with his exhibition put him "in a very comfortable situation." His first considerations are for his finances. They could not be otherwise. But although the need of stinting himself had never led him into meanness, the severity of the struggle could not fail to make itself felt.

"I have hardly eat or slept for the last week, and am afraid I am looking 'like a winnard,' as we say, through anxiety and fatigue."

To the future he looked forward in high hope; but there were immediate expenses, the payment of which could not be postponed. His uncle Richard, who in the meantime had undergone the terrible loss of his eyesight, had not fulfilled his promise; and he begs his grandmother to see him, if it be possible, and put the case before him. He did not write himself, because his uncle would be obliged to ask others to read the letter, and he particularly wished to keep everything private. Early in the following year (January 7, 1834) he has still to write on the same subject.

"The plain truth is that, unless he can be induced to assist me once more, I cannot stay here; if he can, my success is certain. And now I proceed to state my reasons for this assertion. I took tea the other day with my kind tutor, Mr. Hymers. It was the day I received from St. Austell the account of T——'s last vile injustice to us, by which all our hopes appeared utterly blasted, mine certainly among the rest; since, had you received your due from the sale of Pentuan, I might have hoped for a little further assistance from you, which, of course, is now impossible. In the course of the evening I told him that I had had an application from a man of my year to take him as a pupil, and asked him whether he advised me to do it. He put a most decided veto upon it, and told me it was quite absurd for me with the prospects I had before me of success to waste my time, for which *no money* could afford me compensation. On this I hinted that I believed I should be obliged to do so, as I thought I should not be able to stay here without it. Explanation, &c., of course followed, and the result was that he forbade me positively to take pupils, told me that, if I could pay off my present bills, he would endeavour that my future college expenses should be absolutely nothing, and expressly said that I should not want while an undergraduate, if he himself paid for me."

Mr. Hymers was as wise as he was kind. The need of waiting patiently for the great ordeal was manifest. A

mathematical work was added to the three from which he already expected some profit.[1] Through the efforts of his grandmother the present help was provided; and Mr. Hymers, writing (March 14, 1835) to that lady, says emphatically:—

"I never knew a young man of greater promise, or one more deserving the attention of his friends. He bids fair to be no less an honour to his relations than to his college and university."

The great ordeal was passed with brilliant success. In 1836 he was Second Wrangler and Second Smith's Prizeman; and in March, 1837, he was elected Fellow of St. John's.

Two years later, on Sunday, June 9, 1839, he was admitted to deacon's orders by the Bishop of Ely. In the same year, Dr. Longley, then head master of Harrow, and afterwards Archbishop, first of York, then of Canterbury, applied to the University of Cambridge for a mathematical tutor; and Mr. Colenso was recommended for the post.[2] His sojourn at Harrow was marked by one heavy disaster and many misfortunes. A fire entirely destroyed his house, newly built and scarcely completed, while the depressed state of the school, which sank very low in general repute under the management of Dr. Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, left him at

[1] He also competed successfully three times for Hare's Exhibition; and also for Litherland's, at Christmas, 1833, and Dr. Reyner's in 1835. At Christmas, 1834, he obtained the Naden Divinity Studentship, and in November, 1835, was elected Scholar of his College.

[2] During the time of his mastership he was frequently invited by the vicar, Mr. Cunningham, to preach in Harrow Church. A colonist, Mr. Chilton, whose acquaintance with Mr. Colenso began in 1841, says that whenever he preached the church was crowded, not only with Churchmen but also with Nonconformists, and that men were known to walk from London, twelve miles, to hear him. He adds that "among the boys and young men at the school Mr. Colenso was held in the most unbounded esteem. With the townspeople of every class no man was a greater favourite. He was adviser of the troubled, a friend of the destitute, and an enemy to none."

length so heavily in debt that a change became necessary. He returned to Cambridge at the end of 1841, and for four years worked as tutor at St. John's College, of which he was also Fellow. Four years later (1846) he resigned his Fellowship, having married Sarah Frances Bunyon, eldest daughter of the late Robert Bunyon, and accepted the rectory of Forncett St. Mary, a small country village in the diocese of Norfolk, where he gave himself to the work of his parish and his private pupils. He had been engaged to Miss Bunyon for three years; and by a strange coincidence her family also had in the interval lost money heavily, and partly by mines, so that his marriage did not relieve him of any of his pecuniary difficulties.

TO HIS UNCLE, S. ROWSE, ESQ.

"*May* 29, 1839.

"You will be glad to hear that, instead of building, as I proposed, I am become 'Lord of the Manor' at Harrow, *i.e.* have been able to take the house formerly belonging to Lord Northwick, which has till now been in the occupation of Mr. Phelps, one of our masters, who has realised a fortune there in five or six years, more than sufficient to purchase the whole estate. The house is quite a mansion, with forty-seven acres of ground attached, and superb gardens. I enter the 13th of August. I hope to have an opportunity of thanking you for your kindness when I come down at Midsummer."

TO T. PATTINSON FERGUSON, ESQ.

"HARROW, *February* 4, 1840.

"At last I have secured, I hope, a really leisure hour to devote to you. If you knew the feelings of pleasure with which I read your letter, you would not be unwilling to receive my plea of occupation as a valid and sincere excuse for my not replying to it, for I could not consent to drop a hasty line only in return for such a memorial of your friendship, and such a source of real gratification to myself.

Indeed I do believe that you have decided on that course which by the blessing of God will tend to secure both your present and eternal happiness. I do think you have chosen that for which your natural talents and disposition in my own eyes peculiarly fit you, and I pray that you and I may yet, while life and strength are spared to us, glorify by our labours and patience upon earth the blessed Lord and Master to whose service it is our privilege to devote ourselves. Your description of your own feelings on the subject of your fitness (in point of religious knowledge and experience) for this glorious office I can most truly realise. Fearful I know, by sad remembrance of days not long elapsed in the progress of my own life, is the struggle of the 'strong man' to retain possession of the heart, and sometimes terrible and deadly are the falls with which he dashes his victim to the ground. Neither you nor I can expect to avoid this conflict—especially in our early days of religious life; but thanks be to God, who after all will give us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. May He in His infinite mercy preserve us from presumptuously resting on His promises of grace to the abandonment of our duties; but yet may we enjoy the happy privilege of looking forward with humble confidence to that day when, having led us safely, notwithstanding all our manifold infirmities, through this wilderness, He will land us on the other side of Jordan in the land of everlasting rest. My dear Ferguson, from the peculiar circumstances of my past life, this course of thought has been of late familiar to me, and forms almost the daily bread by which I have been supported. The providence of Almighty God has showed me troubles of late, has most justly laid on me the rod of chastisement, because in the hour of my prosperity I forgot Him, and sacrificed to devils.[1] My flesh will sometimes shrink under the burden of debt and difficulty and disappointment; but I trust I am not always forgetful of the

[1] These expressions must be taken along with those in which he blames himself for extravagance. Of these something more will be said presently.

hand which has mingled honey in every cup of bitterness, and amidst much infirmity of purpose, and alas! still more unworthiness of practice, can yet cling in the secret chambers of my heart to the belief that He hath done and ever will do all things well. I feel with you, however, how very little I really know of God, how very faint a conception I have learnt to entertain of His loving-kindness and faithfulness and majesty, how little especially, how scarcely at all, do I realise the wondrous love which brought our Saviour to the death of the cross for us. Nay, there are moments when I feel almost the cloud of infidelity between my soul's eyes and the Redeemer of the world; and I am sensible that with my mouth indeed I may honour Him, with my heart's desire to do so, but with my mind I almost deny Him. Well, in this state of ignorance, and wretchedness, is it not a comfort to know that there is One above who has felt the power of temptation, who can be touched with a feeling of our infirmities, who is exalted for the very purpose of giving us *repentance* as well as remission? Is it not a privilege to be encouraged to lay bare our hearts before our Heavenly Father, who knoweth our frame and remembereth that we are but dust?"

TO THE SAME.

"HARROW, *March* 24, 1840.

. . . . "Will you come and see me soon? I am very solitary in the midst of a crowd. . . . . My house is rated at a very high rent. The choice is not so much between 'this at this rent, or not at all,' as between 'this at any rate or ruin,' and that the consequence as much of my own extravagance and folly[1] as of the calamity I have suffered under. I trust I

[1] The extracts from the letters relating to this period of his life are given as indispensably necessary to enable the reader to form a true idea of his moral and spiritual growth. Every utterance in them is transparently sincere; but one of the most remarkable features exhibited in them is a singular sensitiveness of conscience, and his self-accusations, whatever they may be, must be interpreted with a strict reference to this characteristic. Thus the supposition that he had at any time been guilty of what is commonly known as extravagance is really nothing less than

am now endeavouring to set about creeping slowly up the face of the cliff down which I have been all but precipitated, and have only saved myself for the present by snatching at a stump which, if it yields, will but accelerate my fall. I hope I see above me the points I may gain and the steps I may take, so as by patience and exertion to reach the free and open ground; but I am not too sanguine, and can only believe that all will at last be well. At any rate, I must learn to wait patiently God's own good time for the decision of my future prospects; and now enough, my dear Ferguson, of self; but your own inquiries partly provoked this egotism. I hope, indeed, that we shall both realise in our hearts the truth of the great Principle which seems to breathe throughout our Scriptures that the Knowledge of God shall be revealed to those who obey His Will. Oftentimes when one is tempted through the absence of present distinct perception of the Love of God to us, and especially (I speak for myself) of the wonderful loving-kindness of our Saviour, and that astonishing mercy to us, which I cannot but acknowledge with my head indeed, when I consider His sufferings and death, but oh! how very little feel reciprocated in my own heart—oftentimes, then, I find at such moments the recollection of these promises of great comfort to me, and sensible value in propping up my drooping faith. 'If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.' 'He that loveth me will keep my words,' and again on the other hand, 'He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that

ludicrous. His life, from his very childhood onwards, had been one of hard and rigorous self-denial, a battle with inadequate means to provide not only for his own absolute wants, but for the help which he longed always to give to others. His early and very intimate friend Mr. Ferguson says on this point (September 21, 1886): "I imagine that what he called extravagance may have been nothing more than a perfectly justifiable expenditure in the prospect of succeeding, as he was entitled to expect he should, at Harrow. The burning of his house, and the utter failure of the school under Wordsworth, brought him into difficulties which were for a long time a sore burden to him." A life more free from all that is commonly called extravagance can scarcely be imagined.

loveth me, and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and *manifest myself* to him.' It can never be enthusiasm to believe that these words convey a distinct promise of a gradual growth in grace and in knowledge of our Lord, to those who are found waiting on Him in patient continuance in well-doing according to their present knowledge."

TO THE SAME.

"HARROW, *May* 6, 1840.

[After asking his friend whether he would like to have, as his first charge in holy orders, a chapelry near Twickenham, and suggesting that he might receive some Cambridge pupils there, he adds:—]

"I have spent two or three delightful days at a little vicarage near Maidenhead where a clergyman's life must, if faithfully devoted to his duties, be very happy. The vicar's garden opens into his churchyard, and both run along the banks of the Thames, surrounded by fine scenery. It is a spot I love at times to contemplate, even in the sketch-book of memory; and it would be to me a source of great enjoyment and, I should hope, no small instruction amidst the rich variety of life, and with the fresh twinkling waters at my feet, to

> "'Talk or think of Death, and play a while
> With his black locks.'

"It gives a solemn reality to the quiet labours of a pastor's life to be brought thus habitually into a connexion with the other world,—it may tend to banish transport and young enthusiasm,—to prevent, as Newman has it, our enjoying to the full God's gifts of Providence, of health and strength, and temporal happiness, by perceiving its instability and uncertainty; but then it secures to the Christian's mind the blessing of his Master's peace, which consists in feeling that every change is subject to His Gracious hand, and enables us to walk more humbly with

our God, in thankfulness but not in ecstasy, as those who are daily watching for themselves the coming of their Lord."

TO REV. J. P. FERGUSON.

"*October* 7, 1840.

'Do not think, my dear friend, that silence with me has originated in neglect. The fact is, that the state of my own affairs is such that I cannot at all times command that evenness and thankfulness of mind which a Christian should ever desire to exhibit. . . . And so you are numbered amongst the ministers of God (for I saw your ordination in the papers). I deeply rejoice at it, and earnestly pray that you may be led to see daily more and more the blessedness of a life devoted to the service of the Lord. The longer I live, the more do I become sensible of this truth, that to enjoy the happiness of religion, it must be deemed the one thing, the only thing needful—be admitted into all our thoughts, to preside over all our hours of ease and amusement as well as of exertion and actual labour in the work of God. It is not the attention to this or that particular duty, the abstinence from this or that indulgence, which constitutes the following of our blessed Master's steps: we must try to breathe the air of another world, to *live* upon the hopes of God's Word, and not merely allow them a place in our memories, while we make up the deficiency of supply for our daily comfort from the things of time and sense. It is a very noticeable feature of the present day, that this is the character gaining ground in the hearts of men as that of true piety. The entire devotedness of heart and life is the essence of Oxford Tract Divinity, as fresh from the original authors of that system; but alas! in what a wrong direction does the impulse of their creed hurry them!"

TO THE SAME.

"1840.

"My eyes, thanks to Fraser's advice, are again restored to their wonted power. . . . I have no longer the excuse I had for neglecting to thank you for the very happy hours I

spent at Wollerton. The night I left you was the happiest, I think, I have ever yet spent in my life, the happiest at least in its consequences. It was the last night of the old year, and not finding, as I expected (in my ignorance that Belper was ten miles from Derby), the Strutts' carriage waiting for me at the station (as it would have been perhaps in the daytime when some of the family happened to be in the town), I was obliged to take up my quarters in the solitary chamber of an hotel, and there I heard the old year depart and welcomed the new one in by the sound of the Derby bells. I thank God that I spent that night alone. It was the close of the first year of my life that I had by His mercy spent in His avowed service, with how much imperfection He knows, and I know how often He had saved mine eyes from tears and my feet from falling. However, the thought added greatly to the happiness and solemn joy of the evening, and I would not have exchanged that lonely room for the merriest family fireside that gathered round the birthday of the year."

TO THE SAME.

"HARROW, *March* 25, 1841 (?).

. . . "The teetotallers may certainly produce very specious principles on which, as foundation, to rest their claim for union, viz. that it is the privilege at least, if not the duty, of any Christian to sacrifice an innocent indulgence, if by so doing he can promote his brethren's good. I do not say that this is the vulgar notion of the matter; but it is the argument used by the few good and devoted men who have joined the Society. My course would be, as was suggested by Goulburn, to point to the consequences of asceticism, and other combinations to refuse the gifts of God, though set on foot by excellent men and with the most laudable self-denying designs."

TO THE SAME.

"HARROW, *April* 20, 1841.

"There is a little mixture of Oxford opinions in the University, but not formidable. Collison, of St. John's, is the principal

advocate of them at present. Teetotalism has some partisans. Jeffreys, Senior Fellow of St. John's, and Bopdle, an excellent man who is Vicar of the new church at Barnwell, have signed the pledge. We discussed it at Perry's rooms the other day, and decided, I imagine, against the system; though I see they have arguments which go a great way with conscientious men, not *very* thoughtful, nor looking well *beneath* the surface, where the objections will be found."

TO THE SAME.

"HARROW, *September* 11, 1841.

"Your last letters have been very grateful to me, and if the intercourse of Christian friends on earth be so pleasant, what will it be hereafter when all hearts will be filled with one holy desire to glorify the God of our salvation? O my dear friend, when our Saviour comes to visit us, will He really find faith upon earth, find us throwing our whole souls upon His work, and trusting fully to His faithful promise? Or will He find us still hampered with the entanglement of earth-love and earth-bound desires, and, like the nations of the world, seeking after food and raiment, ease and comfort, in our own ways, and after our own imaginations?"

TO THE SAME.

"1841.

I am just in the position in which I last wrote, having been disappointed, day after day, of the receipt of the long-looked-for intelligence that cash had been deposited with my bankers by the kindness of that Providential friend [Mr. Freeth] to whom I have before now referred, as seemingly raised up by God for my help in the time of greatest distress. I will not, therefore, delay to communicate to you the main facts of the case touching my departure from Harrow. The pecuniary difficulties under which you heard me to be labouring were only increasing continuously as time advanced, and at length seemed brought to a crisis by the reduction of the number of my boarders, and the polite negative given to my application for renewal of a loan of £800 from my bankers.

. . . Thus, then, the hour was come, and apparently without hope of escape from the pressure of accumulated obligations, and certainly none in continuing my struggles at Harrow.

In this conjuncture I laid the state of my affairs before my friend Freeth, who at once advised my resignation and retreat to Cambridge, and most generously undertook to advance me (or procure it for me) whatever sum I might need to pay my way out of Harrow. That sum was £2,600 (minus £750 of furniture), and with his former loan of £2,200 makes an amount of £4,800, which the marvellous liberality of this one individual, bound by no tie of relationship, and hardly of friendship before he first laid me under obligation to him, has consented to assist me with. It is this sum, £2,600, which through some delay in his own arrangements has not yet been finally placed to my credit, which has occasioned my continued delay.

And now here am I, my dear friend, like a sailor on a rock in the midst of a rolling ocean, and, it may be, still to be swept off by some furious tide; yet, even if it be so, God is with us, and who shall be against us? . . . Meanwhile, He hath put gladness in my heart abundantly, and I am enabled to sing again in the secret chambers of my soul as in the days of my early youth when first the day-spring broke upon my spirit, and I tasted the first delicious draught of the water of life. O bless the Lord with me, dear friend, and let us exalt His name together. You can hardly conceive how blessed a state of things prevails here at this time, so much pure truth preached and practised on every side, Scholefield, Lane, Langshaw, Perry, Boodle, Spence, and several others, besides several pious Fellows of my own college, living and labouring as children of God in their day and generation."

TO THE SAME.

"HARROW, *December* 1, 1841.

"I believe that my connexion with Harrow will (as a resident) close on Tuesday next; but there are so many difficulties

in making our arrangements that I can by no means at present rely on this being the case. . . . If I leave Harrow, it will be with some permanent sacrifice, I expect, of income, during the continuance of my lease, and with a debt of £5,000, which depends for liquidation solely on my personal exertions at Cambridge, or wherever my steps by God's merciful providence may be directed. However, blessed be His holy name, His promises have been fulfilled. He has not left me comfortless in this season of difficulty. . . . . Believe me that I receive your little reports of your people with great interest. Do not fail to refer to them occasionally, as you have need or occasion."

TO THE SAME.

"*March* 31, 1842.

"As you wish to know what I have been doing, or expect to do in pecuniary matters, I will just say that God has mercifully given me all I needed in the way of pupils, as many, indeed, as I thought I should be justified in taking, and even more. But if you ask me whether I have any such hope or imagination as your old friend Paul's (a similar story by the way has more than once recurred to my own memory, in reference to a Welshman whose family estate came into his hands mortgaged to its full value, and in effect lost to him, and who laboured in penury and privation of every kind to recover its possession and then died), I may say that I have neither one nor the other—no *hope*, because I know that I am in the hands of One who will order everything for good for us, if we are enabled to leave everything in His own hands; and, therefore, if poverty and difficulty are desirable for His glory or our security and advancement in the knowledge and love of Himself, as I am sure they often or most frequently are, it would be monstrous folly and presumption to wish it otherwise. . . . Neither have I any thought of it as things stand at present, for my debt is enormous, and in point of fact, with all my pupils, I shall find, I believe, but very little surplus left towards discharge of the capital. I cannot take with comfort, I mean *religious*

comfort, ... more than eight pupils, I think, for I have decided to give them their separate hour, as most profitable for them, and to my mind most satisfactory; and this, with my Fellowship, &c., will raise about £800 per annum, out of which I have nearly £550 to pay in interest and insurances, to provide also for personal expenses, and then to repay a capital debt of £6,500. But if God be for us, who shall be against us? If our religion be the Truth, what have we to fear? . . . . One thing I have indeed been taught even within the last three months—nay, two within the last six—which have inexpressibly added to the strengthening and refreshing of my soul in the midst of this warfare. The one was a more complete insight into the utterly lost and helpless condition of our souls—that all is of God who hath also wrought all our works in us, and will still for the future have to work all in us. I thought I knew this truth before. I should have preached it, methinks, and taught it to others; but I had certainly never realised it in my own heart, but was imperceptibly to myself trying to repair and "patch up my house utterly gone to decay." Daily was I labouring, though I hardly perceived what I was about, in this most unprofitable work of trying to plaster over my faults and deficiencies, and present myself clean and comely in the presence of my God; but it was all in vain. I mended this, and the repair itself disclosed more to be repaired behind it. Day after day was the same wearisome work to be repeated of sweeping and garnishing a tenement which the corruption of human nature would quickly restore to its previous defilement and wretchedness, dropping dank exudations from the walls, and covering the floor with decay. . . . And now, perceiving that the whole work of reparation was utterly out of my own power or comprehension, but that only the Holy Spirit of God, who had taught me to desire the renewal of my heart and sanctification of my nature, could carry on and complete the blessed work in His own time and in His own way, there, thanks be unto God, in His hands am I content to leave the work, entirely satisfied that, since it is His *will*, Θέλημα,

it is his *intention*, not merely His desire, that the children of God should indeed be altogether led and sanctified by the Spirit of God, and assured of that willingness by knowing that whereas once I was blind, now I see. We love Him because He first loved us.

"The other blessing for which I desire most humbly to thank our gracious Father, and to tell to those I love upon earth, if perchance our hearts may rejoice together in the enjoyment of one common lesson of His love, is the inestimable privilege of prayer and secret communion with God. . . . It is only since my residence in Cambridge that the mercy of the Lord has opened to me more abundantly the fulness of that blessing which is given to His children in the encouragement to pray. I see in it now the secret of all growth in grace and love and holiness—continual, frequent unfainting prayer."

TO THE SAME.

"*April* 10, 1843.

"I could wish indeed to see you for a while, and share with you the thoughts of the past lines of our spiritual life, for my own views have wonderfully changed, not in character, I trust, but in complexion, since last I parted from you. I had then seen nothing of religion but in the writings of the Evangelical School, or of their opposite, the Oxford; and while I saw in the principles of both some portions of God's truth, I felt a want of cordial agreement with the practice at least, and often with the teaching of either. The last few months have brought me into contact with Coleridge and Maurice, and I was truly rejoiced to find by your reply, what *now* I might have imagined from your previous letters, that you have also been drawing water with them from the deep well of Truth."

TO THE SAME.

"ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, *September* 14, 1843.

"What have you been reading or doing lately? My only, or almost only, occupation (except that of my calling, and this includes an Arithmetic for Schools, which I have just pub-

lished) has been to read the first edition of Maurice's [*Kingdom of Christ*], which, especially in the first volume, is, for its freshness and vigour, apparently far superior to the second, which I had previously read. O what glorious missionary principles are there, the only ones as it seems to me which can give real life and energy to the messenger of Truth, who comes, not as if from the clouds above, or the deeps beneath, but a fellowman among his brethren, all of whom have the same Heaven above them that he has made, and every daily mercy, rain and sunshine, life and breath and all things, speaking to them as to all as tokens that they have a *Father there*, that they are living in a world from which the *cause* of disobedience has been removed, that they too may look upward, and fear, and put their trust in the mercy of Him that made them. . . . I dare not look towards that hallowed work myself, for my way is, for the present at least, effectually barred against it: and it seems to be the will of God that I should remain at home, and fill up my part and station here. . . . Did you read that very beautiful note of Whytehead's, where he spoke of these being as it were in the far chantry of some vast cathedral, while those at home would be worshipping in the choir, but that there was still the same roof of the Catholic Church extended over all?

"I am much taken up at present with thoughts of the fearful state of our Universities in which prevails such an utter disregard of the statutes on which we are founded, and not of the letter only but of the spirit and first principles of these institutions. Surely we need a great revival here, amidst such long continued indolence and unconcern for the solemn duties attached to our positions. It seems to have been an evil step of an idle and self-indulgent age when the present tutorial system was established, and the Fellows have generally no connexion with the youths around them but that of mere accident and self-interest; but, indeed, the evils are very great, when calmly considered, of our present circumstances, and they will end, possibly, if not corrected, in our ruin."

TO THE SAME.

"CAMBRIDGE,
"*October* 23, 1843.

"I have just had my C. Missionary Report brought me: and when I look on its pages and appeals, how one longs for a Missionary spirit in this University. How very unworthy is it of our calling and privileges that out of such a mass of men, who yearly leave us, the attractions of home and comfort should prevail over the summons to go forth among the multitudes that perish,—I say not *eternally*—which is in the hands of Infinite Truth and Love,—but temporally, in the loss of that light and joy and glorious hope, which quicken by the Grace of God our own hearts. O that some plan could be devised for stirring up under God such a yearning for the souls of men among us Surely among so many there must be *some* who are at liberty and have power to obey the call. But parents must learn to train up their children for missionaries from the womb, to give them up to God's service from the first, not for comfort and their own solace and pride, but for the sacrifice of all earthly ties, if needful, for the service of the Cross."

TO W. N. RIPLEY, ESQ.

"ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
"*November* 1, 1843.

"Although you may not be making as rapid advancement in actual study as might be possible under other circumstances, yet your time of preparation will be profitably spent, if it sends you up to us furnished with those habits of order, industry, and obedience, which will secure you from so much of the danger and evil which must surround you when you leave finally your parents' roof, and enter upon the solemn duties of self-government. I have a great desire (one day, I trust, to be fulfilled) of knowing personally Mr. Nottidge, whom I have long learnt to revere, and from whom I am sure you and I may learn many precious lessons of true wisdom. Let us not lose the opportunities given us in our

several paths of life, of profiting by the experience, and studying the examples of those who have gone before us. They are great talents committed to us, for the due improvement of which we must be held responsible. I fully believe, indeed, that there is no truth more fearfully neglected in these days than that to whom much is given, of them shall the more be required. We are so ready to measure ourselves by others who have had far less of light and advantages, and, judging our own case better than theirs, to rest satisfied therewith. But doubtless there were none of the grosser sins of Sodom and Gomorrah practised, openly at least, in Chorazin and Bethsaida in the time of our Saviour, and yet it will be more tolerable for the former in the day of God than for the latter; and Christian England may find her state, amidst neglected privileges and abused power and wealth and influence, far more miserable and guilty in His sight than that of the heathen, who have had a very little light and have not quenched it; and some such I daresay you will have met with in your classical studies. And, at any rate, when you next read Plato or Sophocles, or even your present true-hearted writer Thucydides, bear in mind that, wherever Truth is spoken by their lips, it cannot be from the corrupt part of man, nor the prompting of an evil spirit, but from the Divinity itself, which dealt with them, stirring their spirits deeply within and giving them glimpses of that great light which the Gospel of Christ has poured upon our eyes. Try to get the habit of reading the classics as the writings of brother-men, thinking and moved just as you and I are."

TO THE SAME.

[*No date (probably the same year).*]

"It is one of my greatest trials that my necessary occupations so engross my time at present as to allow me only to write (for the most part at least) in haste and hurry, if I write at all, to my friends, and I therefore often am in danger of saying too much upon subjects on which I touch, by saying

too little. Such is in a measure the case with reference to the remarks I made in my last, and to which you have referred: and I rejoice to see that you have thought sincerely, though you will doubtless have to think much more, upon the subject in question, which in fact is simply this, whether we should address the heathen in our missionary capacity as, until we come to them, aliens altogether from the *Family of God*—I mean, the creatures whom He has made upon this earth, or whether we shall believe, as I am satisfied the Scriptures teach us—as I am sure the daily mercies poured on them as well as on ourselves should teach us—that they too have a Father in heaven, whose will may have suffered them to be a while in ignorance, whilst His great mystery is going forward, but whose Love has not cut them off from His present mercy, and from the benefit of the promises of which *we* have the *revealed* assurance, that they who seek the Lord shall surely find Him. . . . . Such is the statement of the Apostle in that wonderfully striking chapter, Rom. ii., which to me so clearly sets forth the fact, that none of God's reasonable creatures are left without sufficient guide of Life, but will find that using faithfully their one small talent (small compared with ours, and yet not small perhaps in itself), they too will share the mercies of the Most High, proclaimed to the race of man through the coming of the Son of God, and to be published to all the world, as soon as Christian feet shall carry them. But then, you say, were there any such —were they not all seeking the praise of men and not that which cometh of God only? In the sense in which it may be said that we are altogether become unprofitable by reason of the sin and corruption mingled with our best acts, of course I know they too will stand condemned in the sight of a most Holy Being; but in the sense in which we men speak of righteousness, I think you have judged them too severely. Examine, my dear Ripley, the real influencing motives of men in the present day, I do not mean ungodly and professedly worldly men, but of those who acknowledge, and for aught we can judge to the contrary do, in sincerity

and in the main, desire to obey the truth,—and how much of secret self-love and love of human applause will be found mingled with their most religious acts—yes, often intruding its unhallowed presence into their acts of devotion and their very secret hours of prayer before God. . . . . I dare not with this conviction venture to charge home upon the ancient heathen the evil which I see prevailing so extremely, and often among pious, and in many respects true Christians of the present day. . . . . As far as I know, I could not think so of Æschylus, Sophocles, Thucydides, Virgil, Cicero, and many others. I do not mean that they were *never* moved by vanity and love of human applause. We know, for instance, that Cicero was very faulty in this; but look then at his life, at his self-sacrificing earnestness for the public good, his pure morality, and the deeply devotional spirit of many of his writings . . . . and then in Christian charity let us say whether we should not in a *Christian* judge this sin a *failing* rather than attach to it the stamp of wilful guilt. But I will go yet further, and say that many of the ancients (and I know not why I should not say also of modern heathens, but that I do not know so much of them) will stand up in the judgment with the men of this generation and condemn them. One such example is enough,—as good as a thousand for my purpose; and that one shall be Socrates, who surely was not a seeker of human applause, despised, mocked, evil-entreated, martyred for the cause of truth, which by many questionings of heart and communings of spirit with his unseen Creator he had been permitted to obtain a glimpse of—and with all the zeal of a missionary, as you very truly observe, longed and laboured to convey it to the hearts of others. But the true missionary spirit cannot be wanting where there is any glimpse vouchsafed of the *real* Truth,—cannot be wanting in *kind*, though its degree depends upon the earnestness with which we carry out, by God's grace, the knowledge which we have already attained. . . . . Once more, I do find great joy and refreshment of spirit in looking upon the Greek poet and philosopher as our brother man, and there-

fore sharing with us, and we with him, in all the sympathies of our humanity; and the same I experience even in turning to the far-off heathen, dark and benighted as they are, yet not given over as a prey to destruction, but having still tokens around, and voices within, which are speaking to *them* of a Father in Heaven, and to *us* of their connexion (we do not presume to analyse or comprehend it) with Him who is the Head of the whole race, the Son of Man, the Saviour of the world."

TO THE REV. T. P. FERGUSON.

"CAMBRIDGE, *December* 19, 1845.

"I am now writing with my rooms littered and half emptied, the term being ended, and myself still detained here, long after I had expected to have left College, by the long delays which have attended the severance of the Norfolk living. That act, however, was completed at the last Privy Council, and I am now in daily expectation of receiving the presentation of my portion of it, St. Mary's, from Lord Effingham. The income, as you know, is about £450 with a house *to be built*,—otherwise a desirable living, and from the smallness of population, under 300, well suited for my purpose of tuition. . . . . Having been so long in expectation of this event, and with every reasonable ground for supposing that it would long ago, as indeed it ought to, have been completed, you will not be surprised if I take also, should God permit, another and much more solemn step in life very shortly—within a week perhaps of my presentation. I shall *exceedingly* desire that you might be present on the occasion, if you happened to be in London, and so would the lady and her family, who (the former at least) know you sufficiently as one of my dearest and most valued friends."

In this letter Mr. Colenso refers to his approaching marriage with Miss Sarah Frances Bunyon. The following extracts from letters addressed to her will show how completely he

could share with her all his thoughts, his motives, his aims and purpose in life. They will also show, more clearly perhaps than any letters addressed to others, the direction in which his mind and heart were working, and the depth and fervency of his spiritual convictions.

"ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
"*October* 25, 1842.

. . . . "I have had an application to take a pupil in Divinity, and am half disposed to accede to it—but for my present almost entire ignorance of all that comes under that designation, except the English Scriptures of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament. I am not sure, however, that I may not be able to trace the finger of God's Providence in this request, which comes from an eminent Christian minister, for a gentle affectionate son, whose acquaintance I already value; and I believe my best course will be to tell him of my present incompetency for aught but, I would hope, by the merciful help of God's Holy Spirit, the spiritual study of the New Testament and the formation of mind and temper which close intimacy of this kind would enable me, under His blessing, to forward.

"I have had a walk to-day with my dear friend Dr. ——, and a long and interesting talk with him, but he does not yet know, I think, the full value of a Christian's life; and I am ready to smile within when I hear his kind and affectionate condolence with my future prospects, so dark and cloudy and cheerless as they seem to his eyes—so destitute of all promise of what the world deems happiness or comfort. Blessed be God, we have, as Hare says, 'the rays of a sun warming our hearts, and enlightening our eyes, in the most gloomy day of this our earthly pilgrimage'—and even at this very hour, is my heart ready to dance with joy in the conscious sense of innumerable blessings, which the treasures of the world could neither give nor take away. Is it not blissful beyond compare, thus to be taught to live by faith and not by sight—to see Him that is invisible, and know Him as our merciful Friend and loving Father—to

receive the Lord Jesus Christ, as our only ever blessed Lord and Master—to read, and read with clear eye and quickened heart, that His *will* is our sanctification—and since it is His will, that He will surely give His Holy Spirit abundantly to those who ask Him."

"ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, *March* 5, 1843.

. . . . "I have often been almost afraid to register a just thought or worthy sentiment, to which in conversation or reflexion I may have been led, lest, so doing, I should be harbouring vanity and self-conceit; not seeing all the while, that the most corrupt form of pride and self-confidence was that which called such thought 'my own,' and did not instantly acknowledge it, so far as it was not false and evil, as the gift of God. In *words* perhaps I should have done so; but, in point of fact, I did not, but was always haunted by the feeling that *I* had found this or that, and, blessed be God, hating such feeling, while it still clung to me, the only remedy I could think of was resolutely to stamp it under foot, and with it to bless the Giver of all good and perfect gifts, in the use of the powers of mind and enjoyment of the faculties which He has intrusted to me, and has promised to sanctify, strengthen, and enlighten for those who fear and seek Him. . . .

"I now see therefore that my thoughts, my words, my actions, so far as they are not corrupt and evil, are not mine, but God's; that I must be very careful not to *waste* them, or forget to cherish them; that I must be thankful to have received any the least of such mercies; and humbled that pride and selfishness are still seeking to hold back my spirit from His praise. I perceive now wherein I erred before. I shrunk then from the *abuse* of these things; I now, blessed be God, see *partly* how I may *use* them to His glory. And I see also that the same change must pass over the whole character of my Christian practice. It is a much more difficult lesson perhaps to learn to use, than not to abuse. The one may be attained by practising a few stern resolutions—touch not,

taste not, handle not—and when the first throes of the mutilated limb are over, there will be no more trouble about it, though sometimes (as they say) an indistinct feeling, as if the hand were still in its place, or a craving of the system for its absent member, unnaturally lost to it: but it is a work of watchfulness and industry for life to employ those fingers rightly in the duties which become it; and yet we do not question which is the happier state of the two. The parallel is obvious; and I have too much been accustomed to take the Stoical view of religious truth, undisturbed, it may have been, by many severe checks to it, through the solitary nature of my life at Harrow, perhaps partly led to it by these circumstances. Thanks be to God that I no longer see things thus!

"... I think that you have exactly pointed to your want, when you said that you believed it would be well for you to be employed in the labour of active love for others. ... I have found it a source of unspeakable benefit to me—at least, I think so—and seem to miss, at present, the cheering, humanizing, satisfying, feeling for the *actual* wants and sorrows of my fellow men, which my acquaintance with them at Harrow was the means of fostering. ... We are not required, indeed, to step presumptuously into the path of unappointed difficulty or danger, nor to trample under foot the pleasant things of God—which He has given to be used with thankfulness and prayer—nor to tax our strength beyond the claims of health, and court wantonly sickness or sorrow; but we *are* to stand, with loins girded and lights burning, as servants ready for their Master's work—watching with quick eye, with nimble foot, with ready heart in his service—listening in all directions for the sound of His voice in the events of His Providence, calling gently, in the tone which none but Love will hear, for the presence of His *Friends*, for one whom He loveth, who is sick, or in prison, or sorrowful, or needy, or suffering—and blessed indeed is that servant whom His Lord when He calleth shall find thus meekly waiting, and prepared for His work."

In the following passages he speaks of Mr. Maurice, when he was beginning to know him by his books alone.

1843.

. . . . "How truly do I love Maurice! Daily more and more of truth appears to me in his book." . . . .

1843.

. . . . "I have procured to-day (by purchase, after much hesitation on the ground of economy, the necessity for which limits my expenditure in all directions) Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ*—and have read the first chapter of the second volume, which I hope to peruse regularly, day by day.

. . . . "I was told to-day that one of our Fellows —— is a 'Maurician.' I am not quite sure that my informant, whose opinions are very 'high' indeed, quite understood the character he assigned him. . . . If a *true* Maurician, he must have all avenues open, I should suppose, for an inquirer after truth to reach his heart."

"What I meant in reference to Mr. Maurice's principle was this—that there are *very very* few who discern the *very great* distinction between the two endeavours—*to be loved*, and *to love*, and therefore very few who really set themselves to labour for the grace which shall enable them to *love*, as Christians. I met the other day with a poor young fellow, who has come here for study, a weak, helpless being he seems to be—in mind, I mean—his conversation painfully slow and indistinct, and his ideas scarcely sufficient to procure an intelligible reply to an ordinary question. Now it was my duty as a Christian to love him. So far, I hope the recollection that 'I am not my own' did prevail over my natural tendency to impatience that I did not exhibit any in my own manner or language, and even strove to be pleasant with him, and proposed to walk with him, which brought me into continual contact with a very trying description of character. (This is, of course, just what any Christian would have done in similar circumstances—who felt as such—I only mention the details for the sake of my argument.) But all the while how bitterly was I conscious of

the want of the principle of love within! I did *not* truly love him, because I did not *deeply* feel my own insignificance and unworthiness, and the unspeakable mercies I had myself received at His hands, who, for our sakes, became poor, that we through His poverty might be made rich. Well, my belief is that theoretical love requires to be greatly modified before it becomes *Christian:* and that this will only be through the pressure of severe affliction, which in a very short time will often draw the soul nearer to its God and Saviour, and subdue it to his will; or else by actual labour and exertion, in act, in word, or else in thought and prayer for others—by *obedience* of the truth, by practising to love, before even we have learnt to take pleasure in it. See 1 St. Peter i. 22."

"ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
"*Wednesday Evening, October* 25, 1843.

"The above date must long be a memorable one for Cambridge. . . . Yesterday was a day of rain and storm, and we looked ominously at each other, as we began to presage a wet and boisterous morrow. But, thanks be to God, not so. The air was dry this morning, and the sky hopeful, and by and by, as the day grew, there was every assurance that our best desires would be realised. And indeed the weather has been exquisite—nothing could have been more charming. We could stand for hours in the open air without the least inconvenience or wish to go in. . . . The streets were, of course, filled with the peasants of the neighbourhood, and townspeople, and it was enough to fill one's eyes with tears to look at them, and behold the blessed triumph of 'Majesty' in their hearts. . . . However, we, the University, were soon gathered all within the great Court of Trinity, there to await the Queen's arrival; and here I had an excellent opportunity of seeing that marvellous person, Lord Lyndhurst, with his keen eye, and his face full of history. At last the hour came, and the Queen was among us. I cannot write you a long detail of these proceedings (and I know very well you do not much care to hear it). . . . I may

just say that from my office as Taxer I had a very good position in the procession to present the address, which the Queen received in Trinity College Hall. The enthusiasm of the men, when Her Majesty entered the gates (the Royal carriages are the only ones that ever do enter in this manner, I believe) was magnificent, and evidently pleased her. After she had gone up into the Lodge, and presented herself at the window, we were formed around the Quadrangle, all the members of the University, in proper order; and in due course we advanced to the Hall, and I got a very good position in the second or third rank to hear the Queen's and Prince's replies to the addresses. After this the Queen went to King's College Chapel, where we were all admitted to the Ante-chapel (the favoured ones, not including myself, to the Choir). In such a position, and outside the real chapel, it was necessary and right, I trust, to consider, in some degree, that the true worship and recognition of Majesty is religion. This evening we have (all down to M.A.'s, Fellows of Colleges) attended a *levée* at half-past nine, and been presented in due form one by one. The Queen has dispensed generally I believe, with 'kissing hands': but I suppose this presentation has all the efficacy of a Court affair, and would entitle us to be presented at a foreign Court. Once more, let me desire to be thankful for the blessed day we have had, so bright and beautiful; and now we wait for the events of to-morrow. Excuse, dear——, this hasty line, and the emptiness of it, by the nature of the occasion." . . .

"*Sunday Evening, November* 19, 1843.

. . . . "What, I thought to-day, looking into Baxter's *Saint's Rest*, were these things which St. Paul saw, but could not utter? The thought glanced across me for the moment (but I have not yet considered the context), did he really refer to the *mysteries* of Heaven, as I have usually imagined, or not rather to the new views of the Divine truth which broke in upon his soul—when, after years of a rigid and hard service in ignorance and unbelief, the great secret burst upon him of the *Love of God*, of that Love declared on every

side in every way, but specially manifested in the giving of His Son—and was it the joy which swelled his own heart, in the full perception of this long-hidden Wisdom, which was too big for him to utter—which none can impart by words, but the Spirit of God, by breathings 'which are not uttered'?"

"*December* 9, 1843.

. . . . "Last evening I dined at Trinity Lodge with the American Minister, Mr. Everett. The conversation turned principally on Shakespeare, and one or two points of it were interesting, though on the whole the Minister was not *brilliant.* The question was whether Shakespeare intended all the meaning which others found in his words. Everett thought *not;* that words were capable of several constructions—and different persons would take the same in different senses and with different effect; and told us an anecdote of Mathews, who, when in America, gave among his theatrical exhibitions (public or private) a speech of Grattan's, in a saddened and mournful tone, which he himself (Everett) and most other boys had been used to spout with great fire and energy. Archdeacon Sharp protested against getting double senses out of his poetry; it was not always certain that he knew his own meaning (we had a little laugh at the Archdeacon for this; though, of course, he did not intend it in its full extent); but certainly no true man, as Shakespeare, would have had more than *one meaning*, and that we were bound to search for and maintain, if we would do justice to the poet. The Master of Trinity, Whewell, thought that ideas were often latent in the minds of great, or even of most, men, which they often were unable distinctly to express, but sparkles of which glimpsed out now and then in their writings: and it would therefore be hard to say that those meanings which seem true and forcible, and really drawn from Shakespeare's words, were not in an embryo or indistinct shape present to his own mind; and Professor Willis confirmed this view, which I take not to be very far from the truth, by calling attention to the fact that such is certainly the case in scientific matters—where we find hints

among the older writers of discoveries made centuries after, and only *not* made, because not distinctly realised by themselves. So I have given you the table-talk, and now my pupil is coming and the clock is striking."

"ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
"*July* 9, 1844.

. . . . "Arnold's Life is such a solemn book. The thought of so much intellectual might in a moment brought low—a voice so full of truth and tenderness silenced in the midst of its joyful utterances—a heart so manly and ardent, in the fulness of its warmth and affection, touched by the cold hand of Death—is very awful, and humbling, and, would to God it may be with me, quickening—that we do the Master's work, not minding our own will, while it is called to-day. Strange that the night before his death (he went to bed healthy, to all appearances, and happy; but in the morning two short hours of pain removed him to his rest) he wrote in his diary: 'I might almost say, "Vixi" (I have lived my life), ambition is completely mortified, I would only retire from the public eye, instead of coming forward.' Blessed be God, who gives us power to discern the reality of things, the sure presence of things unseen; and thanks be to Him who has filled the air with melody and covered the earth, as I see from my window, with loveliness, that the strength of present evil may not prevail to tempt our poor feeble spirits to forget that He is good—our Father—our Everlasting Friend. Oh let us drink in, when we can, the joy of God's Creation around us, and look cheerfully upward in our sorrows. We are prisoners of hope, and our sighings will reach Him, and He will give us of His peace at last. Think of life as a glorious struggle for immortality, beneath the word and with the presence of our God."

"ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
"*July* 29, 1844.

. . . "How the recollection of a parent's presence—though, like my own dear mother, gathered with those who rest—should

hallow our solitude, and subdue our spirits in thoughtfulness and reverential fear, such as shall fulfil for us that blessed ministry, which they were commissioned to discharge for us, even when their bodily form is no more visibly present with us, and help to keep our hearts in sober thought of the spiritual world, and in the holy fear of our Father in Heaven. It is a beautiful passage of Martineau: 'Often does the friend or parent then first live for us, when death has withdrawn him from our *eyes*, and given him over exclusively to our *hearts;* at least I have known a mother among the sainted blest sway the will of a thoughtful child far more than her living voice—brood with a kind of serene omnipresence over his affections, and sanctify his passing thought by the mild vigilance of her pure and loving eye; and what better life could she have for him than this?'" . . . .

"ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
"*August* 24, 1844.

. . . . "I don't know any thought which quiets me more, when disposed to complain of my own lot, than that of *servants*—domestic, I mean—so completely (the greater and best part of them) without hope of settlement for themselves in life; without friends, to live and love with them, except (perhaps) a Christian master and mistress; without time at their own command, or opportunity of study—in fact, I look on them with some feeling of pity and sympathy, but knowing that He giveth more grace, and, doubtless, supplies them with peace and comfort by the way. . . .

"I have detained my letter a post, in order that I may be able to communicate by it the contents of a letter which lay upon my table this morning from Lord Effingham, with one beside it from your uncle Bickersteth. I have not yet read either of them, nor shall I till the morning; though I have just caught a glimpse of Lady E.'s name in your uncle's, which I opened and found within it an enclosure of an Appendix to his book on Prophecy, certainly very interesting as it contains some extracts from a correspondence very recently laid before the House from our and

other Christian Governments with the Ottoman Porte, the result of which was, after a great deal of most determined opposition through the decisive character of the Mohammedan Law, but after a magnificent letter from Lord Aberdeen, strong and straightforward in requiring licence for the profession of Christianity in the Turkish dominions—that on the 21st of last April, an official declaration was made that henceforward the punishment of death should cease to be inflicted on those forsaking Islamism, the inevitable consequence, if detected, of such a step before this time. This your uncle justly considers a very momentous step. . . . .

"Lord Effingham writes to say that the severance of the Livings is going on (your uncle says is almost completed) and that he intends to offer me the presentation of St. Mary's—£492 per annum without house." . . . .

The alternative to his acceptance of Forncett was the Headmastership of a "College" at Putney, of which he wrote:—

"*September* 2, 1844.

"—— is misled by the title of the College, which must be changed, it deceives everyone. The College is not intended to *educate Civil Engineers*, but to give a general *practical* education, in contradistinction from the exclusively classical and Literary [one] of Public Schools. This will certainly be an excellent preparation for Engineering, but will serve the purposes of any gentleman not intended for one of the three Professions — especially for colonists. It embraces Classics, but more decidedly Mathematics, and Practical Science. I quite enter into ——'s views about the labour it would entail—it would be immense, I know: and though in some respects I do feel myself qualified for the charge, I know that I am deficient in others. . . . I propose to go down to Forncett about the 14th, and see the place—there may be a nice cottage to be secured in the village. . . I hear that it is a pretty place—my church a nice one for its small population of 300—with a *thatched* roof. I sometimes

think how I shall like the quiet and solitude after all the bustle of my life: but then Hooker and Herbert were happy in their country cures, and by the grace of God so may we be. It will be—I feel it—a little trial to leave my College—as it was to leave Harrow—as it will EVER be to leave places and persons dear to us—but God sends us solace for all such sorrowing, and sweetens our cup with mercy."

"ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
"*September* 10, 1844.

. . . "I am very thankful that the decision [which he himself had made] is on the side of the *living*. With all its allurements and promises, I have great reason to bless God that I did not accept the Putney offer, as I feel more distinctly that the duties of the place were far less suited to my own gifts and temper than to Mr. C——, the present Principal. Strange that it should be the same to whom I transferred the Moderatorship." . . .

"ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
"*November* 3, 1844, *Sunday Evening.*

. . . "You know what I think about 'analysing our lives and souls.' I think, in the perfection of Christianity we *ought* to do so—and bear to look, even upon all the evil which we must find there—just as your theory with regard to persons' character and conduct (and in which for a true Christian I very much agree) is that we ought to look at them in the light of the Truth, and not close our eyes to what is faulty, though we may in charity cover up the fault from others—and *yet*, if we agree to do this, as I think we may and must, we can only do so with the hope, and in God's strength, the resolution *to love them no less*, as Christians should love their brethren and fellowmen, for the discovery: so I believe we must watch closely our hearts—our motives and springs of action—and finding, as we shall, too many of them faulty and evil, we must not therefore be vexed and fretful—this would come of pride and self-complacency—nor yet cast down and discouraged: but we

must *expect* to find much that is defective—much to be corrected—we must make the discovery with humiliation and the increased sense of our need of that cleansing blood and sanctifying Spirit—and we must the more diligently use the means of Grace and put ourselves in the way of God's Gracious Influences in the path of our duties, so that we may be purged and sanctified to His Will. 'Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life.'"

. . . . "I send the Latin Sermon which was duly preached this morning, though not without some little confusion as to the time of delivery—from the interesting fact that (as the Esquire Bedell informed me) everybody 'had forgotten all about it.' He said 'everybody' including probably the 'Esquire' himself, the V.C. and Professor, the University Marshal and the *Bellringer*—upon which last functionary the movements of the University seem in a measure to depend in these days of skeleton forms and withered representatives of antique usages—for my sermon should, I suppose, have been introductory to the labours of the Term—a stirring up of the 'Clerici' and Educators of our body to discharge faithfully their parts in the progress of it—or some such laudable end it should have aimed at, and not merely the keeping the *five* aforesaid individuals, who composed my congregation, upon the tenterhooks of cold and discomfort, for some 15 minutes. I have omitted the Clerk however, who, having a fee of 4/- depending on the occasion, probably *did* recollect the little matter—and I wonder he did not give the Sexton a remembrancer. I omitted, with due regard to the weather and auditory, the part included between brackets."

. . . . "'Human nature, trained in the School of Christianity throws away as false the delineation of piety in the disguise of Hebe, and declares that there is something higher than happiness—that thought which is ever full of care and truth is better far—that all true and disinterested affection, which often is called to mourn, is better still—that the devoted

allegiance of conscience to duty and to God—which ever has in it more of penitence than of joy—is noblest of all." But I must not go on in this way filling up my sheet with other men's words, however good and precious, though, in truth, I have few thoughts of my own, now that I have so little exercise of mind in writing and meditation, with which to supply their place. I have never seen a book—I think I may say—so full of *brilliant* and truthful passages as this little work (not excepting even Maurice—as to the former epithet) I have given you indeed but a most feeble and unworthy idea of him—but hope to bring it with me when I see you next—but—he is James Martineau, the Unitarian!—and every now and then, the most splendid passages are followed by the statement of the familiar tenets of his sect—I do earnestly hope that I can bless God, and give Glory to Him for what He has enabled our brother to write, and to feel moreover that the great truths of Christianity are the very ones that are wanted to give coherence and unity to his own, to convert the 'sorrow' of which he spoke so truly into rejoicing, to bring the warm, cheering and genial rays of the sun to shine upon the clear, cold air, which he would have us breathe in. Alas! we could not, and live: but now have we Christ in us—not merely *before* us, or, metaphorically within us, but dwelling in us by His Spirit, and we in Him. Macmillan (the bookseller) named it to me, and said he was so moved by reading it, that, though knowing nothing of the author, he wrote to recommend to him Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ* and he has since thanked him very warmly for the suggestion. I think Mr. Maurice would like to read the book, *Martineau's Discourses.*"

Immediately after his marriage, which took place on the 8th of January, 1846, Mr. Colenso began his work at Forncett. It was not without its difficulties, arising chiefly from the changes rendered necessary by the division of the parishes.

In a letter dated May 6, 1846, to Mr. Ferguson, he men-

tions, first, that till his house at Forncett could be built he has been obliged to take a country house, distant about two miles from his church, and speaks of the serious inconvenience thus added to the division of work between parish and pupils, which he had already felt to be a great drawback to his usefulness. Speaking, next, of the duties of sponsors in baptism, he confesses his inability to see how a Christian man can take that responsibility upon himself, or make the required promises for the child of parents neither of whom is a communicant, or perhaps even a church-goer.

"It does appear to me that the Dissenters have just cause to complain of Church baptism if it is so prostituted,—at any rate that we, ministers, are bound to set forward the Truth that, however charitable a work it is to bring the little ones to Holy Baptism (thank God, we do not believe them to be then only first taken under the love of God in Christ, though formally taken into the Christian Covenant and admitted to all its hopes and promises), still it is but a mockery of God for careless parents to bring their children to the font, or to get others to bring them, and that a true Christian cannot become a sponsor, except on these conditions, (1) that he shall have reasonable ground of charitable hope that the child will be Christianly brought up, (2) have the permission of free access to the family, when opportunities permit, for observation and instruction of the child, and (3) have himself a fixed and hearty resolution by God's help to discharge his duty towards it."

TO THE REV. T. P. FERGUSON.

"*May* 10, 1847.

"Should you be willing, or able, if asked, to go as superintendent of the proposed mission to Borneo? At present my brother-in-law is going, and I am sure will go with his wife and two children, unless a better person than himself offers to take his place. He is in many respects admirably suited for the post; but you, I think, are more so, if the

Providence of God permits your own mind to look consentingly upon the proposition. I take it for granted that you know the circumstances under which this mission is sent out. If not, and if you desire to become acquainted with one of the most interesting narratives of our times, you must read Keppel's account of the anti-pirate expedition to Borneo, and of Mr. Brooke, who has in a most extraordinary manner been placed in the supreme authority as Rajah of a large district of the island, and is under the most promising auspices desiring to introduce education and the truth among the people.

"Now should you and your wife be willing or able to go? For myself I would joyfully go to-morrow, but that the iron grasp of a large '*æs alienum*' compels me to forego the wish: it is a sore punishment for past improvidence." [1]

It was not long after this time that the earthly life of his younger brother Thomas was cut short. Not deterred by his other heavy obligations, Mr. Colenso had provided for this brother's education first at Harrow, then at Cambridge, which at his own wish was afterwards exchanged for Oxford. Of Thomas Colenso I can speak from personal recollection as a young man of very high promise. We were fellow-collegians, at Oxford, and I have a pleasant memory of our intercourse in those our undergraduate days. All who had the privilege of his friendship or of his acquaintance felt for him the respect which is never accorded except where there is thorough conscientiousness and trustworthiness. Indeed, he was strikingly like his elder brother, not merely in appearance, but in the beauty of his character.

TO THE REV. T. H. STEEL.

"FORNCETT, *October* 19, 1849.

"I never saw my dear brother during his last illness: and this is my greatest source of grief. He returned from Madeira

[1] See the note, page 13.

in June, apparently quite refreshed and revived, having had a most pleasant ramble in Spain. After parting with his pupil (the Duke of Buccleuch's son), he came to visit us and spent a very happy week at Forncett, then went into Cornwall to spend a fortnight with his Father, and returned on his way eastward to pay another visit. He wrote me a line, however, upon his way to say that he was detained at Exeter by an attack of hæmorrhage, of which he made so light a matter that we entertained no serious apprehensions about him, till his sister called to see him on her way down, and found that he was much worse than we feared, and, as soon as could be, carried him home to his father at Lostwithiel. Here he seemed to rally and one day took a walk of a mile; but that night my sister, while writing after all were in bed, heard him coughing a good deal, and after waiting some time went up to see how he was, and found him on his knees with a bason before him half full of blood. From that time he began to sink under all the usual signs of consumption. . . . . I was at Lostwithiel on Monday, at noon, but too late to look upon his face again. So that I have now only the recollection of his cheerful calm face in life, and apparent health; and he seems but to have gone to some far-off land, to be absent for a season. It does not seem that he really anticipated so speedy a removal until the very last day. About evening he asked the surgeon if the sound he heard in breathing was from the discharge of tubercles, or from water in the chest. Being told 'perhaps from both causes,' 'Then,' said he, speaking in a loud full voice, such as he had never used in all his illness, 'there is no more hope for me in this world,' and calling for his father and sister Sophie, he bade them 'Good-bye,' repeating again and again 'I am going to my glorious rest' After this delirium came on him for about six hours, and then he sank into a quiet sleep from which he never woke again, his passage into eternity being so gentle that none could mark exactly the moment of his last breath. Altogether we have most abundant comfort in our bereavement. His peculiar form of illness, by the

rupture of blood-vessels, prevented his speaking much, till those last few hours, when he spoke loudly and incessantly; but it was plain that he was gently reposing all the while his weary head upon the very bosom of his Lord, and so fell asleep in Jesus. If we wanted confirmation of that which his whole life had been teaching us, it was to be abundantly supplied by his private papers and journals, which show how for many years past he had been living a life of faith in the Son of God and hungering and thirsting after righteousness. . . . . You have asked me to tell you something of his last hours, and I have done it, I fear at too great a length; but indeed it is pleasant to think and write of him, and you, I am sure, will permit me this consolation.

"To turn now to matters of another kind. . . . Large as was the sum I got for my Arithmetic, it is all gone, and has left me very little better off than before. The reason is principally the neglect and mismanagement of my architect who, though a private friend, and most fully aware of my difficulties, and my desire to limit the expense of the new house to the sum I borrowed from the Bounty, has laid upon me an additional amount of debt to the amount (I suppose) of about £1000. Besides this, I have had serious amounts to pay for my poor father, and now it has pleased God to take from us him on whom I had reckoned as one who would bear half the burden with me."

TO THE REV. T. P. FERGUSON.

"(?) 1850.

"It always does me good to hear from you, and would do me more good, I am sure, to see you. If it please God, I shall *try* to spend a day with you during my holidays. But I must go into Cornwall to see my father, who is now far advanced in years, and has of late been seriously ailing. And if I cannot get more help for my parish than I have as yet been able to secure, I fear my time of absence from Forncett will be very much limited. . . . The High Church party have (some of them) grossly maligned the character

of Mr. Gorham. I know him personally, and whenever you think of him, put before your mind a *gentleman* and a true devout Christian, of a quiet unobtrusive spirit, and a truly amiable affectionate character, who has been driven forward by the force of circumstances and the violence of his adversary to a position of prominence and conflict, which he would not have desired for himself and would be most heartily glad to retire from, into the calm and holy duties of his ministry. Such is my own impression of him. I do *not* AT ALL agree with his views of Divine Truth, so far as they are Calvinistic; but I question if he would have wished to have been compelled to speak out his own mind so freely. . . . I feel persuaded that he is not a man to bring forth Calvinistic doctrines prominently in the pulpit, and I do not doubt that his sermons are as mild and good as those of any of his opponents. In fact he would preach probably as Leighton did. I repeat that I have no sympathy with his doctrinal views; but I love and esteem the man for his meek and guileless simplicity, and I detest the malice and spite and slander of his enemies."

TO THE SAME.

"*February* 22, 1852.

[On the serious illness of his wife.]

"Our worst forebodings are confirmed by your letter. And yet it was plain to all, I think, that the disease had a strong hold on your dear wife, a hold that could hardly be shaken off. We felt to have seen her for the first and last time in this earthly state of being. But thank God it is possible so to realise the glorious hope which is given us as to feel that the separations made by death are often all but momentary, the midnight partings of friends who shall meet in joy again to-morrow. I pray God that you may both be sustained with this blessed consolation, or rather that you may both be able to lean with a simple childlike trust upon the love of God our heavenly Father manifested to us in a thousand gifts of His mercy and goodness—above

all by the witness of his Spirit in our hearts, teaching us to cry Abba, father. O dear friend! what a comfort at such a time to be able to use our Saviour's prayer, to know that He bids us say 'Our Father, who art in heaven.'"

TO THE REV. T. H. STEEL.

"FORNCETT, *January* 3, 1853.

[Speaking of the religious education of children.]

"My two boys are too small for consideration at present in the matter of study; but the two little girls are making a little progress, at least the elder ($5\frac{1}{2}$). On one point her kowledge, I am afraid, would be considered by some defective. I should like to know what your feeling and practice is upon the point in question. She knows nothing yet of *Hell* except as Hades, the place of departed spirits, and very naturally assures us that we shall all go to it when we die. The truth is, I cannot bring myself to set before her little mind the terrifying doctrines, which are to be found inculcated in some of Watts's Hymns for little children. I *think* you will agree with me that to teach a child to love its heavenly Father and to dread His displeasure, the loss of His favour, and separation from His presence, as the most painful of all punishments, is the true Christian way of training it for His service here and His glory hereafter."

TO THE REV. T. P. FERGUSON.

"*April* 25, 1853.

"You will wonder at not having once heard from me since you left England. It will require all your faith in my friendship and affection to believe that, notwithstanding, I have been daily mindful of you, and have had you much in my thoughts and prayers. But so it is; and perhaps when you have finished this note, you will be able to enter more fully into my feelings, and acquit me of any real fault in the matter.

"A great change has come over my circumstances and prospects within the last few months. Possibly hints may have

reached you from other quarters, but not all that has occurred. In the first place you will rejoice to hear that by the mercy of God I have got rid of my chain of debt. Like Peter in the prison, my bonds have literally dropped off: I have completed the National School Arithmetic; and for this, and my other remaining copyrights Longmans have paid me down £2,400, which has enabled me to arrange for the complete discharge of my obligations, principal and interest, except for a payment of about £100 a year during my aged father's life time.

"In the second place I have been offered, and have accepted, the bishopric of Natal, and I *earnestly* hope that, if it please God, it may be put into your heart to go with me in some capacity or other, you may be sure the best, and most congenial to your wishes that I can offer. . . . There is, I trust, a great missionary work to be set on foot there, with decided support from Government, and I do not hesitate to say, it is the noblest field ever yet opened to the missionary labours of the Church in any part of the world."

Writing some weeks later, June 3, he says:—

"I want you as a friend and counsellor and supporter, for everything. I cannot conceive of any real difference of opinion on any point of importance existing or arising between us. I think I know too well both your heart and my own to fear that we should quarrel about matters of no consequence."

Not many weeks before his consecration, Mr. Colenso dedicated a volume of sermons to Mr. Maurice. He did so partly as an expression of deep friendship for the man, but more especially as a protest against the attacks made upon him by the *Record* newspaper. At this time he still thought, as he had always thought, that the term "eternal punishment" must mean not only the lasting and undying hatred of God

for all sin, but a perpetual retention in that state of all who should once be subjected to it. But he shrank with an instinctive repulsion from language such as that of Augustine and Fulgentius, and of the modern writers who like them seemed to regard the state of the lost as a matter for triumphant exultation.[1]

Thanking his friend for this dedication, Mr. Maurice at the same time admitted frankly that he scarcely knew what to say about it.

"If I told you that it delighted me beyond any praise I almost ever received, I should express but half the truth. I should convey a very inadequate expression of my own feelings of the generosity and courage which your words manifest, and the strength and hope which they imparted to me. But I should also not let you see the real fear and distress which your kindness occasioned me. When I consider the great work to which you are called, and the troubles which must, at all events, await you in it, I could not but tremble lest I had been the means of causing you new and unnecessary ones. I am afraid the English bishops—to say nothing of the religious press—will visit upon you the offences which a large portion of them is willing to charge upon me. And I could have wished that you had stifled all your regard for me rather than run this risk. Nevertheless, I do so thoroughly and inwardly believe that courage is the quality most needed in a bishop, and especially a missionary bishop, that I did at the same time give hearty thanks to God that He had bestowed such a measure of it upon you.

"You see I am very contradictory in my thoughts about your letter. But I am most harmonious in my thoughts and wishes about you. I am sure God is sending you forth to a mighty work, in which you will be able wonderfully to help those who are toiling in poor old England. . . . May God bless you abundantly; so prays one upon whom you

[1] A few months later he published a small volume of extracts from the writings of Mr. Maurice, with an Introduction.

have conferred a greater kindness than you can estimate,—for it has come to me when I needed it most."[1]

Mr. Maurice was perfectly right in thinking that writers would not be lacking in the public journals to visit on the Bishop designate of Natal the faults which they laid to the charge of his friend. The note of warning was sounded by the "Record," which pronounced his sermons "singularly deficient in the clear exposition of definitive Christian doctrine." Looked at after an interval of more than thirty years these sermons show an instinctive reluctance to the use of party shibboleths. They point to the future growth of a wider theology, and above all they are evidence that the man's heart was set upon the search after truth, and that wherever it might be revealed to him, he would acknowledge it. He could not bring himself to believe that the falling of the tower in Siloam implied any judgment on the character of those who were crushed beneath its ruins.

"Modern Science," Mr. Colenso urged in the very temperate remarks on this article addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "teaches us that the convulsions and apparent disorders of nature, floods and thunderstorms, whirlwinds and earthquakes, are workings of the great Creator's skill and wisdom for the good of His creatures, are therefore signs of His beneficence. The Reviewer sees in them the 'consequences of man's fall, traces of the corruption which from man's heart has overflowed upon the world around him.'"

The Reviewer, again, wished to "uproot altogether the old religion of the heathen mind," and Mr. Colenso merely noted his unwillingness to take a lesson from the great Apostle of the Gentiles

"who, when he preached among the learned at Athens, or the ignorant at Lystra, on both occasions used the knowledge

[1] *Life of Maurice*, ii. 186.

they had already of the Truth to lead them on to higher views, from him whom they ignorantly worshipped, up to the True and Living God."

There can be little doubt, rather there is none, that the choice of Mr. Colenso for missionary work in a heathen land was a blessing not only to the heathen to whom he was sent, but to his countrymen, to the cause of truth, to the Church of England, and to the Church of God. Up to this time his moral sense and spiritual instincts lacked free play; and, had he remained in England, those circumstances probably would never have arisen which were made the means of evoking the marvellous strength of character evinced in the great battle of his life. It was just that appeal of the honest heart which was needed to call into action the slumbering fires. That appeal, and his instantaneous obedience to that appeal, were sneered at as stupid, childish, and contemptible: but the questions of the "intelligent Zulu" became for him questions like those which led Luther to nail his theses on the Church door at Wittenberg, and enabled him to break with the force of a Samson the theological and traditional withs by which he had thus far been bound.

CHAPTER II.

TEN WEEKS IN NATAL.

WE have seen that in his Cambridge and Harrow days Mr. Colenso had turned a longing eye on the vast field of missionary work. Even while he saw no reason to hope that he might one day be enabled to take part in it himself, he felt that there could be no higher call than that which summoned a man to the conflict with deadly superstition, ignorance, terror and sin. The longing which had always filled his heart was the longing for growth in the knowledge of God, and in His Love, for increasing trust in a righteous Will which must in the end be victorious over every thing that opposes it,—which must in the end destroy death. The work of the missionary was therefore to carry to the uttermost bounds of the earth the tidings of the all-embracing love, and to raise all hearts to the thought of the great consummation when every rebellious will shall have been brought into absolute harmony with the Divine Will. Now that he had been called to this work himself, he rejoiced to go forth in this spirit to the help of those who were sitting in darkness. Many things might still be perplexing; but in all that related to the mode in which, and the design with which, the work should be carried on, there was no hesitation, there was not even a shadow of doubt. Christian, heathen, Turk or Jew, all were the objects of God's loving and Fatherly care, all were His

children, though some of them might not know it, and others might openly defy Him. He went out, therefore, to Natal, resolved that no word falling from his lips should chill or repel those whom he was bound to cheer and comfort. It was not his office to inforce theories of human depravity, and of the vindictiveness of Divine punishments. It was his duty to tell them of One who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, who, though eager to receive the penitent, will by no means clear the guilty, and whose discipline and judgement will throughly purge away all dross, and leave only the pure ore.

But he was entering on a field of labour of which he had no personal experience. Dr. Gray's supervision of this outlying portion of his huge diocese was, necessarily, merely nominal, and the condition of the native population had lately undergone so many changes, that a preliminary survey of the country became a matter of necessity. This survey was made immediately after his consecration, which took place on St. Andrew's Day.[1] He sailed from Plymouth December 15, 1853; reached Capetown January 20, 1854; and, from the same steamer which had brought him from England, he landed in Natal on the 30th of January. The impressions received during his stay in the country were given to the world in a little volume bearing the title of *Ten Weeks in Natal.* A few years later, when the Bishop had been led to examine the history of the Pentateuch, some of his adversaries professed to discover in this book plain signs of the "shallowness," the "ignorance," and "precocity of judgment" which, as they said, was to lead him in the end to complete shipwreck of the faith. To others who have read it dispassionately, it has commended itself as one of the noblest amongst missionary records, as

[1] Dr. Armstrong was at the same time consecrated Bishop of Grahamstown. The sermon was preached by Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford.

exhibiting everywhere an unwearied zeal, a large-hearted generosity, and a very real charity for all men.

The picture which he draws from his own observation of the country and its inhabitants is conscientiously accurate; but the same accuracy cannot be claimed for statements relating to earlier Zulu history which he quotes from the accounts of others. He had no motive for extenuating the faults, or disparaging the good qualities of either white or black, and he was resolved that justice should be done to both alike. On mingling with them he found that the natives had many good qualities, although they and their fathers had lived under the rule of some very sanguinary chiefs. About thirty years before the Bishop's visit Natal had been wasted by the Zulu King Chaka, of whom the Bishop recounts some stories which, if true, would give him a title to be ranked amongst the scourges of mankind.[1] On the murder of Chaka his sceptre passed to his brother Dingaan, and from him to another brother, Panda.

When the Bishop of Capetown visited Natal, now some six and thirty years ago, a generation had sprung up which knew not Chaka, and had but small knowledge of his doings. Bishop Gray found them "humble, docile, submissive," and believed "that at that time almost anything might have been done with them." Their honesty and faithfulness were proof against temptations, which multitudes of Englishmen would be incapable of resisting.

"The Insurance Company, having to send cash from Maritzburg to Durban (52 miles), would prefer, to any other mode of conveyance, despatching two Kafirs with it, sewed up in belts about their waists. They would send, with perfect security in this way, as much as £500 for a payment of 10*s.* to each Kafir."

[1] *Ten Weeks in Natal*, p. 224.

On another occasion the Bishop of Natal says :—

"I was speaking of the faithfulness and honesty of the Kafirs, and observing that it was not always to be matched among Englishmen. 'Well,' said young Mr. Moodie, 'you seem to have heard a good many stories about their honesty. Now let me tell you a tale of a different kind, in which I was concerned with them. About six months ago I sold a man a spade for 5*s*. He paid me 4*s*. on the spot, and promised to bring me the 1*s*. in the course of a day or two; but from that time to this I have never seen or heard anything of my shilling.' Certainly it was a formidable accusation against my poor dark-skinned friend, and I had nothing to say on his behalf except that I did not suppose all Kafirs were equally virtuous, and that I thought it just possible that such a piece of villainy *might* find its match in the good old mother-land. But while we were talking, there was a half-caste servant, who was within hearing, and who was all attention to the story. And when presently his young master left the room, the man went out to tell him that 'Saul had given the 1*s*. to *him* a long while ago for one of his young masters; but he did not know exactly for whom, and had kept it in his box ever since, and there it was now.' Mr. Moodie was perfectly satisfied with this man's account of the transaction. He was a well-tried faithful servant, and no doubt had been perplexed at first about the matter, and had, through carelessness, forgotten all about it since. At any rate *he* was a half-caste—half English—*not* a pure Kafir."[1]

But, honest and trustworthy though the natives might be, it was considered necessary to be firm and even strict in dealing with them, and to avoid over-much familiarity. A chief named Ngoza came to pay his respects to the Bishop.

"I happened to be dressing at the time, and was naturally unwilling to keep any one waiting, so was making what haste I could in donning my apparel. But I was told there

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 122.

was no necessity whatever for this—that, in fact, it would be quite the thing to keep him waiting for some time—he would, as a matter of course, expect it—time was of no consequence to him, and he would amuse himself, somehow or other, in the court-yard until I came out. In due time I stepped out to him, and there stood Ngoza, dressed neatly enough as an European, with his attendant Kafir waiting beside him. I said nothing (as I was advised) until he spoke, and, in answer to a question from Mr. Green, said that he was come to salute the 'nkos.' 'Sakubona,' I said: and with all my heart would have grasped the great black hand, and given it a brotherly shake; but my dignity would have been essentially compromised in his own eyes by any such proceeding. I confess it went very much against the grain; but the advice of all true philo-Kafirs, Mr. Shepstone among the rest, was to the same effect,—viz., that too ready familiarity, and especially shaking hands with them upon slight acquaintance, was not only not understood by them, but did great mischief in making them pert and presuming."[1]

From the first the Bishop resolved that he would have nothing to do with arguments appealing to mere terror; and from the first he was anxious to correct the mischievous impressions left by such arguments on the minds of the natives. These natives, it must be remembered, were fairly able to take the measure of their instructors and put a value on their teaching.

"'The profession of Christianity had been much hindered,' they said, 'by persons saying that the world will be burnt up—perhaps very soon, and they will all be destroyed. They are frightened, and would rather not hear about it, if that is the case.'

"'Tell them,' I said, 'that I am come to speak to them about their Father in heaven, who loves them, who does them good continually, watches over, and blesses them.'

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 45.

"What do they think of the Prayer? [The Lord's prayer] Ngoza 'liked it, the first time he heard it.' All agreed that the thoughts of it were excellent. 'They thought that there was a great deal of truth in what the missionaries said; but it frightened them to be told such terrible things. Some said the world would be drowned, and only a little bit of it left for them to stand on; and then they saw the same people going and living wickedly.' 'They have understood more to-night than they ever did before.' 'Now tell them whose prayer it is—the Lord's prayer, for the great God, umkulunkulu, sent His Son to become a man, and He lived among men, and loved them, and taught them about the love of their Father in Heaven.' 'Their old women had stories something like this.' 'Say now that He is made the Inkos' enkulu—Great Lord—of all men. One day I shall hope to tell them more about him, and how He showed his great love to us all when He lived in this world and when He died. But now He is living in Heaven, though we cannot see Him, and He is the Lord of us all, the uKumbani, Supreme King, whose Kingdom ruleth over all; and we must obey Him, and try to please Him in all things. It is His Spirit which puts every good thought into our hearts, and helps us to do every right action.' They have an expressive way, I find, of speaking of a man's *two hearts.*

"They told me of the old Kafir tradition that 'umkulunkulu sent the word of life by a chameleon, and then he sent the word of death by a lizard; but the lizard outran the chameleon.' They thought that 'part of a man' lived after death; but knew nothing about judgment, till the missionaries told them. 'Have they not something within them, which teaches them that, when a man has done wrong, he ought to be punished?' 'Yes; a man's heart condemns him, when he has done wrong.' 'It is reasonable,' one of them observed, 'since umkulunkulu made us, takes care of us, has given us laws, and we must all stand before Him, that we should expect to be punished, if we have done wrong.'

"'If a man had led a very wicked life, and was grieved because he had done so, what was he to do?'

"'To an earthly chief,' they said, 'he would *confess his fault*, and ask forgiveness.'

"Before we dismissed our company, we asked them if they would like to use the Lord's Prayer with us, as we were going to say our Evening Prayers. They readily assented; and so we all knelt down together, and I repeated it, first in English, and then in Kafir, while Mr. S. repeated it after me, and the men joined in heartily. How strongly one felt, that this was indeed a Prayer, given us by One who knew well what was in man, who knew what words would suit the wants, and express the heart's desires, of *human* beings in all conditions and circumstances, high or low, rich or poor, educated Englishman, or wild barbarian Kafir! . . . . I lifted up my heart in prayer for these poor heathen. May God grant me grace and wisdom to do His blessed work among them."[1]

This narrative takes us back at once to the older story of the mission of Augustine to the heathen subjects of Æthelbert of Kent. But it is hard to shut our eyes to the great relative superiority of the Kafirs in spiritual insight to the high-priest of Godmundingham, whose liberality served only as a decent cloak for his self-interest. The Kafir, who confessed that he deserved and ought to look for the discipline of a righteous Judge, rose to a far higher standard than that of the Northumbrian Coifi who looked on his own religion as of no virtue whatever, because, had it been of any worth, the favours of the gods would have been showered down lavishly on himself, their most devoted worshipper, whereas the portion which had fallen to his lot was scant indeed. That Gregory the Great really desired the good of the English tribes to whom he had despatched Augustine and his companions as teachers, is proved by the sound sense which marked his

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 101.

advice and suggestions to the first Archbishop of Canterbury. That the same sound sense should be shown in the Bishop's dealings with the Kafirs, is only what we might expect. What was to be done with reference to their religious celebrations? Foremost among these was the Feast of First Fruits.

"This, as now observed, is a purely heathen ceremony, but has undoubtedly a right meaning at the bottom; and instead of setting our face against all these practices, our wisdom will surely be, in accordance with the sage advice of Gregory the Great, to adopt such as are really grounded on truth, and restore them to their right use, or rather raise them in the end still higher, by making them Christian celebrations. This Feast of First Fruits is their most remarkable annual festival, and it is a royal prerogative to allow of its being kept. Pakade, therefore, has been obliged to send messengers to Maritzburg for leave to celebrate it. It would surely be a step in the right direction, if we could get such a chief as this to allow of the Lord's Prayer being said by a Christian missionary before the Feast begins, after some explanation had been given to the assembled multitude of the *general* meaning of such an address to the Supreme Being; while the Chief himself and his counsellors (with whom a longer and closer conversation might be held) might be told the *special* meaning of each particular sentence of the prayer. They would thus be taught gradually to connect the idea of thankfulness and reverence to Him who is the giver of all goodness, with their duty and habit of coming together to celebrate the fresh returns of His bounty. And, in utter despair of being able, for many years to come, to reach in detail the immense body of natives, who now inhabit this land, so as to supply each particular kraal with the direct and constant teaching of a Christian missionary, I cannot but hope that even in this way we may, with the blessing of God, be enabled to make some breach into the stronghold of their heathenism,—more especially if, as I think may be practicable, I make a

point of going the circuit annually among the heathen, and officiating myself at this Feast of First-fruits. Mr. S. thinks it would be most desirable, for civil purposes, that a commissioner should be present at the ceremony, and give to it the sanction of the crown of England. With him I might make my visitation of the heathen, as well as of the scattered Christians, of the diocese."[1]

Something was thus already done towards showing the people that white men and black men, Englishmen and Zulus, were all children of one common Father who had one Law, and one Justice, the same discipline and the same love, the same long-suffering, and the same blessed purpose for all. This was the vital point indeed, and the Kafirs were slow to be convinced of the Truth. "There is a complete separation in these matters," said one of the chiefs, "between the black and the white—we cannot at all understand each other."

"Mr. Shepstone explained that I thought there was not so great a separation as he supposed, that we believed in unKulunKulu (the great-great one) as well as they, and that I was sent to tell them more about Him, what He had done, and what He was doing for them."[2]

On the following day Mr. Shepstone asked the chief Pakade what he thought of the Lord's Prayer, which had just been recited in Kafir.

"He said we quite beat him last night with talking of the umKulunKulu, and saying that we prayed to Him in England, for he saw that there was not so great a separation after all. We were perfectly taken by surprise with this answer; for we had fancied that he had scarcely noticed this observation of ours overnight. But it seems he had, and, though he had said nothing at the time, had

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 94. [2] *Ib.* p. 115.

been pondering since upon it. Mr. Shepstone then explained to him the Lord's prayer, and said that *Baba Wetu* (our Father) was umKulunKulu, and then went through the petitions, one by one, as before. The chief listened apparently with great interest to all that was said to him, and seemed to realize the meaning of the whole—the first fact having been the key to unlock the rest. In answer to a question from Mr. Shepstone, he said it would be a very proper prayer to be used at their festival, in which, I may remark, nothing whatever met the eye that was disgusting, or in any way offensive to a Christian mind, except the general barbarism of the people. . . .

"But as soon as Mr. Shepstone ended his lecture, the chief was off again. 'How do you make your gunpowder?'"[1]

It was, however, quite possible that the name chosen to denote the Father and Preserver of all men might convey wrong impressions, or, it may be, leave no impression at all. The rule followed by the Bishop was to adhere to the name which seemed to express their highest conceptions. Visiting Mr. Allison's mission station at Edendale, a few miles from Maritzburg, he learnt that his people, some 500 or 600 in number,

"were unanimous in their disapproval of the word for God now commonly in use among the missionaries, *uTixo*, which, they said, had no meaning whatever for the Kafirs. They used it because they found it in their Bibles, but it was not a word of their language at all. The proper word for God, they said, was *iTongo*, which meant with them a Power of Universal Influence—a Being under whom all around were placed. . . . All the Kafir tribes, whether on the frontier or to the north, would understand *iTongo*; but the latter would have no idea whatever of what was meant by *uTixo*, though the former are now used to it through the missionaries."[2]

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 117. [2] *Ib.* p. 57.

It turned out, however, that Mr. Allison's Kafirs were in error as to the universal comprehension of the name "iTongo."

"It is true that all the Kafirs of the Natal district believe in iTongo, and amaHlose; and it is very likely that the former may be regarded as having the universal *Tribal* influence they spoke of, in distinction from the limited family influence of the latter. (It did not occur to me to press this inquiry.[1]) But these words are certainly used by them only with reference to the *spirits of the dead*, not to the great Being whom they regard as their Creator. . . . The true words for the Deity in the Kafir language—at least in all this part of Africa—are *umKulunKulu*, = Almighty, and *um Velinquange*, literally 'the first comer out,' = the First Essence, or rather Existence. It will be seen, as my narrative proceeds, that in every instance, whether in the heathen kraal, amidst the wildest of savages, or in the presence of the teacher, who was himself surprised at the result, my enquiries led me invariably to the same point, namely, that these words have been familiar to them from their childhood, as names for Him who created them and all things, and as traces of a religious knowledge, which, however originally derived, their ancestors possessed long before the arrival of missionaries, and have handed down to the present generation. The amount of unnecessary hindrance to the reception of the Gospel, which must be caused by forcing upon them an entirely new name for the Supreme Being, without distinctly connecting it with their own two names, will be obvious to any thoughtful mind. It must make a kind of chasm between their old life and the new one to which they are invited; and it must be long before they can become able, as it were, to bridge over the gulf, and make out for themselves, that this strange name, which is preached to them, is only the white man's name for the same great Being, of whom they have heard their fathers and mothers

[1] Later, he continued the inquiry; the result being that the translation now is, "O God, my (or our) God." "Nkulunkulu, my (or our) iTongo."

speak in their childhood.[1] . . . Fully confirming this, Ngoza's people told the Bishop that amaTonga and Ama-Hlose were certainly not the same as umKulunKulu, for *they* could not be till man was created ; in short, they were departed spirits, but umKulunKulu made all things. 'We've missed the truth by very little after all, for we pray to *unseen* spirits, and you to one *unseen* Being.'

"'*Ala-hlukaniswe igama-lako—Separated* (*i.e.* hallowed) *be Thy Name.*' They quite understood this ; they never used the name 'umKulunKulu' without respect."[2]

In the kraal of the chief Langalibalele, whose name will become prominent in the history of the Bishop's later years, Mr. Shepstone put into the chief's hand a spoonful of brown sugar, which he ate with great zest. The latter then asked—

"'How is sugar made?' 'It's made by boiling.' 'Ah! then you are taught that by the Velinqange.' It should be observed that we had not said a word to him, or his people, on the subject of religion ; so that here we had the heathen Kafir, of his own accord, referring the wisdom, which he saw we possessed, so superior to his own, to the Great Source of all Wisdom. We caught, of course, at this word 'What do you mean by umVelinqange?' 'He made men—he made the mountains—he gave them names. Do you know' he asked 'who gave the Tugela its name?' 'No.' 'Then it must be the Velinqange: for *we* do not know who did.' We asked "Who was the umKulunKulu?' He said 'He was the same.' 'Did they know anything about the creation? Had they any tradition about it?' 'No ; they only knew that He had made them ; they did not know *by what word* He had made them. Their old men had died by wars, and they had forgotten everything.' He said, 'They only knew of uTixo since white men had come into the country ; but they knew the other names from time immemorial.' I begged Mr. Shepstone to tell him that uTixo was meant by the missionaries for the same Being,

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 60. [2] *Ib.* p. 99.

but the teachers did not know they had such good names themselves for God,—that we prayed to umKulunKulu, and I was sent to tell them all about Him, the things which they and their fathers had forgotten, or never known. Mr. S. asked if the feast of First-fruits was not a feast of Thanksgiving. 'Yes; it certainly was, but they did not know to whom.' At a particular moon, when the fruits are ripe, they keep a feast for the blessings of the year; but they do not know at all to whom—they have quite forgotten.

"Mr. Blaine had not been with us at any of our former conferences with the Kafirs, and wished to press the point further, and to make out clearly, whether they knew anything of their own two names, before they saw the face of an Englishman. So the oldest man present was asked about it, and he replied 'Yes: from our childhood they told us, and they heard it from their fathers.' 'Had they ever had a Missionary in their tribe?' 'Yes, Mr. Allison had been with them. He had told them about Jehovah, and that they were as lost sheep without a shepherd.' 'Had they heard the two names before then?' 'Yes, long, long before.' 'And did they connect the names with Jehovah, when they heard of Him?' 'No, not at first; they only now began to think so.' . . . . A discussion now arose between themselves as to whether the amaHlose and amaTongo were the same as umKulunKulu. One said he thought they were. But he was over-ruled by the others who said 'That could not be, for *they* were the spirits of dead people, who came into snakes sometimes; but umKulunKulu made men, and all things.'"[1]

So full of consideration and tenderness were the dealings of the Bishop with the heathen of his diocese in matters which are generally assigned to the region of theology. Not less judicious was his treatment of questions arising out of their social conditions. Among the foremost of these was polygamy, and about this his mind was soon made up.

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 131.

"I must confess that I feel very strongly on this point, that the usual practice of inforcing the separation of wives from their husbands, upon their conversion to Christianity, is quite unwarrantable, and opposed to the plain teaching of our Lord. It is putting new wine into old bottles, and placing a stumbling-block, which He has not set, directly in the way of their receiving the Gospel. Suppose a Kafir man, advanced in years, with three or four wives, as is common amongst them,—who have been legally married to him according to the practice of their land (and the Kafir laws are very strict on this point, and Kafir wives perfectly chaste and virtuous), have lived with him for thirty years or more, have borne him children, and served him faithfully and affectionately (as, undoubtedly, many of these poor creatures do),—what right have we to require this man to cast off his wives, and cause them, in the eyes of all their people, to commit adultery, because he becomes a Christian? What is to become of their children? Who is to have the care of them? And what is the use of our reading to them the Bible stories of Abraham, Israel, and David, with their many wives? I have hitherto sought in vain for any decisive Church authority on the subject. Meanwhile, it is a matter of *instant* urgency in our missions, and must be decided without delay in one way or other. I may add that I returned to England in the *Indiana*, with an excellent old Baptist missionary from Burmah, Dr. Mason; and I was rather surprised to learn from him that the whole body of American missionaries in Burmah, after some difference in opinion, in which he himself sided decidedly with the advocates of the separation system, have in the early part of the year 1853, at a convocation, where two delegates attended from America, and where this point was specially debated, come to the unanimous decision to admit in future polygamists of old standing to communion,—but not to offices in the Church. I must say, this appears to me the only right and reasonable course. In the next generation, but not in this, we may expect to get rid of the evil; for, of course, no convert would be allowed to become a poly-

gamist after baptism, or to increase the number of his wives."[1]

Writing to Mrs. Colenso some two years later, Mr. Maurice said on this subject:—

"That the Bishop is right in his view of polygamy, I can have little doubt. And if so, it must be a great and useful duty to state his conviction. It brings new thought and experience to bear on the great subject of family life, and the moral effect of every courageous and well-considered announcement of difficulty, and a purpose, can scarcely be estimated."

The notion that Bishop Colenso ever for a moment regarded the system of polygamy as such with the faintest favour is so utterly and monstrously ludicrous that it is useless to waste words upon it. The system was in his eyes simply hateful; but the practice of polygamy amongst the natives with whom he had to deal involved a problem which called for immediate solution. There were two ways of solving it, and only two. The polygamist, who desired to profess the faith of Christ and to receive baptism, might be called upon to put away first all wives but one; or he might be told that he might retain the wives whom he had already married, but that he must not add to their number. Natives becoming converts before marriage would, of course, be allowed to marry only one wife. As to this there was not, and there never could be, any question.

The former of these two courses the Bishop saw from the first was "unwarranted by the Scriptures, unsanctioned by Apostolic example or authority, condemned by common reason and sense of right, and altogether unjustifiable." To make known this conviction, he addressed, in 1861, a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, summing up the arguments

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 141.

into which he had entered at greater length five years before in a letter to an American missionary. As he had urged then, so still he felt convinced, that the practice of the time when he wrote, far from tending to that extirpation of polygamy which was so heartily to be desired, helped to perpetuate the very evil objected to. According to the rule then commonly inforced, a polygamist wishing for baptism must at the outset break up his household and send adrift women, one or more, who were thus placed at a grievous disadvantage, even if they were not left utterly helpless. This necessity placed "a stumbling-block in the way of adults of the present generation," and repelled them from all close contact with Christian teaching. As a necessary consequence, the children also were kept away from the influence of the Christian teacher, and they too became polygamists in their turn, and handed down the practice to their descendants.

That any, who have thought carefully about the matter, should dream of disputing the bishop's conclusions, seems altogether amazing. The dismissed wives are women disgraced for life, and are exposed henceforth in the kraal to the worst temptations of savage society; and this is the necessary result of imposing on polygamists before baptism a restriction for which the New Testament nowhere furnishes any authority. But for such considerations as these Bp. Gray seemed to have not the least regard. The Journal of his Visitation of the Diocese of Natal in 1864 gives some account of a conversation with Mr. Allison, who had been a Wesleyan missionary, and was then an Independent, and who informed him

"That the late bishop [so he was pleased to speak of the Bishop of Natal] had done infinite mischief to the Kafir mind by his teaching. He said that, mainly in consequence

of Dr. Colenso's views on the subject of polygamy, a young chief and twenty-two other Christians on his station had become polygamists; and he added that he thought that those views had been disseminated amongst the Kafirs by William [the Bishop's interpreter] and others." [1]

Bishop Gray's charge delivered during the Visitation to which this Journal refers is full of grossly reckless assertions. For the excitement caused by religious alarm in a superstitious mind there may be some excuse. For the manifest falsehood of the sentences just recited there is none. It is impossible that declarations emphatically condemning polygamy could be twisted into sanctions for it. Mr. Allison's words (if he really spoke them) ascribe to the Bishop a matured approval of polygamy, as such, for every one, and represent him as impressing this approval on the minds of his Kafir school-lads. The libel, if it really comes from him, reflects supreme disgrace on Mr. Allison. Does it reflect much less on Bp. Gray for repeating it? In his letter to the American missionary the Bishop of Natal speaks of the practice of polygamy as an abomination. The same term must be applied to the lie which charges him with upholding it.

Of the gratitude as well as of the honesty of the Kafirs, the Bishop heard many stories, the evidence for which seemed to be thoroughly trustworthy.

"There is, I hear, an old Dutch dame at Maritzburg, who has always a good word to say for the Kafirs. In early times, before the Dutch came into Natal, her husband was sent forward, as one of the exploring party, to examine the land. Near the bridge of Uys Doorns he shot some elands; and finding there the headmen of a party of Kafirs, whose cattle and crops had all been ravaged by Dingaan's armies, and who were literally starving, he told them where the animals lay, and bade them go and eat them—which they did, but

[1] *Journal of Visitation*, 1864, p. 24.

very economically, making them last a long time, until their wants were supplied with the return of the season. In fact they were saved from utter misery and death by this act of kindness, and they never forgot it. But when the Dutch emigrants came in great force to the colony, and, not being sufficiently supplied with food for their large numbers, were themselves at one time in much distress, while they lived in their camp, before the town was founded, this Kafir headman came one day with a large bowl of mealies, and inquired for the Dutchman. He was directed to his tent, but on his way was solicited to sell, and offered large payment for his mealies. No! he must find his old friend, the Dutchman, and so he did, and poured out the mealies at the feet of his wife, refusing to receive any remuneration for them. Nor was this all, but, every two or three days, he came back again with a similar present, and continued it, until the Dutch too were able to get over their difficulties, and supply the wants of their families."[1]

But it was no part of the Bishop's purpose to draw a rose-coloured picture of the native tribes in Natal. To put their better qualities out of sight would argue something worse than a lack of Christian charity: to veil the darker side of their character would be practically deception. He believed them to be honest, to be grateful, and on the whole to be guiltless of the sin of drunkenness. But their very condition implied that they were not trained in habits of steady industry, that they were not a people who could be said to seek peace and ensue it, and that they were certainly not on the high-road to what in Europe would be called civilisation. To the moral defects of the European immigrants they were by no means blind. Zulus might be seen in the streets of Maritzburg pointing their fingers at a drunken Englishman staggering along the roadway; but it did not follow, unhappily, that they were not themselves the victims of worse habits of a more

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 165.

secret sort. The very conditions of their life involved strong temptations to immorality. The taint of this uncleanness must inevitably contaminate their whole society; and the nature of the moral atmosphere in which they lived would be revealed by the general character of their conversation among themselves. Staying at the house of Mr. Lindley in the magnificent Inanda country, the Bishop found that there was no daily school for the little ones of the large community dependent upon him.

"As with such a blooming family of children, some grown almost to maturity, and who had already learnt, as their excellent father told me, to speak the native tongue with more or less fluency, for it was impossible to prevent this, it seemed so natural that this singular gift of nature should be improved for the glory of God and the salvation of the poor dark souls around them. But I found upon inquiry that there were serious objections to allowing a free intercourse between the white and the black children. The conversation of the latter is said to be so impure and disgusting that a Christian parent cannot dare to commit his children to its contamination. . . . Some other of the American missionaries, I find, agree in this principle; others do not, especially Mr. A. Grout, whom I presently after visited. Doubtless, there must be need for great watchfulness and care in such a matter; but I cannot help believing that some measures might be adopted to render such invaluable help as the teaching of young persons available for our natives. We should never choose to leave our children in England exposed to the possible evil consequences of teaching in a ragged school; but with proper precaution and discipline, surely we should not fear to see them thus employed."[1]

Mr. Lindley, in short, entertained no sanguine hopes from the results of missionary efforts among the native tribes. He

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 236.

thought that it would take 500 years to produce any sensible effect upon them. Certainly the general prevalence of impurity—at least, in language—among young children implies coarseness, and worse than coarseness, in those of riper years. But the Bishop remarks that

> "there were eighty souls upon the station, and certainly some of these gave evident outward signs of very considerable improvement. Several had built for themselves neat cottages, as good as those of many an English settler." [1]

But the real point here brought before us for examination is the character of Kafir history before the European immigration. Of written records we know that they had never had any; and on their oral traditions they seemed themselves to look with a pitiable uncertainty. We have seen them confessing their forgetfulness of things which in their belief had been known to their fathers; but, although in this they may have been wrong, it must still remain a matter of doubt, and therefore a fitting subject for inquiry, whether their course thus far had been upwards or downwards. Mr. Lindley seems to think that they had been sinking deeper and deeper into the abyss of barbarism, and he suspected that this deterioration extended to the connotation of their highest terms. Admitting that "they had the name umkulunkulu, which they used to express the 'creator of all things,'" he yet felt sure that, if the Bishop asked further, he would "find they meant by it a little worm in the reeds, a sort of caddis-worm." [2] It must not be forgotten that the same fate seems to have befallen the word uTixo, which was also said to denote a species of mantis, called the "Hottentot's God." [3] Regarding this as proof rather of decay than of growth, Mr. Lindley asked them: "If you had been told about umKulunKulu

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 237.
[2] *Ib.* p. 238.
[3] *Ib.* p. 57.

[instead of uTixo] would you not have thought directly about the little worm down in the reeds?"

This question was received by the whole party with a smile of respectful derision. "O no! we only call it so; we use the same name for it; but we do not pay any honour to it." (One remembers a flower, called by the name Everlasting.)

The Bishop adds—

"I felt already so sure of the ground on which I stood that it would not have staggered me with regard to my general conclusion, formed from so many replies, obtained from so many different tribes, if I had found that those now before me had, previous to their conversion, been sunk in yet lower degradation, and had lost yet more of the truth of their original traditions than others of their brethren."[1]

The Bishop's efforts were not confined to thoughts and plans for the welfare of the natives; but for the English it was scarcely possible for him to do more than prepare the way for the systematic work to be taken in hand on his return to permanent residence in the diocese.

"I had decided to take under the care of the Church a small number of young English orphans, of whom there were several, I found, in the colony, in circumstances of great distress. Some of these were children of parents who had good connexions in England, but had emigrated to Natal, and, having been removed by early death, had left their children desolate and forsaken on that far-off shore. Others had lost one of their parents, and the other was unable, left with a large family, to provide for the whole of her little ones. And it seemed most desirable to open at once an Orphan's Home, into which all such children might be received, and brought up in the bosom of the Church, and in the nurture and admonition of her Lord. I

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 239.

felt that such a charity would be of the greatest importance to our mission work, not merely by endearing the Church itself in the eyes of the people, from the interest she took in these poor lambs of Christ's flock, but especially by enabling us, as we may hope, out of these young orphans, to raise a future band of missionary labourers." [1]

Wholly free from any spirit of exclusiveness, he was ready to work in harmony with all who had at heart the furtherance of the Divine Kingdom. He had many opportunities of observing the faithfulness and zeal of the Wesleyan ministers at Maritzburg and Durban. The Roman Catholic bishop in the former city he found

"a very gentlemanly Frenchman, with a benignant expression of countenance, and an appearance of sincerity and earnestness about him, which I was rejoiced to witness. He told me that there were not yet any missionaries of *his* Church among the natives; but he was about, without delay, to set some at work. One of my last duties, before I left Durban, was to write a short farewell note of brotherly love to him, as I had not been able to call and take my leave of him in Maritzburg.

"I believe that I can thus live in charity with my brethren in Christ, who are striving to walk religiously before God, and to bring forth fruit to their common Master, although I may not, and certainly do not, agree with them on all points, and some of them important points, of faith and doctrine; and that without compromising in the least my own Church principles. I believe the Roman Catholic is in error, in holding as true, and mingling with the essential truth as it is in Christ Jesus, what I hold to be the fiction of men, unscriptural and untrue. I believe the Wesleyan to be in error because (in direct opposition to the wishes and commands of his founder) he has separated from the Church of England, and taken upon himself 'the priesthood also.' I believe the Presbyterian and Independent to be in error,

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 205.

because, as it seems to me, they set at naught the testimony of all history, and set up their own will, on the judgement of the leaders of their body, against the example and direct injunction of our Lord's Apostles. But, while I have every reason to believe that these men are all cleaving to one Blessed Truth, of a crucified yet glorified Saviour, of a Father who sent His own dear Son to save us, and a Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, who now lightens our eyes and teaches our hearts—while I have reason to believe that they are walking daily by faith in the Son of God, and seeking, by prayer and communion with their Lord, to grow in holiness and love, and in meetness for His Presence in heaven—I feel that we must 'receive one another, even as Jesus Christ has received us, to the glory of God,'—and that, as we hope to meet together hereafter as fellow servants in His Kingdom of Glory, so we may and must walk together in brotherhood and love by the way-side in this life, and commune together of our Master's will, and perchance be drawn closer to one another even here in Him, in whom we are one."[1]

With these hopes and these convictions, the Bishop on his return to England published the record of his first sojourn in Natal, unconscious that the shortness of his story would, after some seven years more of steady work in his diocese, be adduced as evidence of carelessness and haste, and his remarks on the religious and moral condition of the native tribes be taken as proof that he came back, as he went, profoundly ignorant of the first principles of missionary work, and incapable, therefore, of bringing any part of his task as a missionary bishop to a successful issue. Such charges are not the pleasantest recompense for telling the truth. Had he begun his work ten years later, they would have taken another shape. Were he entering upon it now, they would probably not be brought against him at all.

[1] *Ten Weeks*, &c., p. 271.

The spirit in which the Bishop of Natal entered on his work reflects that of Bishop Selwyn when he undertook the task of ministering to Christians and heathens in New Zealand. Both found in "Christian work the best interpreter of Christian doctrine," and the convictions which Dr. Selwyn expressed in the sermon which he published under this title exercised even a stronger power over Dr. Colenso. The former insists that the test of necessary doctrine can be found only in the region of practical duty.

> "What is really necessary to reform the sinner, to comfort the sorrowful, and to guide the dying on the way to heaven, that, and that only, is the doctrine which God calls upon every man to receive. Thus, for instance, in our mission work, our standard of necessary doctrine is, what we can translate into our native language and explain to our native converts. This we know to be all that is really necessary to their salvation. . . . There may be a higher heaven to which some chosen servants of God may be raised; there may be unutterable words which only they can hear, visions of glory may be opened to the view of some, which are denied to others: but the range of necessary doctrine we believe to be that which is attainable by all, because the promise is to the wayfaring man, and to the simple, to the poor, and to the blind."

CHAPTER III.

EARLY WORK IN NATAL.

ON the 20th of May, 1855, the Bishop with his family landed in Natal. From this moment, says Dr. Kuenen, the friend of his later years, he "entered on a period of intense and exhausting labours;"[1] and no one is better qualified than Dr. Kuenen to pronounce judgement on the work of a missionary who really grasps the nature of his task. All men have not the same gifts; and it is in no invidious spirit that a contrast has been drawn between the method adopted by Bishop Colenso and that of Bishop Gray. The latter never so much as attempted that which the former with indomitable perseverance achieved. It is no shame to him that he did not attempt it. His life might have been less useful than it was had he done so. But when Dr. Gray some eight years later spoke of the Natal Diocese as having been brought, by the colleague whom he once professed to love, into a state of spiritual ruin, he was using language which betrayed not only extreme narrowness of view but, as we shall see, a very lamentable ingratitude.[2]

In his *Ten Weeks in Natal* the Bishop has described the general features of the country included within the borders

[1] *De Onderzoeker*, June 27, 1884.

[2] *Journal of a Visitation of the Diocese of Natal in* 1864, pp. 1, 4, 7, 18, 20, 24.

of his large diocese, and, more particularly, of the district round the capital city of Pietermaritzburg. About five miles from this city lies the ground which was to furnish him a home for the rest of his life. Here, in the house known as Bishopstowe, or as the natives call it Ekukanyeni,[1] *the home of light*, he gave his mind to all the duties which pressed on him as the chief pastor of his fellow-countrymen and also as a missionary bishop. Here also in later years he was compelled to add to these cares the toil and anxiety of the political struggle to which he felt called in the sacred cause of truth.

Ascending the hill along which the road winds from Maritzburg, the visitor, on reaching the spot where the white cross on the roof of the Mission Chapel became visible, sees before him a scene of great beauty. Before him rises, at a distance of eight or ten miles, the massive Table Mountain, one of the differences between this mountain and its namesake of Cape Town being that its sides are clothed with vegetation more or less dense to within a few yards of its summit, where the red rock begins to show itself. A path towards the north end leads to the top, which is, in fact, a farm of five or six thousand acres, well watered and abounding in game. The difficulty of the ascent and the ease with which such a position could be maintained pointed it out, at times when such a danger was regarded as not an impossibility, as a place of refuge for the whole white population in Natal in the event of an outbreak of the natives.

His daughter describes Bishopstowe as standing

"upon a long sweep of hill, surmounted by other lower rises on each side, but overtopped to the north at right angles by a higher range into which one end of its own

[1] It seems likely that this name was originally suggested by the Bishop; but the naming of the little native village, which grew up under its wing, Esibaneni, *the place of the torch*, i.e. kindled at the light, was entirely their own.

ascends. Upwards to the north, downwards to the east and west, swept wide plantations of trees, grown by ourselves, those to the west bounded by a sluggish stream, white with lilies every autumn, across which a long low bridge with heavy weeping willows led to the steep and winding drive, bordered on either side by choice and foreign shrubs, which brought the traveller at length to my father's ever open doors."[1]

The Natal Table Mountain is really triangular.

"One only of the three sides," Mrs. Colenso tells us, "faces Bishopstowe, like a majestic altar, and always peaceful and benignant, from its early morning aspect of soft deep ultramarine shadows wreathed with white mists, to the evening glory of the opposite sunset in which it shines iridescent, the crown of red rocks round its brow showing opaline, as if from within. The Bishop loved it from first to last, not that he talked about it,—but he would not be without it. His study was without a fire-place, but he could never be persuaded to change it for an equally convenient and quieter room, because there he 'could not see the mountain': and the same reason met us when we wanted to put his writing-table in what we thought a better light. It was over the mountain that he watched the great comet stretch all across the sky in 1882."

This old home, rendered so dear by all the associations of his life, is gone. Barely fifteen months after he had been taken from his earthly toil, the house,—with all its contents, his instruments, his books, his papers,—was swept away by a terrible fire which defied all the precautions taken in Natal against such accidents. An intensely hot wind was blowing from the north-west, when, about three o'clock in the afternoon (September 3, 1884), a little herd-boy came breathless

[1] *Ruin of Zululand*, vol. ii. p. x.

to report a great fire leaping over the shoulder of the range immediately above Bishopstowe.

"In ten minutes' time the flames, carried before the violent gale, flew down the long slope, leaping across the wide burnt belt which surrounded us on every side, tearing through the undergrowth of the long plantations, and throwing themselves with fury upon the house. 'A regiment of soldiers could have done nothing,' said afterwards an intelligent English farmer present at the scene. The buildings, composed to a great extent of wood and thatch, were tossed up in flame like a child's cardboard house, and the dense driving masses of smoke prevented any chance of saving aught from destruction except the lives of the inmates and a few cherished articles snatched from the study: our lives were spared, but little else. Less than one hour sufficed for all, and, when that had passed, the gale of wind, which had been the cause of the mischief, dropped suddenly, and a calm and lovely evening fell upon the blasted scene."[1]

Of the site of the house thus destroyed, and of the growth of the house itself, Mrs. Colenso writes:—

"When the Bishop first saw the place, it was one of many grassy slopes, with a small solitary flat-topped mimosa-tree upon it, lying before Table Mountain. In the frontispiece to *Ten Weeks* the cattle mark the future site. And Bishopstowe was not built in a day, but grew. First, while the Bishop returned to England, the mission party put up a four-roomed cottage facing the Mountain, with a row of small rooms behind it; into which, after about a twelvemonth's stay in Pietermaritzburg, the Bishop's family (now numbering two little sons and three daughters, the youngest of whom was born four months after the arrival in Natal), with numerous members of the mission party, were at first crowded. Not half a mile off down the slope to the south, another cottage gave accommodation to others of the

[1] Miss F. E. Colenso, *Ruin of Zululand*, vol. ii. p. xi.

party, while a blacksmith's forge, carpenter's shop, and farming operations generally furnished plenty of work, the one thing without which the Bishop never could believe that any one could be happy. Those round him were not always of his mind on this point, as, for example, on one occasion when he had to take off his coat and lay some courses of bricks himself, to prove by demonstration that the occupation was not degrading for a catechist! Most of the bricks used in building were made and burnt on the place. Some of the early tree-planting, too, was done with his own hands, at the head of the school-boys. Foundations were laid for the main building—an extension of the original cottage front, but raised and lightened by white wooden gables over tall windows—and for a second wing, the building thus forming three sides of a square. But, to begin with, there was raised, a few yards to the right of these foundations, a little hexagonal 'tabernacle' or summer-house of lath and plaster, lined with rough bookshelves, with just room in the midst for a table, two chairs, and an interpreter, and here through the blazing summer day the Bishop worked as described by Professor Kuenen: for many months were spent in building the chapel, which was to serve also as school-room and sleeping-room for the native boys. It was constructed of native 'yellow-wood,' which endures almost all weathers, the buttresses and gables being painted white. The next task was to provide a printing-office, and better sleeping-rooms for teachers and taught, before the study facing the Mountain was completed in the main building: while the large companion room, meant for a drawing-room, was not used as such until after the return from England in 1865, being found convenient for classes of men, for whose instruction the Bishop would occasionally be called in from next door.

"Both house and chapel were thatched, the long thatching grass (*tambootie*) and the finer kind (*umcele*) growing luxuriantly around, a convenience in one respect, but a source of danger in another. Alarms and accidents from grass fires were not wanting in those days. Half of the

farm-buildings were once burnt down. At a later terrible time, when the very climbing plants on the verandah were scorched, and the window-panes hot to the touch, the Bishop came up pale and lame from a critical corner, where, as he told us, he had found himself quite cut off by the fire, and suffocated by the thick smoke: he was choking, and had just time to think 'I shall never write my book on the Pentateuch!' when—may we not say?—as if in reply, a breath of wind parted the smoke for a moment, and showed him an already burnt, safe patch beyond, which he reached with a struggle and a wrench to his ankle."

Thirty years have now passed since nineteen young Kafir children were brought to the new home in this smiling landscape by the Indunas Ngoza and Zatshuke, who placed them in the hands of the Bishop for education. On their part it was an act at once of great trust and of great boldness. They had to run counter to every prejudice of their countrymen, who were afraid that the children might be carried off to England or compelled by main force to become Christians. The two brave chiefs did not share this alarm. "Do what you like with them," they said to the Bishop, "teach them what you will, train them as you like; send them to England if you will, though we hope you will not." Their people had done what they could to shake their purpose; but Ngoza's reply was that he should like to be the last fool of his race. Of the fortunes of the school thus set up the Bishop's letters will furnish some account. Almost immediately after it was opened, Ngoza fell sick. He attributed his disease to the hatred which his surrender of the children had brought upon him; but later on he had his reward, when, along with many refugee Zulu chiefs, he saw the change for the better already effected in them.

"We shall have no more trouble now," he said, "the people have not a word to say. When I speak to them about the

children, they are silenced. They no longer call me a madman, as they did at first."

The children had, indeed, fallen into good hands; and the work thus begun in the earnest faith of the parents was not marred by any extravagant haste to indoctrinate the children with what are called propositions of dogmatic theology.[1]

In the interval which passed before his next visit to England, the Bishop had gone through an amount of work which, as Dean Stanley told the members of the S.P.G. many years later, would keep alive his fame as a missionary long after his persecutors were all dead and buried. Reviewing the Bishop's career shortly after his death, Dr. Kuenen says :—

"If we bear in mind that when he arrived in Natal he had first to learn the Zulu language, we are astounded at what he effected in the course of seven years. The list of books written, and for the most part printed under his directions by the natives, is before me. It contains a grammar of the Zulu language, and a summary of it for beginners; a Zulu-English dictionary of 552 pages; selections and reading-books in the Zulu language; manuals of instruction for the natives in the English language, in geography, history, astronomy, &c.; the translation of the books of Genesis, Exodus, Samuel, and of the entire New Testament, into the Zulu language.

"The labour itself is not less worthy of our admiration than the motive with which it was undertaken, and the spirit in which it was completed. While from the outset he felt himself drawn towards the Zulus, he now no longer needed to work under restraint, and he freely manifested the love which he bore them. They responded to it by childlike trust and warm affection. This excellent mutual attachment between the pupils and the teacher contributed not a little to the success of his work,—specially

[1] See the account of Ekukanyeni in the *Natal Journal*, for April, 1857.

of his translations of the Bible into their language. It was accomplished by continual consultation with the natives, so that there could be no fear that they would receive a wrong impression—as is so often the case—in regard to the Bible through errors of translation. In printing his books he also had the help of natives, some of whom had advanced far in their knowledge of English and in civilisation. My enumeration of the titles of his books has shown that the instruction in the mission schools was not limited to doctrinal matters, but embraced the first principles of European science."

In short, the Bishop set to work genuinely in the spirit and with the aims of Alfred the Great when he undertook to instruct the English people in days in which they knew nothing of science, nothing of philosophy, nothing of history. Rapid progress could scarcely be looked for; but the good work was not allowed to flag. With the Bishop of Capetown all this went for nothing. Seven years, to the day, had passed from Dr. Colenso's coming to Natal in 1855 to his embarking again for England on May 20, 1862. Before he could return, Dr. Gray had "visited" the Natal Diocese, and pronounced the Bishop's work a complete failure.

"There came," he says, "a falling away. The subtle poison of unbelief entered in; the mind was turned away from the practical work which lay before it, and given to the working out of sceptical theories. Confidence was shaken. Works begun well were abandoned. Progress there was none. Instead thereof there has been declension."

Well might the Bishop of Natal say that these statements involved a most unjust and cruel suppression of the truth. Of the amount and quality of the work needed in laying the very foundations of native education and training Bishop Gray had no practical experience whatever. He had made no attempt to master any native dialect in his original undivided

diocese; nor had he done anything *personally* to acquire the language of tribes in his diocese as subsequently reduced in size. With his unfailing candour the Bishop of Natal adds:—

"Very far indeed am I from blaming him for this omission; he too has had intense, infinite labour; but it has been labour of another kind, in building up the Church chiefly among a civilised European population. And hence the injustice of his remarks upon myself."

But this malignant imputation of unbelief was followed not unnaturally by misrepresentation and slander of other kinds. Writers in the *Guardian* newspaper for instance charged him with corrupting the Scriptures in his translations; and he contented himself with pointing out the absurdity of supposing that he could even attempt such a folly, which any missionary of any Church might detect.

"I am far indeed," he says, "from supposing that my versions are perfect. I may have missed the meaning of the original in some places, and failed to express it satisfactorily in Zulu in others. . . . . But I challenge any one to point out a single passage wherein I have dishonestly departed from the meaning of the text of Scripture,—not certainly as it exists in the English Version, but in the Hebrew and Greek originals, as interpreted by the most able commentators."[1]

In a certain sense it might be said that the Bishop's translations into Zulu were made by Zulus themselves. Taking the Greek Testament, for instance, he would first represent in Zulu as accurately as he could the meaning of a clause in the original, and would then ask the native to repeat the same in his own phraseology. Being trained gradually to under-

[1] *Remarks on the Recent Proceedings and Charge of the Bishop of Capetown*, 1864, p. 47.

stand the Bishop's purpose, the native would introduce those nicer idioms which must distinguish the work of a native from that of a European. No philologist could devise a surer process; but it must be slow. In difficult passages much time might be spent in expressing perfectly a single verse. Those who have gone through such labours will know what it is; but it was not appreciated by Bishop Gray.

In the printing of the eighteen books prepared by the Bishop for the use of missionary students and native scholars, great part of the work was done by a Zulu lad, one of the nineteen first brought to him by the Indunas Ngoza and Zatshuke for education during a period of five years only. During this time, with the drawbacks and disappointments which must be experienced in the management of any school, these children got on well,—it may be said, excellently well. Some of them were taught the business of the printer and binder, others made some little progress in other manual arts; but at the end of the five years their mothers, brothers, and sisters worried their fathers to reclaim them. The lads themselves, not unlike English children, were eager to be freed from the thraldom of school; and the apparent necessity for letting them go arose shortly before the Bishop's return to England. But it must be remembered that the Bishop left his diocese for a time, not, as his opponents hinted or maintained, only because he wished to publish a book which would destroy the foundations of all religion, but because it was indispensably needful to raise supplies of money and men for extending the mission work. Under the circumstances no alternative was left. Most of the children returned for the present to their homes; but his printing press was still managed by one of these youths, who continued steadily at his labour during the Bishop's absence, without any supervision, correcting the sheets himself with the greatest accuracy, and sending the proofs regularly each month to England.

In truth a deep impression had been made on the minds and hearts of many, and even at the cost of anticipating the narrative of a later time it is well to note here what that impression was, and to see how it gives the lie to the false pictures of Dr. Gray. To these poor lads the Bishop was emphatically Sobantu, the "father of the people," or, as they also sometimes called him, Sokululeka, "father of raising up." In his honesty of purpose, in the earnestness of his faith, in the sincerity of his love, they had implicit confidence. Their trust was to be rudely tested, not by temptations arising from the evil companionship of their countrymen, but by denunciations of their friend by Christian slanderers and traducers. The following extracts from letters written to Bishop Colenso by these youths speak for themselves. They are given as they were written, in English, even the spelling not being altered.

"*June* 29, 1863.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have no time now to write all what I wish to say to you, but I am very glad to see you writing, for I like very much to write every word in English tongue, but I can't do that, for I know not all the sorts of English word.

"At this time I am very glad to my work. I have only Fani who help me in the place of ManKentyane and Lingane. When ManKentyane was just come here, he was with us only one month and a half, when he hears that the sickness of small pox will be at Natal. He gone away, he left Fani in his place, but I hope that Lingane will come to me, if Fani go home. . . . . But, my Lord, the thing which I want to know about it, is this that I want to know that, if I done all the copies of the book of New Testament, what shall I do? I say that for I don't like to go away to somebody. I don't like to leave Ekukanyeni. I say that for I see now I will done them at April or May 1864, I don't know yet, only thinking."

"*August* 23, 1863.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am very glad this day that you send me this letter, my heart is so fully rejoice to see it. At this time I know that you will come back to us again, for if I take this your letter and look at it, I see this to be sure that you wish for yourself to come again to Natal. . . . . I have heard that Ngoza want to bring here his boys."

The following is a literal translation from the original Zulu :—

"*May* 29, 1864.

"MY LORD,

"I rejoiced greatly to hear your letter which you sent to William. I wish much that you would write to me also, that I may hear clearly, whether the people are speaking the truth, or no, about you. The other day, May 10, there came the Bishop of Capetown along with Mr. Robertson: they reached Ekukanyeni both together. And so Mr. Robertson called William, saying he wished to see him. They came in both together into the printing-office, and looked at my work. Afterwards we went out together with them in the afternoon ; and we talked with Mr. Robertson, and asked, 'Where is the Bishop (of Capetown) going to?' Said he, 'Aha! that bishop has come to put all things properly. For Sobantu has gone astray greatly ; I don't suppose that he will ever come back here.' Again he said, 'The bishop has come to tell the people to abandon the teaching of Sobantu, for Sobantu has gone astray exceedingly; he has rebelled; he does not believe in God our Father and in Jesus Christ our Lord.' William and I, however, contradicted, saying, 'As to Sobantu, we know that he, for his part, is a man who believes exceedingly. When has *that* (which you speak of) come upon him?' Said he, 'When he was in England, he rebelled ; his book, too, speaks badly.'

"I wish now to hear plainly whether, indeed, they have spoken truth or not, Mr. Robertson and others, to wit,

that you no longer believe. But I know that there is not a word of truth in what they say. Just the one thing is, that we believe in God our Father who knows everything."

Like the preceding, the following is a literal translation. It comes from the young catechist, William, a convert of the American Mission, and it shows pretty clearly the nature of the work done by Bishop Gray among the native flock of the Bishop of Natal.

"*May* 29, 1864.

"I have received your letter, Nkosi; I am very thankful for it. I rejoice also because I find that you are well, both in body and soul. For, indeed, so it is, upon my word, that there is a great noise among all people about you: some say, 'Sobantu has rebelled'; others say, 'Sobantu goes astray'; 'tis so continually with them all.

"But, Nkosi, see! do, I entreat, make a guess, and promise that you will return. For, you know, Nkosi, to expect and wait for you is but a short matter; but, according to their talk, you will never more return at all.

"Also, the other day there arrived the Bishop of Capetown; he just came to have a look at Ekukanyeni, accompanied by Mr. Robertson. They went also to the place of worship [St. Mary's native chapel] in town, going to see the people. We asked about Sobantu. But Mr. Robertson made a long discourse[1] to all the people; he said, 'Sobantu will never again come back: Sobantu has rebelled entirely, he has gone astray. His going astray we white people don't wonder at, for it has been always so among the white people; there are always arising people such as he.' Whereupon I asked, and said to Mr. Robertson, 'What, then? do not you know Sobantu, that he is a man who believes entirely in God?' He assented. Then said I, 'Well then, when did he begin to rebel, when he was in England, or here?' Said he, 'At the time he left this

[1] Of course, by direction of Bishop Gray, who did not speak Zulu.

country he had already begun to rebel; but when he arrived in England, he rebelled altogether.' I contradicted. But, Nkosi, there was much more which I cannot possibly write, the whole of it. . . . Nkosi, I salute you very much. I remember you every day. I don't forget you for one single day. But to see a letter coming from you is quite as if I were dreaming. Salute for me kindly to the Nkosi-Kazi; salute for me to the young ladies; salute for me to the boys; salute all those who love us together with you. Our Father, who is over all, preserve you, deliver you from all, grant you that the wealth of the Holy Spirit may abound to you."

The following lines were written by another native catechist, who had also been disturbed by Bishop Gray's proceedings:—

"My Lord, it was pleasant to hear your words; for we were in a state of great excitement, not knowing what is the real state of the case. I also said about you, Nkosi, it cannot possibly be true for us, for you had come to bring light among those in darkness. I say, your doing was not like a white man; it was like the words which say, 'He sends forth his sun upon evil and upon good,'—the way by which you came among us continually. But before God our Father we may be comforted about you until we see your face."

Of these and other little letters, the Bishop justly says that they

"give evidence of a solid and permanent work, wrought by God's grace in preparing these natives for future usefulness among their people. Their intellectual powers have been cultivated, as well as their hearts: they have been taught to *think* about religion, and not merely crammed with dogmatic formulæ, although, in such exercise of their reasoning powers, they have compelled me to give close attention to diffi-

culties, which in English teaching are too commonly passed over or altogether ignored."

From the letters written by his native converts after the cruel and demoralising interference of Bishop Gray, we have to go back to the time of his settlement with his family in Natal.

TO G. S. ALLNUTT, ESQ.

"MARITZBURG, *July* 6, 1855.

"It was high time for me to come out here. The people in charge have gone on *madly* with their expenditure in my absence. It requires a large stock of Christian patience and fortitude to bear the discovery from day to day of large sums of money wasted during my absence in the most prodigal manner, spent without any authority from me, yet in such a way that I cannot help bearing the consequences. Imagine their having made a water-course on the Mission farm, full two miles in length, to bring water to a paltry cottage for the farmer and his family, the said cottage being within about five minutes' walk of a running stream, and having also (as Mr. Ellis believes) water close above it. Not a single thing has been done by the Mission farmer, whom Bishop Gray sent out, to provide food for any of the party. Every morsel for himself and his family, for every person and *animal* connected with our operations, has still to be *bought* at high prices, though enormous sums have been spent on profitless labour. The worst is that he is utterly unfit for the business of a farmer, and I am now occupied in the painful process of removing him and putting Ellis over all the farming operations. My whole occupation since my arrival here has been that of paying debts incurred during my absence,—a great part of them without any necessity for their ever having been incurred,—and retrenching the expenditure of the Mission."

His thoughts were at this time occupied necessarily in a great degree with considerations for the temporal welfare of

his people, both English and native. To the question whether a young man might hope to earn a living in Natal as an architect, he replies with a conditional negative. If he be willing to be of use generally in promoting the civilisation of the natives, the prospect might be not discouraging. Mission schools were to be founded amongst the native kraals at the rate of about four in each year, each to be placed in charge of a clergyman in full orders, assisted, if possible, by a deacon with three or four catechists, whose business it would be to itinerate to the neighbouring kraals belonging to the chief among whose people the school would be established. The Bishop's purpose was to introduce among them the growth of cotton, indigo, &c., and to get them to build themselves houses after the European style. The chief, he thought, should have a dwelling-place, a church, and a court-house for the administration of native justice. There was, further, the building of the central station, the completion of which would require a sum ranging between £5,000 and £6,000. For this there would be need of competent advice and help, and unless some one possessed of sufficient architectural knowledge could be found, resort must be had to the native carpenters. Work of this kind must be carried on in various parts of the diocese.

The task of civilising thus begun was exposed to many hindrances and dangers. Speaking of the coming of the Kafir children, early in 1856, he says:—

"Our great experiment is actually in progress. Last Thursday I received at the station nineteen little Kafir boys, all the sons of principal men, and thirteen more are promised; and it is quite impossible to say what the end may be. Perhaps all may speedily come to nothing. Perhaps some 'inyanza' my get up a cry of witchcraft against us, or sickness may break out. However, we hope for the best: and up to this time they are as happy as possible, and several can already read all their letters. But we sadly want the means of

amusing them. Alas! alas! the *Annabella* with all my philosophical instruments on board, struck on the bar last week, and is gone to pieces. We fear nothing will be saved."

The sequel in the history of the friendship between the Bishop and Mr. Maurice is so sad that we are tempted to dwell on the language in which Mr. Maurice in these earlier days speaks of the work of his friend. He says in a letter to Mrs. Colenso, August 19, 1856:—

"Tell the Bishop, with my kindest love, that the battle he is fighting is ours also; nothing less than the battle whether the devil or the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is God. Everything is coming in England, and perhaps quicker still in this country (Ireland), in which we are staying for a few weeks, to that issue. Romanists and Protestants will have to ask themselves, not whether they believe in a Pope or no Pope, but whether they believe in a God of Truth, or a God of Lies. Each must be tried by the answer; and each must have his own tree cut down, because it cumbers the ground, if it is not found to have the good root, and not the accursed one. . . . All you are doing for the Kafir children and for the Zulus and your own is really fulfilling, in the best and simplest way, that duty which comes upon us with so many complications—the deliverance from the yoke of a tyrant, by telling them of their true King. It seems to me as if all civilisation and all Christianity had that same foundation, as if devil-worship was the common enemy which both in their diffferent ways have to struggle with."[1]

It is sad that such a friendship as this should have been interrupted here (broken permanently, assuredly, it cannot be), because Mr. Maurice refused to see that the historic sense in the strict meaning of the term is a faculty of quite late growth in the onward course of the world, and therefore that

[1] *Life of F. D. Maurice*, ii. 296.

the application of modern codes of historical honesty to ages before this faculty was developed beyond the merest germ, was simply ridiculous. But even if there should be differences, and these, too, wide differences, on the nature and value of historical evidence, it was an unhappy thing for Mr. Maurice, and an unhappy thing for the progress of religious thought in this country, that he should insist on regarding opinions antagonistic to his own as not merely erroneous but immoral and corrupting, fatal, in short, to the first principles of faith in a living and righteous God. Coming events were not, thus far, casting their shadows before them.

The following letters, relating to this time, will give some account of his work and of the special difficulties which he had to contend with in it.

TO G. S. ALLNUTT, ESQ.

"*March* 2, 1857.

"I am cast down by the state of things at S.P.G., but not discouraged. I doubt not the hand of God is in it; and I wish to make no complaint, but wait patiently His time. Of course, our work here cannot go on *vigorously* until the Society votes a grant; but meanwhile the time is well employed in mastering the language and preparing educational books, which latter work keeps me a close prisoner daily at my desk."

TO THE SAME.

"*July* 7, 1857.

"The rules of the S.P.G. are most inconvenient and absurd. Instead of requiring us to give correct and complete detailed accounts of how money *has been* spent (they can always cut off supplies from an improvident bishop), they require us to say beforehand how the money will be spent, which in a colony where things are so continually shifting and changing it is impossible to do. . . . It behoves the

Society to have confidence in the bishops of the Church, and not act upon the mean peddling system which they now seem to have adopted. . . . I seriously believe that I shall be driven to the Church Missionary Society for help for this people committed to my charge. I dare not let their best interests be wasted by the incapables of Pall Mall without doing my best to find a remedy elsewhere."

TO THE REV. T. P. FERGUSON.

"EKUKANYENI, *July* 7, 1857.

"Just now we are in a very critical position, one, I mean, which, well improved, may be productive of incalculable good to the future of this diocese, but, if neglected, may not ever be regained. You will have heard that S.P.G. has granted £1000 a year for three years to Natal. Now we have upon the spot two clergymen and three catechists, who will consume between them £700 of this grant. I want, if possible, to bring out two more clergymen and one good catechist, likely to become a clergyman, for the other £300. Now, dear friend, will you come and help me? There are no dignities to tempt you, only work, blessed work. It is really most refreshing to see these 36 boys and half a dozen girls, including now Panda's son, Umkungo. But I sadly want help for the work, such help as *you* could give me."

TO G. S. ALLNUTT, ESQ.

"*January* 13, 1858.

"S.P.G. affairs have assumed a somewhat serious form, if I understand rightly the tenor of Mr. Hawkins's letter, a passage of which I have had transcribed for your inspection; and please also to let Bishop Gray see it, if I cannot find time, as I fear I shall not, to write to him by this mail. . . . Bishop Gray will, I am sure, fight my battle for me, as well as his own, in this matter. I will not trouble him about others, for he has work enough on his hands. God help him! one of the noblest, most true-hearted, and loving

men that ever lived, to be so used by a couple of secretaries."

The Bishop felt very keenly the part taken by the secretaries of the S.P.G. in reference to this grant to the Natal diocese, and to the inclusion in that grant of a sum of £250 received thus far from the Bishop of Capetown. This sum, he contended, was not included in the grant by the vote of the Society; and the point was carried in his favour. But the conditions of the grant pointed in his belief to a strange misconception of the circumstances under which the work of the diocese must be carried on. It was certain

"that a missionary to the heathen cannot be made in a day; that it takes at least three years to make a man capable of understanding and speaking the native tongue decently; and that therefore the Society must lay it down as an axiom to expect nothing of any missionary for three years. Instead of that they have now a certain most ridiculous practice of limiting their grants for three years. This is fatal to the hope of good men coming out. There is no reason why, when dealing with missions to the Europeans, a grant made to a *place* should not be revocable in three years provided that the person employed, if a faithful labourer, be assured that he will be continued somewhere else upon the Society's staff, so long as the Church supplies funds. As regards the heathen, the rule is absurd."

TO G. S. ALLNUTT, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 1, 1858.

"How can I thank you sufficiently for all the trouble you have taken for me, and for copying out that correspondence with the Colonial Church and School Society, and for conducting all those complicated financial matters? Most agreeably was I surprised with the latter; and, to tell you the truth, I was getting very anxious and uneasy. . . . . Your letter has made me quite light and happy, and I trust thankful—thankful to Him who has raised me up such a kind

and wise friend, and thankful to yourself for all your laborious exertions.

"Mr. Hawkins has outdone himself in his last letter by this mail. He has got the Committee to disallow Dr. Mann's and Mr. Prescott's expenses out (£150), while they have allowed their stipends as labourers, and thereby admitted their value to the Mission. And observe I did not ask the £150 as a *fresh grant* in addition to the block sum, but only to be allowed out of the £1000 a year, as one of the best ways in which I could employ it, for I need not say such men could neither of them be picked up among the kraals of Natal. I have written to press this point again on the Committee; and I cannot believe that if Mr. Gell or any friend puts the plain truth before them, they will refuse their sanction to this, more especially as I have told them, that, if I have to pay it, it must be taken out of the small sum of £280 which I have still reserved of Sir G. Grey's money, with which I hoped to build some additional accommodation for our poor boys, who now eat, sleep, play, study, and worship, 37 of them besides young men, all in one room.

"But Mr. Hawkins has gone even further than this. . . . . When Mr. Wathen landed, seeing how very suitable persons they were, I entertained the hope that I might secure them for the heads of a Girls' Institute to match our Boys'. I then hoped that the Governor, as he had often promised, would take Dr. Callaway wholly off my hands, and that would have set £200 at my disposal. So I thought in that case I should be able to allow Mr. Wathen (or if not him, some one else) £100 a year as head, and £50 for the support of ten girls. But feeling a little delicacy about absorbing so much of the Society's money on this particular station on my own responsibility (though I have not the slightest doubt as to the expediency and ultimate necessity of so doing), and wishing further to pay all respect and attention to the 'old gentleman' at Pall Mall, I wrote to put the matter before the Society, and to ask their leave to reserve the £150 of their grant for that purpose, if I saw

the thing was practicable at any time. Now what do you suppose Mr. Hawkins writes in reply? 'The Committee trust that they see in your proposal to reserve a portion of the grant of £1000 a year for a girls' school proof that the allowance which they were able to grant last year was sufficient for the present wants of the diocese'!!! And that when he knows that there are 120,000 savages in the district, and scarcely a teacher among them all,—when he knows that C.M.S. spends £11,000 per ann. upon the 70,000 natives of New Zealand, in addition to what the S.P.G., the Wesleyans, the R. Catholics, and others spend—whereas here all that is spent by S.P.G. is £1500 per ann., and the other bodies are doing absolutely nothing or next to nothing. In fact, £1500 will just support four stations, and at the very least we need ten. I have written to ask the Society to make another grant of £1000 a year; and if Mr. Gell will put his shoulder to the wheel, we shall get it. But Mr. Hawkins goes on to add, 'They are, however, of opinion, that such reservations are hardly within the meaning of the Society's *grants for present purposes*.' Now what am I to do? If I had (as I have) spent the whole £1000, and then asked for an additional £150, I should have had the charge brought against me of first obtaining block sums, and then special ones. Now that, to obviate this (and you see what my principle has been all along, in spite of Mr. Hawkins's letter to Mr. Gell), I propose to reserve £150 *out of* the block sum for this specific purpose, I am told that this is not to be done. What, then, is to be done? . . . .

"The popular style which suits so well an English audience is not exactly that which our natives require. They want simplicity—distinctness; and the teacher must have the power of realising their exact condition, as entirely ignorant of all our conventional phrases, of our ordinary knowledge, of everything except what their savage life must teach them by daily experience, but withal as intelligent enough, and capable of taking in any mental food which is fit for them, and digesting it, if it be digestible. And then it requires *patience, patience, patience,* by means of which Mr. Baugh

has succeeded in obtaining wonderful results in the short time we have had him. I send you the first results of our boys' efforts at printing, the whole being composed and struck off by themselves with Mr. Baugh's superintendence. Our white printer will not lend a hand to help them. Indeed, I should not be surprised if there is some sort of trade union here, formed to exclude the natives from being taught any mechanical trades."

The following letters, written during this year (1858), were cited against the writer at the so-called Capetown trial in 1863:—

TO THE BISHOP OF CAPETOWN.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 2, 1858.

"I am afraid you will be grieved this mail by a communication from the Dean. Of what kind it will be, I cannot, of course, say beforehand; but the simple fact is that I am directly at issue with him on the subject of our Lord's real presence in the Holy Eucharist, and that I feel bound to protest against the views he holds, to the utmost of my power. . . . But these things are trifles compared with what will cause you much greater pain, whether you agree with my views or differ from them. May God guide, and comfort, and keep you, in this and all the other many trials by which I fear your path is beset."

TO THE SAME.

"*April* 3, 1858.

"By this mail you will receive from me a copy of the sermons which I have preached on the Holy Eucharist, and another, I expect, from the Dean. What your own views are on the subject in question I know not. . . . I am grieved that you should be troubled in this matter, when you have so much else to trouble you; but unless I am judged and deposed as a heretic, I must live and die preaching the doctrines of these sermons in this my post of duty, and it will be miserable to feel that every sermon I preach will sound to

the Dean as heresy. . . . I need hardly say that under such circumstances it will be impossible for us to work together with any cordiality henceforward. . . . And if I am not myself to be removed from my office, heartily glad should I be if one of [his friends] would present him with a good living in England."

TO THE SAME.

"*August* 2, 1858.

"You will see that one of our resolutions requests me to ascertain how this stands from the Primate. I need hardly say that the reference was made to him rather than to yourself, from no want of respectful sense of duty to you as Metropolitan, but because it is considered that a question of this nature, which was not of the nature of an appeal from a judicial decision, but one of inquiry respecting the principles of the Church of England, ought more properly to be addressed to the Primate."

These passages from letters written with the frankness of private or unofficial correspondence were recited at the so-called trial in Capetown by way of showing that the Bishop of Natal had thus far recognised the Metropolitical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Capetown. They certainly show a great regard and respect for himself personally, and a readiness to acknowledge and correct errors and mistakes, if any such had been made; and, doing this, they explain the language of Bishop Cotterill, of Grahamstown, when he speaks of Bishop Gray as fully expecting to find in Bishop Colenso a willing instrument for the furtherance of his plans. This impression would naturally be strengthened by some passages in a letter from Bishop Colenso "to the clergy and laity of the united Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Natal," dated August 11, 1858. In this letter, which was also cited at the so-called trial, he mentions that Bishop Gray, declining to pronounce an official judgement on the question raised by

Dean Green, had given an opinion to the effect that, while the Dean's statements went far beyond the teaching of the Church of England, those of the Bishop of Natal, or some of them, were cast in a form which might lead to misunderstanding. "Such," added Bishop Colenso, "being the opinion of the Metropolitan on this point, I conclude there must be passages in my sermon which are liable to be thus misrepresented." The admission might imply an excess of deference; but it could do nothing more. The question of authority in this matter was put aside; and Bishop Gray administered to Dean Green a very wholesome rebuke for having without cause presented his Bishop as teaching false doctrines, and expressed his hope that as a Christian man he would express his sorrow for the slight which he had offered to the Bishop in his own Cathedral. The Dean had continued sitting in his place in the choir, before the congregation, during the Holy Communion, refusing to communicate with the Bishop, and compelling him to go through the whole service on an ordination Sunday alone. By this method of Jeddart justice, Mr. Green condemned the Bishop without trial and even without accusation, and left the proof to be found or not found, as the case might be, afterwards.

In this matter the Dean had acted with one other clergyman only; and the Bishop naturally felt that such action struck at the root of all Church order. He wrote, therefore, to the Bishop of Capetown, November 19, 1858, pointing out that they had been probably led to take this course by the language of Bishop Gray himself, who had said that "Presbyters may for grave matters present a bishop." Against the interpretation put on this expression by these clergymen the Bishop of Natal emphatically protested on the ground of Church order and common propriety. This interpretation was that a single Presbyter, or two or three, in a diocese might present the Diocesan. The Bishop added :—

"I find that the American Church, who have doubtless well considered authorities in this matter, beyond what, with the limited means at my command, I am able to do, have laid it down as a rule that a *bishop*, or two-thirds of the clergy, alone can present a bishop. And this precedent appears to me to be confirmed by a sense of common propriety."

Another letter, written in December 1858, shows how clearly the Bishop of Natal had already discerned and laid down the lines within which the controversy must be decided. It will be seen, therefore, that, although the circumstances were changed five years later, there was no change in his position, and therefore no room for the charge that he then hit upon a mode of resistance and escape of which before he had not even dreamed. The letter speaks for itself.

TO THE BISHOP OF CAPETOWN.

"*December* 1, 1858.

"I hope that when the Bench of Bishops meets, they will take into consideration the question of metropolitical jurisdiction as well as the constitution of Church Councils. . . . So, too, I use the word Province of the South African dioceses; but only in a popular way. I see clearly Canon Jenkins, and probably the Dean, does not—but looks upon you as an independent Metropolitan. That you would be, doubtless, if you were Metropolitan by Church authority, and not by Royal Patent. But it seems to me that we are really still in a certain sense within the *Province* of Canterbury, by virtue of the clause which makes your proceedings subject, not merely to the supervision, but to the *revision*, of the Primate. To take for example an instance. Suppose that on a clergyman who had signed adherence to our present rules of Council . . . I found it necessary, because of some infringement of the rules, to pass a sentence of suspension, and he appealed to you, and you (as you say you should do) reversed my proceeding, of course I must submit to this, as the Bishop of Exeter to the Archbishop in the case

of Mr. Gorham; but I imagine that I should do right to appeal to the Archbishop, not to reverse, but to revise, your decision, and that, if he decided against you, you would be bound in conscience to follow that judgement in case of any future appeal of a similar kind. This is the way in which our mutual relation at present presents itself to my own mind. But it would be most desirable that the whole matter should be settled for us by the proper authorities in England."

It follows that no judgement of a South African or any other Metropolitan could be final, whether their patents were valid, or not; that the appeal from these Metropolitans to the English Primate was to him not personally, but in his official capacity; and thus that from him there lay the final appeal to the Sovereign in Council. Although therefore points of detail might remain unsettled, the path of procedure was perfectly clear, and the path in South Africa was the same as that in England, with the same precautions for the freedom of all, and the same safeguards against merely ecclesiastical decisions. But this administration was for Bishop Gray intolerable. He had already formulated to himself the constitution of a Church with a discipline far more wide-reaching than that which survived in the Church of England, and appealing to theological standards which could not be imposed upon the English clergy. When the more serious trouble came, Bishop Gray expressed not merely surprise but astonishment at the opposition which he then encountered; but there was really no reason for either feeling. He had shut his eyes to the warning; but the warning had been given with unmistakable clearness.

We shall soon see the Committee of the Church Council in collision with Dean Green. This assembly of clergy and laity had been convened, as the Bishop was specially careful to tell them, not as a synod nor as possessing any legislative powers,

22830

but simply as a deliberative conference, summoned not for making laws binding all members of the Church in the diocese, but to determine whether such a synod should be called at some future time. This Council, therefore, could bind only himself, so far at least as this, that, without pledging himself beforehand to adopt implicitly any advice which they might give him, he should feel it his duty to follow any course recommended to him by a decisive vote of the conference, if possible, and as far as possible, in all points.

If such a legislative assembly should be hereafter convoked, the name given to it would be a matter of no moment. It might be known as a synod, or by any other title.

"But the real question that will be before you is simply this. Is it desirable that at regular intervals a body similar to this should be convened, for deliberating and deciding upon matters properly falling within its cognisance; that is to say, matters of discipline and not of doctrine, which are of consequence for the progress and welfare of the Church of England in this diocese? I say, matters properly falling within its cognisance, because the power of such a synod must evidently be limited by the fact of our connexion with the Mother Church of England. And the limits in question are very clearly defined in the Bill which was introduced into the British Parliament about three years ago, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the purpose of giving legal effect and validity to the proceedings of colonial synods."

This Bill, carried through the Lords, was lost in the lower House, chiefly owing to the opinion that for the management of Church affairs in the colonies statutable aid was unnecessary, and, if unnecessary, highly inexpedient. Colonial dioceses were now left, in matters within their cognisance, to act for themselves. From the subjects within their range the Authorised Version of the Scriptures, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Articles of Religion must be excluded; but

they would have power to deal with differences arising between the Bishop or clergy and the laity in any part of the diocese; with the general questions of finance in reference to Church work, whether among the Christian or heathen population of the land; of the extension of Church work either among towns or villages; of joining, where it might be practicable so to do, the office of school teacher with the work of the ministry; of the management of Church schools, and education generally; of patronage, clergy discipline, the tenure of Church property, and other like subjects. The convening of such an assembly would relieve him as Bishop of an immense weight of care and responsibility which he had now to bear alone, by having to decide points of importance by his own single judgement, assisted only by the counsel of a few of the presbyters.

"I have longed," he added, "for the time when the whole body of the clergy and the laity who should come to my help should together make their own laws, and change the government of the Church in this diocese from an apparent despotism under a single head, or from a state of anarchy and confusion, to one of orderly and constitutional rule."

There remained the question of the constitution of such an assembly, and this in its turn involved the consideration of parishes, the qualification of parishioners, and of candidates for representing the laity in synod, as well as of the manner of voting (whether in person or by voting papers). But without waiting for the summoning of such an assembly, there was one subject which he especially desired to commend to their attention; namely, the arrangement of the difference which had arisen between himself as Bishop and the parish of Durban.

"I would here," he said, "place myself wholly in the hands of the conference, assured that you will consider both what is due to my office among you, and what is due to the peace

and welfare of the parish of Durban,[1] and, with it, of the whole Church in this Diocese. Most thankful, indeed, shall I be, if no other good result from this conference but the healing of this one breach, which has been a source of grief,

[1] It is, perhaps, enough to say here that in this parish a good deal of opposition had been offered to arrangements which, for the mere purpose of securing orderly Church government and administration, seemed to the Bishop not merely desirable but necessary. To the request that a revenue might be raised by the letting of all the seats in the church the Bishop had replied that he strongly objected to the pew-rent system; that all the members of the Church of England "have an equal right to share in the privileges of God's House, where rich and poor should be able to meet together in the presence of Him who is the common Maker and Father of all." He refused, therefore, to sanction the mortgaging of the pew-rents in order to clear off the debt on the building; but he expressed his readiness to take the responsibility of the debt upon himself, relying "for the return of the money which" he had "already lent, or may be required to expend for the completion of the buildings," solely upon the voluntary offerings of the congregation." He had directed that Holy Baptism should in his diocese "be always administered, as prescribed in the Rubric, in the time of Divine Service, after the second lesson." He had also urged obedience to the Rubrics relating to the offertory, and expressed his conviction that the people would soon come to value the privilege of giving, be it ever so little, according to their substance, for the service of God, and of having their gifts "laid reverently by the minister on the table of their Lord, and thankfully presented with a prayer for God's blessing upon it" (Sermon at Richmond, Natal, 1856). In this work of Church administration he was aided by Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop, Mackenzie. But the moderation of the Bishop's counsels failed to satisfy a certain section of the parishioners of St. Paul's, Durban, and their opposition took a form which threatened an outbreak of physical violence. The Bishop therefore issued an order for the closing of the yet unconsecrated building, until he should be assured that no such attempts at disturbance would be made, at the same time directing the Archdeacon to hire a room at the Bishop's charges for the celebration of Divine Service. The party of malcontents chose to treat all this as an offensive display of sacerdotalism, and to regard the Bishop's directions as a virtual secession from the Church of England. Their manifesto, April 1856, called upon their brother parishioners to "stand fast to the truth," and to "trample over these efforts at innovation." The clouds seemed for a moment to be rather dark; but the troubles gradually passed away, without committing the Bishop to any departures from the decent order of the Church of England.

I doubt not, to others concerned as well as myself: we shall not then have met in vain."

The questions of the intelligent Zulu, which furnished to English journalists an excellent subject for merriment and mockery, were to have serious consequences for the colony of Natal, and for the world which lay beyond its limits. They were to provoke the zeal of the Bishop of Capetown to the illegal exercise of an irresponsible power, which under the guise of making peace introduced only a long and disastrous schism. To a certain extent the seed sown by Bishop Gray after the so-called Capetown trial fell on congenial ground. The elements of division had long been at work on the soil of Natal, and they were furnished not by Protestants and Puritans, but by those who would rather have associated themselves with Thomas of Canterbury or Hildebrand. Among the clergy of the Natal diocese were some who had a very hearty admiration for the method after which Gregory VII. dealt with the emperor at Canossa, and who had every wish, so far as their power went, to go and do likewise. This is the substance of a complaint urged against Dean Green, Canon Jenkins, and the Rev. R. Robertson in the Report of a Committee appointed (1858) by the Church Council, of which more will be said hereafter, to consider the general question of their secession. So far as it affected themselves only, their action was a matter of supreme indifference; but it ceased to be so from the point of view of the general interests and welfare of the Church in Natal. These clergymen, it seems, had withdrawn from the preliminary Church Conferences on pleas which were proved to be mere pretence. Their real ground was a resolution not to sit in any assembly which questioned or denied their right to dictatorship and called upon them to vote along with the laity. The Report stated it as an indubitable fact that Dean Green looked upon himself not as a fallible

human being, intrusted with special spiritual functions, but as an unerring interpreter of Scripture, holding that not only the laity but his fellow-presbyters and the bishops were bound to receive his interpretations, and to bow to his opinions and belief. The Dean, it seems, had expressed surprise that the Church Conference "did not tremble when he told them that they were acting in opposition to the Bible." If he did so speak, the words of the Report were not one whit too strong. In the same Hildebrandine spirit, Dean Green, as we have seen, had at an ordination service refused to communicate with the Bishop because the latter had preached a sermon [1] of which the Dean was pleased to disapprove. His action revealed a remarkable rule which in the Dean's judgement ought to be followed in matters concerning himself.

> "He says," the Report tells us, "that in case of any difference of opinion between himself and the laity of the Church, the laity are bound to yield obedience to him, pending an appeal to higher ecclesiastical authority, just as in case of a difference of opinion between the clergy and the Bishop the clergy would be bound to obey the Bishop, pending an appeal to yet higher authority. When the case of difference of opinion between the Bishop and himself arises, he at once, and without hesitation, disregards the authority of the Bishop, while he makes his appeal. He thus wishes for unqualified and unhesitating obedience when it is himself who is to be obeyed. When it is himself who is to be obedient, he thinks it the more convenient, or more correct, practice to ignore the authority of his immediate superior, the Bishop of the diocese."

In such case he could of course discharge in his own person the functions of accuser, jury, and judge. Having thus exercised summary jurisdiction by insulting the Bishop within the choir of his Cathedral, Mr. Green could condescend to summon

[1] One of the sermons on the Eucharist already mentioned, p. 99.

the Chapter to consider the conduct of the Bishop in putting forth heresy. Such conduct, the Report adds, "speaks with an emphasis that additional words could not increase." In the meeting held for the purpose of electing delegates for the Church Conference, Mr. Green, although he declined to oppose this course, yet insisted that the framers of the Constitution of the Church Council had been guilty of altering the Constitution of the Church of Christ, and "further avowed that he held their guilt to be akin to that of those who wounded the natural body of Christ while on earth." The Committee, therefore, declare summarily that while the Dean holds the Council to be guilty of heinous sin, they on their side hold him guilty of insubordination towards his Bishop, of arrogant assumption towards his brother clergymen and the laity of his Church, and of extraordinary perversion of the meaning of Scripture.

Among the settlers in the district of Durban at this time was a clergyman who, in the words of the Committee, "had made himself somewhat notorious by adopting in the church of Pinetown obsolete gorgeous-coloured vestments," and who had been forbidden by the Bishop to minister in his diocese without a licence. Objecting to an order issued by the Bishop with reference to the offertory, this clergyman informed the Bishop that his spiritual authority lay in abeyance, and that he purposed to continue to exercise his powers as a priest of the Church of England. Taking courage, he then wrote to Bishop Gray, presenting the Bishop of Natal as a schismatic, and was informed by the Metropolitan that, if any clergyman in the diocese of Capetown had pursued the same course, he should have deemed it his duty, after sundry warnings, to excommunicate him for disobedience. The clergyman thus rebuked wrote again to Bishop Gray, telling him that he differed from him in this matter, and that he should continue to celebrate the Eucharist after his own fashion without giving heed either

to him or to the Bishop of Natal. This clergyman, the Committee add, Dean Green took into his confidence, and made him his adviser and counsellor.

The conduct of these four "priests," as they loved to style themselves, becomes important as a sign not merely of division but of anarchy, which should have warned Bishop Gray of the dangerous nature of the materials with which he had to deal. In his own subsequent proceedings against the Bishop of Natal he might have these and other such men on his side; but any successor in his metropolitical see who should follow a Puritan or Protestant model would be resisted by them with fully as much pertinacity as that with which he felt himself bound to withstand Bishop Colenso. The schism effected by Dean Green and his supporters in 1858 was a token of the temper to be exhibited later on in the so-called Church of South Africa.

TO G. S. ALLNUTT, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 15, 1858.

"The Governor (Mr. Scott) has made a grant of £300 to this Institution, which I hope he will allow me to use for building purposes. But there is no cordiality whatever on his part towards us—no generosity. I am sure that he would not have given a penny if he could have helped it. He did hold back as long as he could, months after he had promised £200 a year to Mr. Allison; and at last was compelled by force of circumstances—our work staring him and everybody in the face in such a way that it could not be passed over—to grant something; and he has given as little as he could. For when he gives £200 to Mr. Allison, £200 to Dr. Callaway, and £200 to Mr. Pearse, neither of whom has *a single native to maintain* (so that the whole £200 can be used for teachers), and neither of whom stands in any need of buildings to accommodate 40 or 50 children, as we do, it is plain that £300 to us is by no means a proportional grant. Nay, the last two have not even begun

their work; . . . . and our work is well advanced, and tested already by its fruits. We have four good printers, and four young carpenters, and eight or ten agriculturists; and besides all this *we* have, in addition to all our boys and girls, a station work going on here quite as important as at either of the other two stations,—I mean, a work among adults, which we carry on here, as well as our educational proceedings. So that to have been just, the Governor should have given us £300 per ann. for our schools (which will just pay the expenses of the living and clothing of the children), and £200 (as he has given to the rest) for our station, for obtaining Industrial Teachers; and then for *building* our Normal Institution, the only one in the colony, and which will train teachers, I trust, for the whole land, he should have given £500. As I have said, all that I can hope is that he will allow his £300 to be spent in buildings. I may thank Mr. Shepstone for getting this grant. I have explained how matters stand to Bishop Gray, and, *as far as I can*, to Sir George Grey. If the former has any influence with our present Colonial Secretary, and if our Church controversies here do not stand in the way, I dare say our Governor may get a hint from head-quarters; and I feel sure he will if Sir G. Grey gets to England, and his voice is heard in Downing Street. The change of Mr. Pine for Mr. Scott is the old story of King Stork and King Log. We must try to realise that one Ruler is over all, and work on patiently and thankfully with what He gives us. But the trial is to see precious time running away, and opportunities wasted which may never be recovered. Our own natives could now be reached everywhere, and the Zulu nation is quite open to us; but nothing can be done with spirit as regards either."

TO THE SAME.

"*July* 3, 1858.

"Every month makes some important change in our circumstances here, and gets me, I dare say, at S.P.G. the character most undeserved, of changing my plans continually, as if it

were possible that matters could be conducted in such a land as this, where everything is rough and raw, with the order and certainty attainable in older colonies. . . . . At this moment Mr. Scott has got himself, I imagine, into a terrible difficulty. He has been giving away land by wholesale in the most unwise and wasteful manner. Nothing could have been more rash and prodigal than his proceeding, by which every third-rate person in the colony was enabled to pick up a valuable piece of land. The result is that all the choice land in the colony, except that which is to be found in the reserves set apart for the natives ten years ago, is given away for *nothing*, before an emigrant lands. Now the emigrants are coming fast; and one ship has just come, and with it also, by the same mail, a very stringent order from the Secretary of State that he is to give away no more land, but to sell at an upset price of 4/- per acre. This will be a most unfortunate thing for the new comers and the many who are making preparations to come. And all this has arisen from the Governor's rash and hasty measures taken to please the populace; and without waiting, it would seem, to see whether they would be approved by the Home Government, he has committed himself to bring out these emigrants. Some few voices were raised at the time in the colony against the proceeding. But, naturally enough, they were soon hushed, while every one was looking after his own grant, and scrambling to get a good slice of the colonial cake. But *now* will come the difficulty, and I fear there will be great discontent and disappointment. As to the colony itself, it is almost ruined by these large and wasteful grants, in the hands of persons . . . . who are utterly unable to deal with them profitably. But I foresee what the Governor will look to for his escape. The poor natives will be made to suffer; and the lands reserved for them, which the Europeans have for some time been coveting, will be taken away from them, unless Dr. Hodgkin and other good friends of the Aborigines at home look well after the matter. They have plundered the natives of £10,000 a year in taxes, have done nothing whatever, year

after year, to educate and improve them, and now make their very ignorance and barbarism the excuse for motives to plunder them of their lands also.

"Our Governor unhappily, though a most good-natured, is one of the weakest of men. He has, from the very first, as Dr. Mann tells me, had a very strong prejudice against our work as being 'unpractical'; and I am not sure that, on his first arrival, the Doctor himself, either from the Governor's talk or his own inexperience, did not share in, and perhaps assist the prejudice. The fact is the Governor came to the colony about eight months after we began our work with the young savages, when, thank God, we had made considerable progress with them, but yet things were necessarily in the rough about us. . . . The Governor came, but he never made a single inquiry as to what we were doing or had done. He saw a little oasis in the midst of the wilderness of heathen barbarism. And he seems to have taken for granted that it was the most easy thing in the world to effect what we had done,—that, in fact, we had done nothing,—we were not practical. The Governor's notion of 'practical' seems to be confined to the idea of raising cotton, and such-like out-of-doors occupations, which may make a native a better machine for the purposes of his European masters, but not a better or a nobler man. It so happened that during that very year we *had* gathered a good cotton crop, and our boys had been worked daily in that employment. But the season was over when the Governor came. He saw nothing of the labour, and as he cared not to hear or learn any of our proceedings, he went away from the station as wise and as prejudiced as he came. . . . To my surprise, a few months after, I found that he intended to set up Institutions of his own all over the land, taking for granted that what we had done (by patience and hard labour, and 'practical skill') he could do, and far more. He tried his hand at an abortive experiment on Zwart-Kop, and spent £600 or £700 most uselessly. The whole thing came to the ground and has been utterly abandoned, and was certainly one of the most absurd

attempts at 'practical working' that I ever heard of. . . . But I feel it to be due, partly to myself, but above all to Mr. Baugh, who really deserves the credit of almost all that has been done here—to let my friends know at all events, whatever the Governor may think or say, that our present state of efficiency in what Mr. Scott calls 'industrial pursuits' is but the simple consequence of adhering steadily to the course we have all along from the very first been pursuing, gaining a step wherever we could, pushing on from one point to another as opportunities enabled us, adding one occupation to another as soon as we had the means of doing so effectually, and so as not to break down and be a laughing-stock at the very outset. . . . I have long thought that I should like to speak out my mind to you and any other dear friends at home on this point. And I feel it to be due to Mr. Baugh, as well as to myself, to say distinctly that our present industrial doings, and the success which by God's blessing has already attended them, are not *in the least degree* due to any stimulus or *assistance* we have lately received (except in sewing), but to the steady developement of the plans we have all along been pursuing, as far as circumstances allowed."

TO THE REV. F. D. MAURICE.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 7, 1858.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have just received the copy of your sermon on the Eucharist, which I have been so long and so anxiously expecting, because I have heard from your sister, and my clergy and laity have heard from the Bishop of Capetown, and through a private letter which the Dean has communicated, that you dissent from the views expressed in my two published sermons, and have in that sermon embodied your own views in distinction from them. I have read the sermon, I need not tell you, with the deepest interest; and time being precious to both of us, and the subject of vital consequence, I will not beat about the bush for words to

express what my impressions are on reading it, but come at once to the point. My conviction, then, is confirmed that you have never *actually read my sermons* (having, I am quite sure, plenty of other work to do), but have been content with hearing from your sister, or from Bishop Gray, some extracts from them, coupled with the interpretations which they from their point of view might very likely put upon the whole. I say this because, from beginning to end with the exception of two short expressions, one at the beginning and one at the end, in which you seem to set forth the *thesis* and the *sum* of the discourse, I do not find a single sentence with which I do not heartily agree, nor any view expressed with regard to the Eucharist and our Lord's presence in it which differs from that which in far feebler words I have tried to set forth in my sermons. I must conclude, therefore, that the two passages I refer to must be interpreted by the intermediate context, and that though I do not think I should use either of them myself without some modification, yet in reality they mean no more than I myself should try to utter in my own way. The first of these passages is that where you say, 'Can we say that the Presence of our Lord, which is promised in the Eucharist, is a presence of a *different kind* from that which a faithful Christian may expect in ordinary prayer?' And you go on to condemn a negative reply. If you really do mean that there is a difference in kind in our Lord's presence at the Eucharist, so that then, and then only, 'can there be a communication to believing souls of our Lord's manhood' —for this is what my Dean asserts—and that this *difference in kind* is caused by the presence of the priest, which is after all the point which lies at the bottom of the whole question, then I must admit that there is a serious difference between your views and mine. Otherwise I have said, as you have, that 'we eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, when we approach in humble faith the holy Eucharist, in order that so we may be able more vividly to realise His presence at all times, and may eat Him, and live by Him habitually and constantly.' I have said that

'it is the *appointed means* for keeping us in mind of the real presence of our Lord with us at all times.'

"The other passage in your sermon is where you say that 'this Sacrament transcends all other modes of intercourse,' and proceed to assume that those who think with me, 'place it on the same level with them, forgetting that it is the specially Christian ordinance,' whereas I have said, 'We must hold that the highest and holiest form of worship, in which we can eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, is when we partake of the one bread and the one cup as members of one body in Him,' in addition to such words as I have quoted before. But would you say that a missionary deacon, because he lives far away among the heathen, and has no *priest* at hand, cannot partake *of the same kind* of spiritual food as his more favoured brother living in town, or that a pious Christian who lives 20 or 30 miles away from town in this land, and thinks it more profitable to himself and his family to hold family worship at home on Sunday than to ride into town in a broiling sun or pouring rain to partake of the Holy Eucharist, was therefore debarred from any share in *the same kind* of spiritual food which the priest alone can offer him? For this, I repeat, is the real point at issue in the conflict which I am engaged in. The Dean has distinctly put in words a statement of his belief that 'in the *two Sacraments* there is a communication (if by believing we are able to receive it) from our Lord's manhood to us' (I do not quite like the expression, but it is his own—I mean the 'Lord's manhood'); 'but in the ordinary assemblies there is *not* a communication to all believing souls of our Lord's manhood.' And I distinctly assert that if there be in the Lord's Supper a 'communication of our Lord's manhood,' or whatever may be the mystical blessing expressed by eating His body and drinking His blood, we have no Scriptural warrant for saying that the *same kind* of blessing is not given in other modes of communion with Him who is our hope, however needful it may be in order to receive that blessing fitly at all times, that we should obey our Lord's

command with respect to the Holy Eucharist, as He shall give us the call and opportunity.

"P.S.—I have also read the Sermon on Confession. And here again the question arises, What do you understand by Priest? Do you mean an episcopally ordained minister with the apostolical succession only? or would you say (as I certainly should) that the absolution which came from the lips of a 'discreet and learned' old Dissenting minister, with the experience of age and the ripe savour of a tried and faithful Christian life about him, was just as valid to the sin-burthened conscience as that which might be pronounced by some young Curate full of his notions of priestly authority?"

To G. S. Allnutt, Esq.

"*December* 7, 1858.

". . . . We have not much news to communicate by this mail, being principally interested with the desperate struggle now going on between our Lieutenant-Governor and his Legislative Council. The latter have refused to do any business unless the £5,000 reserved upon the Civil List for native purposes (out of which we get £300 for this Institution) shall be left in *their* hands instead of the Governor's. I do not much fear the result, even if they do get possession of it, as I think, however other Mission Stations may fall short of the requirements, our work here is sufficiently 'practical' and successful to obtain their approval and support. But this dispute between the Executive and Legislative Powers is a serious interruption of the welfare of the colony. Our educational affairs especially must all remain in the background for the present.

"I am at present, and have been for some time past, very closely engaged with the Zulu grammar, which has now reached the most difficult part, and requires very close attention."

TO THE SAME.

"*February* 5, 1859.

"We have had by this mail a very kind conciliatory letter from Bishop Gray. His tone is completely changed, and I think his letter will do more to heal our divisions than any severity could have done."

The following letter, addressed to his brother-in-law, gives the Bishop's thoughts and judgement with reference to the mission undertaken by Archdeacon Mackenzie. The Bishop of Capetown had proposed to the Archdeacon that he should serve as a missionary Bishop, to be placed under the see of Capetown.

TO C. J. BUNYON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 9, 1859.

". . . The real hitch about the Zulu bishopric has, I believe, been all along the difficulty I have felt in recommending a man who has shown in many instances so great a want of judgement, and who within the last month has been visiting Mr. Crompton,[1] an open and avowed rebel, who, having no license, administers both sacraments in his own chapel within a few yards of the Parish Church which he never enters, the altar decked up with all the frippery of ritualism and lighted up with candles at mid-day, and who loses no opportunity of abusing his Bishop and showing an utter contempt for my authority. When the Zulu bishopric was first mooted, I warmly recommended Mackenzie, whose many excellent points no one could more heartily recognise than myself. But then broke out our dissensions, and he has ever since followed the Dean through the mud, wherever he dragged him. I was obliged to say that I could not now maintain my first recommendation of him, and must wait to see him acquire a little more experience before I could say that he was fit for such a difficult post as that of Bishop to the Zulus. After a while I saw that, perhaps, he might be sent for a time as a missionary presbyter, meaning,

[1] The clergyman mentioned already, p. 107.

of course, that he should be sent by me and be under my direction. For, as you are aware, we are here in the closest relations with the Zulus. . . I have always regarded them as an outlying portion of my diocese to be taken in hand on the first opportunity, and, as you know, have made all my arrangements to be able to go among them. Now I feel *very much* the putting of this mission, if it is carried out, under the see of Capetown, to be very undesirable; and I would much rather have Mackenzie made Bishop at once of the Zulus, though retaining as strongly as ever my distrust of his judgement. He may do better among the heathen than among the white or a mixed population. . . However, if he is to go under the see of Capetown on this mission, or, indeed, if he is to go at all, (as now, it would seem, he must, having been so formally asked and being willing,) he will ultimately be made Bishop, and may as well be made so at once. One of his sisters, Alice, is now staying with us, and is, in every way, an admirable, first-rate missionary. Now so greatly do I object to the notion of his being directed from Capetown, or my acting as mere deputy for Capetown in the matter . . . that I have written to say that I prefer to withdraw my objections to his being consecrated, and recommend him as earnest, devout, and energetic (saying nothing of his judgement). You will hear what course affairs take at S.P.G. But what I want to put you on the guard about is this,—not to let him come out as an S.P.G. missionary, to work in the Zulu country under the see of Capetown. It is a piece of ecclesiastical theory, but a practical absurdity. If he comes out as Bishop with S.P.G. money, well and good. I shall be rejoiced to give him all the help and counsel I can, and he will be then, properly, under the Metropolitan as the other suffragans are. But if he comes out as S.P.G. missionary, then I cannot but hope that the Society will think it right, as I have so often called their attention to Zulu matters, to place him under me; and, in fact, there is no reason why the Church represented by the Archbishop and bench of Bishops (I suppose) should not request me to regard the Zulu country

as an archdeaconry attached to my See, until a Bishop is appointed."

The Bishop's patience was again tested this year (July 1859) by the misconduct and ingratitude of a man named Ryder, who had served not only as a builder, but also as a general overseer at the Station for nearly two years. From the first this man had shown, with some good qualities, not a little peculiarity of manner, which after a time seemed to point to serious lack of principle. It was not without reluctance that the Bishop parted with prepossessions in his favour for a judgement less severe than that which others were disposed to pass upon him. The story is one of no special interest now, and it may therefore be enough to say that during the last few months of his employment the man seemed to cast off all restraint, and resorted to the law courts for damages against the Bishop who had been faulty, if faulty at all, only in showing him far too much kindness. He had steeped himself in perjury, having sworn, for instance, that he had made 70,000 raw bricks when the total was 37,750; that he had bought forty loads [of wood] to burn them when he had bought twenty-two. But the judge was a popularity hunter; with him the Bishop as a clergyman must be wrong in a matter of business; and in spite of Ryder's contradictions, he obtained from the jury a verdict for a sum which the Bishop could ill afford to lose, and for which the plaintiff had not a shadow of rightful claim.

TO THE REV. F. HOSE, RECTOR OF DUNSTABLE.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 4, 1859.

"I was rejoiced to see your handwriting by the last mail, as a reminder of the past, and a pledge that I am not altogether forgotten by some of my old friends in England. You do not mention the present or future name of the lady about

whom you write. But I shall gladly show her any attention in my power when I get to know of her arrival in the colony. I fear, however, it is but little I can do to show an interest in her welfare. My rule is to visit the white population, or rather the small centres of white population, once a year. But my time is principally occupied with work for the heathen. This is at present, I fancy, the only diocese where the work of preparing grammars, dictionaries, and translations must necessarily fall upon the Bishop. Our work began here with the foundation of the See; and though other Christian bodies—as usual—preceded us into the field, they had done very little indeed towards laying down the language for other teachers, or preparing books for the use of the natives. Our Church of England missions are far in advance in this diocese in each of these respects. And now, it may be, our Church is about to stretch out her hands for a wider grasp, and to embrace the Zulu people, and the tribes of the Sovereignty and of Kaffraria within her direct influence."

TO THE REV. T. P. FERGUSON.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 9, 1859.

"The great drawback here is that the country is already saturated with a corruption of Christianity, and the natives have acquired such a view of the character of God and of the Gospel as keeps them back from desiring to have a much closer acquaintance with it. This they have obtained, partly from the example they have constantly before them in the lives of unfaithful Christians—partly from the mistaken teaching of the missionaries. 'God said, Let them be destroyed: the Son rose up and said, Let them be saved, let me die in their place.' When such a sentence as this is found in an elementary Catechism of the most influential missionary body in the colony (besides our own) as the watchword of Christian teaching instead of St. John's 'Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He first loved us, and sent His Son,' &c., how hard, and impossible,

humanly speaking, it must be to convey to these converts a true idea of the Gospel, and how must the idea they have received be still for them distorted in its transmission to others?"

TO C. J. BUNYON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 8, 1859.

"Your letter reached me outspanned for breakfast, a few hours from Panda's chief kraal, which I had left the previous evening, after a very pleasant and successful interview with the Zulu King. I had already visited his son Keshwayo, and hope that I have established happy relations with both. Panda has given us a most desirable site for a mission station. . . . You will have gathered from my letters that it was no part of my own *original* purpose to go myself as Bishop to the Zulu country at this moment. I did and do contemplate the going there ultimately if the Church calls me to the task. But I do not think the country is quite ripe at the moment for that step being taken. Until the succession is *settled*—which may be soon or may be delayed a year or two,—I think the Mission work in Zululand can better be overlooked by a Bishop here than by one on the spot. A resident missionary would, I think, be in no danger; but a resident Bishop of *our* Church would be, unless the father can be brought to recognise Keshwayo as the future ruler. . . . . I shall, however, do nothing rashly in the matter of the Zulu bishopric. My present feeling is, and my dear wife's also, that I ought to go, if called; and if I ought, I hope I shall be found willing to go, and so will Frances, from no mere blind enthusiasm for black people, but from a simple conviction that we are in this world just to do the Master's work, wherever He or His Providence may see fit to place us, and for no other purpose whatever."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 5, 1860.

"I daresay that Archdeacon Mackenzie's having accepted (I suppose) the headship of the Zambesi Mission will have set

at rest some of his friends' complaints of which you speak. But, in case of its being necessary for you at any time to defend my character in the matter, I will just set down a few facts respecting it:—

"(1) It is wholly untrue that he went to England expecting to be made Bishop of the Zulus or to go at all to the Zulus. He knew perfectly well that I was going to offer myself, weeks before he left Natal, and might have stopped here altogether, if he had pleased.

"(2) It is equally incorrect to say, as perhaps some may say, that he went home to be made Bishop of Natal in my place. He himself told the Bishop of Oxford and Bishop of Capetown that I wished this, and then wrote to me to say that he began to think he had not correctly stated what I said about the matter,—which was true enough, for all I said was that I felt sure the Bishop of Capetown would nominate him, *if* I vacated the See (and that would only be if the funds were forthcoming for the Zulu country, which as yet they are not),—but that I did not at all know what the Archbishop of Canterbury might say to it.

"(3) Then why did he go home at all? Partly because of the act of the Bishop of Capetown, in writing to offer him the Zulu mission, telling him (what he had not told me) that it would be placed under himself as Metropolitan,—and partly because of Mackenzie's own want (as I think) of proper feeling towards myself, in that, while he heard me stating my very strong objections to that proposal,—so strong, as I told him, that I should use all the influence in my power to prevent its being carried out,—he was still determined to accept the offer of the Metropolitan and set my wishes at naught. Upon this, rather than have a collision with the Bishop of Capetown, which I certainly should have had, if his proposal had been carried out,—having only the time from 10 p.m. on Sunday night till 8 a.m. the next morning, to hear for the first time of the proposal, and decide what advice to give or what steps to take in consequence,—I said he had much better go, *as he was determined to go* under the Bishop of Capetown, and

be made Bishop, than go as missionary. But within a week or so, having had time to deliberate and take counsel with my wife upon the whole matter, I communicated to him my decision to offer myself for the Zulu work, with which he expressed himself, and I cannot doubt sincerely, to be altogether *satisfied*,—I might say, *delighted*.

"(4) But if I said anything definite to him, as to the direct purpose of his going home, it was that the best thing that could be done would be to send him to the Zambesi, which has actually come to pass, I suppose."

To Fred. D. Dyster, M.D.

"Bishopstowe, *February 8th*, 1860.

"I have long had your letter by me, intending to reply to it, but wishing to be able to say something definite concerning my own future movements, as I am sure you will take an interest in our work, and may be able in some way to forward it. With respect to the Polygamy question, all my experience has deepened and confirmed the convictions I have already expressed in print, that a most grievous error has been committed all along by our Missionary Societies in the course they have been hitherto adopting with regard to native converts who have had more than one wife at the time of their receiving the word of life in the Gospel. Lately I have had the pleasure of meeting a very able missionary of the Rhenish Society from the S. W. coast of Africa among the Damaras, who told me that they constantly acted on the principle I have advocated, and that the best man of his flock, the most devout and spiritually-minded, a constant reader of the Gospel and most humble, earnest inquirer after truth, and a regular communicant, was also a polygamist. He told me also that the whole Lutheran Church acts on this principle, and especially that the missions which a section of that body are now vigorously prosecuting in the Zulu country will be conducted upon it. This last is very important with reference to us and our proceedings. You will probably ere

this have met with paragraphs in English papers stating that I had resigned the see of Natal and was about to proceed to the Zulu country. This is not exactly true. I have not yet resigned this see; but I have offered, and, with my wife's full approval and hearty consent, am now prepared to do so, if the Church at home desires it; and I am now in monthly expectation of a definite reply from the S.P.G. upon the subject. I expect that the proposal will be accepted, and arrangements made for carrying on a vigorous mission work among the Zulus. My past experience and the acquaintance I have been able to gain with the language, and the body of Christian natives whom I should hope to take with me, are all advantages which I could not transfer to another, and they have led me to conclude that it is my duty to offer myself for this work instead of merely sending a missionary. It may be necessary that I should come to England to raise funds for this purpose, as it would be idle for me to sacrifice my present post of usefulness without the means of putting the experience I have gained into present action. In that case I may hope to see you some day at Tenby. Could you do anything meanwhile to secure a few friends who would take a kind interest in the work and stretch a hand to help, in case I have to make a call upon the Church for aid in the matter? And can you come yourself to help us, with your medical skill, which would be invaluable—indispensable, in fact? We must have a medical man of ability, both for the sake of the Zulu people and the mission party. Now, Captain and Mrs. Barton tell me that your health is not strong in England, and that you have been at the Cape in consequence. Our climate, whether we remain here in Natal or go into the Zulu country, is far better suited than the Cape, I imagine, for persons with delicate lungs. . . . . What a glorious work it would be for a really earnest warm-hearted medical man to devote himself to establishing a Hospital and raising up a medical school in connexion with our mission work, either in Zululand or Natal! Your deafness, of which Mrs. Barton tells me, would be of no

consequence. We could talk and interpret for you; and the first thing I should ask would be that you would put me and the other missionaries through a simple course of medicine, for our own profit and our people's. Please think this matter over. I hope Mrs. Dyster will throw in a word to help you to—shall I say?—the right decision. But God will guide you and us to do right, I trust, whatever we decide on."

The history of the Bishop's life in Natal shows the impartiality of his devotion to the interests alike of the Europeans and the natives. The latter, from their ignorance and their helplessness, called more especially for his protection; but he rejoiced to think that their welfare must be promoted by the progress of English civilisation in the colony, if only the powers created by this civilisation were rightly and conscientiously used. When he spoke, June 26, 1860, at the banquet which celebrated the opening of the first portion of the Natal railway, he asked leave to be allowed to regard the event chiefly from a missionary point of view.

"I have had an opportunity," he said, "of hearing some remarks of intelligent natives upon what they have witnessed this morning, and it may interest you, perhaps, to hear of what kind they are. One who possesses a wagon, and seems to be of a practical turn of mind, is of opinion that if these steam horses are multiplied in the land, they will very much interfere with his wagon business. Another says, 'Since they can do these things, why, if their hearts were bad towards us, they could tread us down under their feet!' And a third wonders that, if we can effect all this, we cannot also conquer death. We cannot conquer death in the sense in which the native meant it. But we can tell them of the Lord of Life; we can remember to connect our country's glory and greatness with her duty and her mission to be, more than any other nation, the messenger of God's mercy to all the ends of the earth; we can remem-

ber that we have come to this land not merely as Englishmen, but as English Christians, and that the Great King, who has given us such power by land and by sea, who has given to us our great empire, our commercial spirit, our genius for colonisation, has given also into our hands the Book of Eternal Life, and bidden us go forth in His name and teach His Truth to all nations, more especially to those whom He has placed under our sway. We must seek to Christianise as well as to civilise the natives round us. The two works must go on together, or each will be a failure."

TO G. S. ALLNUTT, ESQ.

"*February* 4, 1861.

"I have returned safely and happily from Capetown, where the consecration [of Bishop Mackenzie for the Zambesi Mission] took place on January 1. We had a conference also of Bishops, which will lead, I suspect, to some discussions in England. The Bishop of Grahamstown was not present, but came after I had left Capetown. He and I are agreed in direct opposition to the Metropolitan (and, I suspect, S. Oxon), who insists upon it that Bishop Mackenzie is one of his *suffragans*. We entirely deny it, and we suppose our statements will become public. We refer also the question of Polygamy to Convocation for consideration. My views are more decided than ever, supported as I now find myself to be by strong Missionary authorities, such as I had not any idea of when I began the controversy. Bishop Mackenzie came up with me in H.M.S. *Lyon*, Captain Oldfield, to Natal. . . . He went on to the Zambesi last Tuesday. The larger portion of his party went on by the *Sidon* about a month ago; and the only fear is that they have been exposed to the deadly malaria of the delta while waiting for his arrival. He was kept behind by the unfortunate necessity of having to wait for the arrival of three bishops to consecrate him at Capetown. I was there first: ten days before any other bishop. Then the Bishop of St. Helena arrived on Christmas Day, having been brought in

a vessel which was chartered for the purpose at an expense of £250 to the Mission. In short, the hobby of having the consecration at Capetown, which was to bear out the notion of the 'South African Church' sending out the mission to the Zambesi, has been a very costly one, and I think the experiment will not soon be repeated."

TO THE SAME.

"*March* 5, 1861.

'Sir G. Grey seems to have now given up all idea of coming up here, and I am very much inclined to think all his plans for the Zulu country will go to the wall. . . . Mr. Scott, our Governor, has just returned to us with flying colours. I have not yet seen him, but probably shall to-morrow and learn what his plans are, and how far I can throw myself into them."

Five months later, August 2, 1861, he writes to Mr. Allnutt to say that he has secured passages to England for his family and himself on board a small sailing vessel, which would leave Natal for London in March or April, 1862. A month later he tells his friend that he will soon receive a copy of his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.*

"I fully expect that it will be violently attacked by High Church and Low. I am not sure that Mr. Maurice will agree with all of it. But this is not a time to care for things of this kind. I fully believe that a terrible crisis is at hand for the Church of England, and have tried to do my part to help some to stand firmly, when many props upon which they have been hitherto relying shall be felt to give way under them. The Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown are both strongly opposed to me, and very probably will take some public action in the matter. However, as I now hope to be in England in the spring, I shall be able to defend myself in person, if necessary.

"I think that our Institution may be considered as drawing

to an end for the present. At the time of the Zulu Panic[1] . . . all our boys were scattered to their homes. It would have been, no doubt, possible to have recovered them, and indeed Mr. Shepstone had given the requisite orders for that purpose. But then several weeks elapsed, and they were getting settled at home. And unfortunately the health of our master, Mr. James, had given way completely. . . Under these circumstances, as I have no other teacher whatever, but the young ladies of my household and Miss Mackenzie, and we are going so soon to leave the colony, Mr. Shepstone and I agree that it would not be wise to require the boys to come back. . . Let us hope that the education which they have received will not be lost upon them in after life."

[1] The Bishop refers to a scare caused by the rumour of an intended invasion of the colony by the Zulus. The alarm was described by Sir Theo. Shepstone in 1871 as a serious one, "which turned out to have no real foundation." One alleged object of the supposed attack was the murder of the refugee prince Umkungo, and Bishopstowe, where he was at school, was considered a point of special danger. "For some time," writes Mrs. Colenso, "the Bishop stood out against all suggestions that he himself should leave the station. At last, on the personal representations of the Governor, he consented to bring his family into town next day. In the dead of night, however, William [the well-known convert] knocked breathless at the door to say that the Dutch owner of the farm beyond Bishopstowe had just passed in flight to the town with all his belongings, saying that a Zulu force was already on our side of Table Mountain. This seemed serious, the word was passed quickly but silently round, and in a few minutes the whole valley was astir and making for the town. William, who had sent on his wife and babies on the first alarm, only joined the party when more than half way to town, having delayed, as he certainly believed at the risk of his life, to inspan his wagon, because, he said, he knew that the "little one," the Bishop's youngest daughter, could not walk so far, and the "Inkosi himself was not strong" (the Bishop was suffering from a sprain). Very clear evidence of the groundlessness of the general panic was afforded in a letter which the Bishop received the next day from the Zulu country, and in which it was stated that the Zulus, so far from intending hostilities, were themselves apprehensive of an invasion from Natal.

CHAPTER IV.

"THE COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS."

THE publication of the *Commentary* referred to in the letter of September, 1861, to Mr. Allnutt, preceded by not very much more than a year the appearance of the first part of the Bishop's *Critical Examination of the Pentateuch.* Both works pointed to a condition of thought not much in harmony with the teaching of what, for lack of a better term, must be called the traditional schools of Christendom; and it was not likely that the members of these schools would care to consider the one apart from the other. A perusal of the so-called Cape-town trial of 1863 may leave the impression that, if the volume on the Pentateuch roused a keener feeling of indignation for the disturbance of ground regarded as inviolable, the *Commentary on the Romans* awakened a deeper resentment for the rude upsetting of convictions held to be beyond reach of all hostile argument. By far the larger portion of the speeches of the accusers is taken up with the scrutiny and censure of the latter work, which is denounced as virtually leaving scarcely a single distinctively Christian doctrine unassailed, and as practically rejecting most of them.

One fallacy running through the whole of these speeches is the notion that their comments on particular doctrines carry with them somehow the weight of authoritative statements, and that their statements of doctrine are such as must be binding

of necessity on every clergyman of the Church of England. With an uneasy feeling that the ground here was unsafe beneath their feet, they betray their anxiety to draw out that which they are pleased to speak of as the doctrine of the Church of England with a clearness which shall render further misconception impossible, and bring it into a condition not unlike that of the laws of the Medes and Persians. With such a state of mind the Bishop of Natal had no sympathy whatever. With him there could be no growth without thought, and no thought without growth; and when once he felt that the search for truth called on him to follow out a certain track, he was not one who would be deterred from taking this course by any denunciations of men who insisted that the whole truth had been discovered already. He would have admitted, and he did admit, that some of the opinions held by him in past years had been modified; but he insisted not less strenuously that the whole Christian world, nay, the whole family of mankind, are all undergoing a training, and that even the most rigid of sacerdotal systems may, and indeed must, mark only a stage in the religious education of the world. With him theological terms and phrases were valuable only as pointing to eternal realities; and the outward sign was in every case separable from the inward gift.

But the Bishop of Capetown was altogether mistaken when he spoke of what he called Dr. Colenso's revolt against the faith of Christendom as the result of the extreme Calvinism in which he had been trained. He was wrong as to the fact. Dr. Colenso's earlier letters show that he lived in an atmosphere which may be compared to that of the "Clapham Sect"; but there is no evidence that he at any time held those notions of election and reprobation which are, perhaps not unjustly, regarded as the distinctive features of the theology of Calvin. Looking at one of his own children in

the innocence of her infancy, he asked a friend how any one looking on a babe could be a Calvinist; and the mind set free to work on the thought of the Divine Love as embracing all children, as such, began to work its way onwards into happier and more serene conditions. But he never supposed that his *Commentary on the Romans*, any more than any other of his works, was weapon-proof; and it is more than possible that he would have modified or even withdrawn some propositions on which he lays considerable stress, in obedience to the pleadings even of his Capetown accusers, provided that these had assured to him at starting the full measure of justice to which every Englishman in England was, and is, beyond all question entitled, and which there he would certainly receive. No one was more ready than himself to allow that the same truth will be expressed by different men in different ages in a very different way, and therefore that the language of such a writer as St. Paul on such subjects as sacrifice, redemption, justification, should not be put forth as the only legitimate expression of belief on those subjects. In later years he felt this more forcibly: and most assuredly there never has been a time in which it has been more needful for those who wrap themselves up in a traditional orthodoxy to face the fact that the religious thought of the age does not adapt itself readily to much of the phraseology current in the early centuries of the Christian era. But his great contention was that when St. Paul was using language from which many at the present time turn with something like a feeling of repulsion, the Apostle was seeking to convey a meaning the very opposite to that which he is often supposed to express, and that to those whom he addressed he succeeded in conveying that meaning.

In short, the Epistle to the Romans was for him a living book, the utterance of a living man dealing with actual conditions of thought differing indefinitely from our own, and seeking to lay bare errors which might be fatal, and to remove

perplexities which must be stumbling-blocks, if they could not be swept away. From first to last, therefore, his task might bring him into collision with the prepossessions of parties or schools which fancied themselves in possession of all truth; and in fact it did so. The very introduction to the book brought on him vehement charges of heresy, because he presumed to ask who and what the people might be whom St. Paul was addressing. In the eyes of the Capetown accusers there could be no question at all; and so long as they refrained from forcing their opinion on others, they were perfectly free so to think. For them it was absolutely certain that St. Paul was writing to men whose creed was much the same as that of the Nicene Council, and who might be described as taking much the same view of things with the Bishop of Capetown. But the Bishop of Natal refused altogether the restraints of such swaddling bands. The propositions so vehemently put forth at the Capetown trial go far towards depriving the Epistle of all force and meaning; and in England every clergyman is perfectly free to say so. It will be a terrible and monstrous thing if this liberty should be restrained in Southern Africa, and if any changes should occur to render the introduction of such restrictions possible in England.

In truth, the condition of those to whom St. Paul wrote at Rome is of the first importance, if we wish to understand his letter. That this letter was sent before he himself set foot in Rome no one, of course, will doubt; and if we give any credit to the narratives of the Acts of the Apostles, it is not less certain, as the Bishop says, that when he reached the Eternal City, a Christian Church, in any precise sense of the words, had no existence there. There were heathen, and there were believers. The latter had heard of the teaching of Jesus, and felt no decided antagonism towards it, and no prejudice against the Apostle when he styled himself His bondman. The Christian

leaven was working in the Jewish society at Rome; but it had not yet resolved itself into a force opposed to ordinary Jewish tradition. As in the Epistle, so later when he appears among them in person, he addresses himself directly to Jews, and tells them that he has come on an errand which concerns "the hope of Israel." By them in turn he is requested to say what he thinks, because they know that the party which laid special claim to Christian discipleship was a sect everywhere spoken against. "In other words, they had evidently no knowledge of a Christian Church existing in their very midst at Rome." Undoubtedly in St. Paul's eyes they were all "called ones of Jesus Christ"; but it does not follow that all who are called obey the calling, and at the same time we need not suppose that any purposely or deliberately made light of it. In a certain sense he could address all as Jews, and all as Christians, and have intercourse with them on the same footing of friendship as with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth. These were Jews, but Jews seemingly

> "with a strong tendency to Christianity, which St. Paul himself, by his long and close intercourse with them, was the means under God of fostering into a downright, earnest, genuine profession of the Christian faith."

But the language of the greater part of the Epistle is itself conclusive. It

> "assumes in the reader a very familiar acquaintance with Jewish history, and Jewish practices, and Jewish modes of thought, such as no mere ordinary convert from heathenism, especially at a time when there were only manuscripts, and the books of the Old Testament were not in every one's hands, could possibly have possessed. St. Paul passes rapidly from one point to another, as if sure of carrying his readers along with him, without stopping for a moment to explain more clearly to the Roman mind any one of his

allusions. The Jew's 'resting in the Law,' his making his boast in God, his confidence in circumcision, the story of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in some of its minuter details, the destruction of Pharaoh, extracts from the Psalms and the Prophets,—all these are brought in when the arguments require it, without any doubt seeming to cross his mind as to the possibility of his illustrations being unintelligible, and his reasoning failing to take effect, because of any want of acquaintance, on the part of those to whom he wrote, with the main facts of Jewish history."[1]

At once, then, a flood of light is thrown on the argument and purpose of the letter. The condition of thought here treated of may seem unreal or extravagant to us; and in truth, with all the faults of which we may be conscious or guilty, it is not easy for Englishmen generally to throw themselves into the temper of a Pharisee of the Pharisees. If we had not before us the Calvinistic theology, we might find it hard to convince ourselves that the theories of particular election and partial salvation could be entertained by any; that any could look on themselves as having an indefeasible title to mercies and blessings denied to others, and calmly look forward to their own beatification at the cost of the rejection and ruin of all mankind beside. We read of satisfaction in work done, rather than of striving after a life of love, of a supercilious contempt of those who were not within their own charmed circle of covenant and privilege; and we are tempted to think that we are looking on an imaginary picture rather than on a sad reality. The abominations of Genevan theology may surely serve to dispel such a delusion, and in any case the very existence of the Epistle to the Romans is proof that St. Paul had to deal with such a state of feeling, unless we suppose that his description is altogether of his own devising.

[1] *Commentary*, p. 2.

But the title-page of the Bishop's work stated especially that the Epistle was here explained from a missionary point of view; and in many quarters the announcement was received with a sneer as being little better than a pretence or a mockery. The book, it was averred, contained no instruction for a missionary, and would only fill his head with heresies destructive to every article of the Christian faith. It is enough to say that no one who looks through even half the volume with moderate care can fail to see that the instruction of missionaries was uppermost in his thought. He looked on them as messengers to those who were sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, and the question which he had to answer was, What is the message with which they were charged? Without moving a step in the inquiry, he was quite sure that the message must be one of good tidings—in very truth, a gospel, and that if it were not such, it must in the long run fail. He did not mean to deny that appeals to men's fears and pictures of arbitrary retribution might make an impression for a time, or that a message of good though in some degree perverted or abused might yet work in some measure for the welfare of mankind.

Of this the history of Christianity furnished abundant proof. But he held that far more than this was needed, if the grace of God was not to be hindered. It was indispensable that the whole counsel of God should be made known, and he believed that this counsel was *nowhere* more vividly set forth than in the Epistle to the Romans. This Epistle dealt the death-blow to all notions of covenant and privilege, to every theory which substituted anything in the place of that one thing with which alone the righteous Father and Judge of men could be satisfied. It maintained that His justice, His mercy, and His love were alike unchangeable and unfailing; that His Will was absolutely righteous, and that it must work to produce righteousness, in all beings endowed with a capacity

for righteousness. It excluded further all unworthy thoughts of God, all notions which ascribed to Him either partiality or vindictiveness, and still more all those dreadful ideas which led men to suppose that evil would be left to itself in any part of the Creation by a deliberate exercise of His Will.

It would have been difficult, therefore, for him to select a task bearing more directly on the work to which he had given himself; and it had filled his thoughts from the time of his consecration. Nay, before his consecration his letters to Mr. Ferguson and other friends show that even then his mind had long been working in this direction. There are still some surviving of those who accompanied him to the Cape at the end of 1853, and these will remember how he read with them this Epistle with the express purpose of showing how its general drift and teaching had been misapprehended, and how St. Paul's language had been perverted into a sanction for theological formulæ from which he would have shrunk with horror. But he held that its true meaning could be seized only by bearing strictly in mind the temper and condition of those whom St. Paul was addressing. . These were, above all things, convinced that God was a respecter of persons, and that he was pledged to have special respect to the descendants of Abraham after the flesh; and the effort of the Apostle from first to last was to convince them that no delusion could be more thorough and more fatal. The very key-words of the whole letter were heard, the Bishop maintained, in the first chapter, when he declared that the power of God was unto salvation to every one who believed; the three points involved in this assertion being: (i.) that salvation is wholly of God, wrought by His power, bestowed by his love, of His own free grace in the Gospel, and therefore to be meekly and thankfully received as His gift, not arrogantly claimed as a matter of right; (ii.) that it is meant for Jew and Gentile alike, for *all*

that believe; (iii.) that it is to be received by faith alone, by simply taking God at His word, not to be sought by a round of ceremonial observances or acts of legal obedience.[1] The Gospel then was the setting forth of the righteousness of God, that is, the righteousness or state of righteousness, which God gives graciously to man, as He gave to Abraham when He called him righteous who himself was unrighteous, when He counted his faith to him for righteousness.[2]

But all have sinned, and all are daily sinning, and come short of God's glory; and all are, on the other hand, made righteous, justified freely by the grace of God.

"In former days," he asserts, "the Jews were all 'made righteous,' treated as righteous, though many of them individually were unfaithful. They were all embraced in God's favour, and dealt with as children, not for any works of righteousness which they had done, nor for any virtue which they possessed in themselves as descendants of Abraham, but because of God's free grace."[3]

But the gift is now bestowed upon all who

"will be content to be righteous in His sight, not for any worthiness of their own, or any peculiar claim they may fancy themselves to have upon His favour, but simply because He is graciously pleased to call them righteous, to account them as righteous creatures, for the sake of His own dear Son, whom He has given to be their Head and King."[4]

It is obvious that for those who do not take the Pharisaic position these arguments and appeals lose their direct force. But St. Paul was writing to those who did intrench themselves within these barriers; and to them his words came with irresistible power. Where the man is bowed down

[1] *Commentary*, p. 33. [2] *Ib.* p. 36.
[3] *Ib.* p. 85. [4] *Ib.* p. 245.

simply with the sense of sin, where he despairs of his power of growth in goodness, where the thought of covenant or privilege never enters his mind, where his one prayer is that he may be set free from the evil within him, the pleadings of St. Paul to these Christianising Jews must be, to say the least, superfluous. To many at the present day they may seem unintelligible. In such there is a strong impulse to say that they have no wish to be counted or to be reckoned to be anything but what they are, that they have no desire to be labelled as good when they are not good; and this feeling, there is no doubt, is a natural reaction against the language of theologians like Martin Luther. Emphatic protests have been made against the notions

> "that the scheme of salvation should be one of names and understandings; that we should be said to be just, said to have a righteousness, said to please God, said to earn a reward, said to be saved by works; that the great disease of our nature should remain unstaunched; that Adam's old sinfulness should so pervade the regenerate that they can do nothing in itself good and acceptable, even when it is sprinkled with Christ's blood."[1]

But even thus the seeming verbalism is not entirely excluded. The counting or reckoning is said to apply to that state or time which has preceded conversion, and with reference to this state we are told that

> "God treats us *as if* that had not been which has been; that is, by a merciful economy or representation, He says of us, as to the past, what in fact is otherwise:"—

the formal statement assuming this shape, that

> "our formal justification is not a mere declaration of a past fact, or a testimony to what is present, or an announcement of what is to come, ... but it is the cause of that being which before was *not*, and henceforth *is*."[2]

[1] Newman, *Lectures on Justification*, p. 62. [2] *Ib.* p. 86.

It is not easy for those who do not care to entangle themselves in theological technicalities to see how this language differs from that of St. Paul. It does not, probably, differ at all; but, if so, the same harmony must be claimed for the words of the Bishop of Natal. Here also there is the distinct assertion that God looks on all men as His children, though they may be disobedient, and that the work of His Spirit is to make them so in truth. But in the Bishop, as in St. Paul, there is the further faith that it is His will to cast out the evil from all, and that that which He wills He is able to accomplish.

Nor is this all. In all these arguments the purpose of St. Paul was to throw down, to cast to the winds, all confidence resting in and grounded on what he called the works of the law. This word "law" is not the only one which St. Paul, with other writers in the New Testament, uses in more than one definite sense. The same remark applies to death, life, and other terms. But it is specially necessary to note the mode by which the law, which he regards as a burden convincing men of sin, was received. Moses is the mediator, the one by whom it is promulgated to the Israelites: it comes to him through angels of whom he seems to speak as the principalities and powers of the Kosmos; and hence that which is received from them is a bondage to which he deplores that the Galatians should allow themselves to be subjected.[1] It would seem that he has these beings in his mind when he warns the Galatians against himself or an angel who should dare to preach any other Gospel than that which had been preached to them.[2] When, therefore, he speaks of the intolerable yoke, he is speaking not of the living and life-giving

[1] Gal. iv. 3, 8. There can be little doubt that the word στοιχεῖα is here used in the sense which it bears in modern Greek. Cf. Eph. iii. 10, vi. 12; Col. i. 13, 14.

[2] Gal. i. 8.

law in which the Psalmists found their joy, and rest, and peace, but of the organised Mosaic law—the system of rites, ordinances, ceremonies, outward offerings—the most potent engine ever invented for the oppression of the human spirit. It is this law, the curse of which is said to pass on Jesus Christ;[1] it is the wrath of this law, from which the Apostle tells the Thessalonians[2] that Jesus is delivering them,—not the wrath of God, for he insists in the same letter that the appointment of God is not to wrath, but to the deliverance which shall make them sound and strong.[3] All his writings, in short, point to the one conclusion that the shattering of this yoke, and the dispersion of the monstrous errors which had grown up under its shadow, were the objects nearest to his heart; and this, of itself, would be enough to show that the Epistle to the Romans could not really be animated by the terrible spirit of modern Calvinism.

This spirit, the Bishop insists, is conspicuously absent from all those passages which are regarded as its strongholds. Among the foremost of these is the sentence in which St. Paul speaks of the potter's power of forming vessels for honour and dishonour. Shall the clay say to him that is fashioning it, what makest thou? was a question put long ago by Isaiah; and the question points to clay still soft under the potter's hand, which can be moulded afresh. "May not the Heavenly Father," the Bishop adds, as drawing out the meaning of St. Paul,

> "deal with the Jewish nation as He sees fit, fashioning it first, if He sees good, into the shape of a vessel designed for high and honourable use in his service, and then if He sees that the vessel is marred in the making, and will not answer His purpose, unmaking it with a stroke of His hand, and out of the self-same lump making another vessel, for dishonour,

[1] Gal. iii. 13. [2] 1 Th. i. 10. [3] 1 Th. v. 9.

for some lower use, which shall answer His purpose still, and be used in His service, though in another less honourable way?"[1]

That this is the true meaning of the passage he is assured by the words of Jeremiah, who speaks of the potter as making another vessel out of the same lump of clay from which he had shaped one that had been marred under the process.[2]

"So then," he adds, "the Great Potter, when a vessel is marred in His hand in the making, when He sees that a people, or a Church, or an individual, will not answer to the end for which He fashioned it, will make it into another vessel for His use, as it seemeth good to Him to make it. He will not cast it away, but re-fashion it, to serve for a lower and less honourable use in His Kingdom. 'And so,' says the Apostle, 'may it now be with you. You were fashioned, indeed, to be a vessel unto honour; Israel was to be the light, and Jerusalem the joy, of the whole earth. But the Potter may see that you have become marred in His hand in the making. He may even now be fashioning you into another vessel, a vessel still for His own use, but for a lower purpose, that even by the loss of those high privileges which you have hitherto enjoyed, by being deprived of that glory for which He designed you, and portions of which have already been vouchsafed to you, you may serve His great ends, as a witness and a warning to others until the time of mercy shall come again for you, and the clay be once more taken in the Father's hand, and fashioned anew at His will."

He thus regards it as "indisputable" that St. Paul is not arguing that the Potter has power to make out of the same lump, *at the same time*, two vessels, at His own arbitrary will, one for honour, and the other for dishonour (so as to support the

[1] *Commentary*, p. 240.

[2] Jeremiah xviii. 3–6.

Calvinistic view).[1] The idea of such arbitrary action was for him rather unmeaning than merely repulsive. It is absurd, as well as abominable, to ascribe to God anything which savours of chance or caprice; and when St. Paul declares that God has mercy on those on whom He wills to have mercy, while whom He wills He hardens, he insists that this blessing or this judgement goes forth "not by any mere arbitrary proceeding but by an unerring law of righteousness."

> "Where He sees a faithful humble soul, following the light already given, ... there He wills to pour out His mercy. And where on the other hand He sees, as He alone can see, that there is a root of evil within the heart, . . . there He wills to pour out His judgement. And what will the mercy be? Increase of grace to those that are in grace, the softening and subduing, the cleansing and purifying, of the heart, while it grows in the tempers which become the children of God. And what will the judgement be? The loss of that grace already received, the hardening and deadening of the heart, which is the natural and necessary consequence of indulged evil, just as the growth in grace is the natural and necessary consequence of obedience."[2]

But if it is needful to note carefully the passages in which St. Paul uses the word *law*, there is even more need to watch his use of the terms life and death, and especially so when he speaks of the life and death of Christ. Some passages in the *Commentary*, in which the Bishop dwells on this subject, were objected to in the so-called Capetown trial for reasons which it is not altogether easy to understand; but although these objections are worth nothing, it must probably be admitted that his language might be more exact. Thus, of that event, or incident, which we call the death of the body, he speaks as being to Christians "no longer a token of the curse lying heavily upon us," and "no longer a woe inflicted on us by

[1] *Commentary*, p. 241. [2] *Ib.* p. 238.

the tyrant sin." But from first to last, in the Old Testament and the New, there is not a word to warrant the supposition that it was such a curse, or was even caused or introduced by sin at all; and most certainly we have no other authority for so thinking. There is absolutely no room for the inference that the physical constitution of man has been changed, and that the machine which now wears out was made at the outset capable of resisting all wear and tear. All the evidence at our command shows that wherever on this planet there has been physical life, there has been that which we call physical death. Death, then, is a term which may have for us three meanings. It may denote: (1) the change or incident which involves or brings about the dissolution of the outward and palpable form—a change of which, in Bishop Butler's words, we know nothing beyond some of its phenomena; (2) the consequences of disobedience, the death which is the wages of sin, the death of sin; (3) the death to sin, the total rejection, the absolute renunciation of all sin, of the very principle of disobedience and selfishness.

It is of the utmost importance to keep these distinctions clearly before us, because, if they are lost, a mist is thrown not only over the Pauline Epistles generally, but over almost every other portion of the New Testament. It is the second death (the death of sin, the death which comes of disobedience) which, in St. Paul's words, has passed upon all men, because all have sinned. It is this death of which he says that all die in Adam: it is the death to sin, the absolute rejection of all sin, of which he says that in Christ all shall be made alive. But this death, in full strictness of meaning, none that have sinned can die. It is the work only of One who is absolutely sinless: it is the death of the Eternal Son. It is the death which He died once for all,[1] because it is an eternal renunciation of all disobedience. His whole life, therefore, is this death, and this

[1] ἐφάπαξ, Rom. vi. 10.

death is also His life. We may speak of the consummation of His sacrifice, of His sanctification (or making holy) of Himself on Calvary; but we cannot speak of this His death as belonging only to the closing scene of His earthly ministry, because, if He did not till then die to sin, then up to that time He must have been under the influence of it. The statement is, indeed, self-contradictory; but if we bear in mind that the death to sin is in all strictness the death of Christ alone, and that, because He dies this death, we are also partakers of it in the measure in which we offer ourselves, as a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice, to God, the language of St. Paul will become to us, as a whole, luminously clear. We shall, indeed, utterly mistake his meaning, and do him a great wrong, if we regard him as oppressed by any other death than the death of sin, or as rejoicing in anything but that death to sin which is the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole Kosmos. This death to sin is the life of Christ: it is His resurrection. In that He died, He died unto sin once for all; in that He liveth, He liveth unto God. So reckon ye yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

When, however, we look to the Bishop's language on the subject of the death of Christ, the use made of it by his accusers at Capetown becomes indeed amazing. The only real objection to his language is that it employs terms not all of which seem accurately defined. Thus he says:—

"Though all men are redeemed and belong . . . to Christ, and are even now under His care and government, though they may not yet be blessed to know His Name, yet to *us*, Christians, the Apostle says, God set forth His Son as a propitiation through faith in His blood. *We* are privileged to know the great mystery of Godliness, to know in what way, through the wisdom of God, we have been redeemed from the power of evil, to look at Christ Jesus through faith

in His blood, and behold in Him the propitiation for our sins, the object which makes us, the whole human race, of which He is the Head, acceptable to God." [1]

So again, summing up the Apostle's argument, he adds :—

"You see, after all, God is righteous. He is faithful in respect of His promises made of old to you and to your race. He has now, by the setting forth of His Son, explained what His dealings of old with you meant, how He *then* regarded you as righteous, called you righteous,—not for any merits of your own, or your forefathers, but for His own mercy's sake,—in Him in whom He loved you, and not you only but all mankind, from before the foundation of the world. It was in His Son, the second Head of the family of man, in due time to be revealed, that He loved you then, and not for anything in your forefathers. All the righteousness which He gave to them, He gave through Him. All the goodness which He saw in them, He saw through Him, from whom alone it came to them, in whom it existed pure and perfect and undefiled with the consequences of the Fall." [2]

If we ask here what is meant by blood and blood-shedding, we do not learn much by turning to the passage from Dr. Vaughan, quoted by the Bishop, that the death of Christ was the central and completive act of the whole work of redemption, because the words do not show in what sense the term *death* is here used. It is to be regretted, perhaps, that the word should ever be used without explanation, for the meaning commonly attached to it resolves itself into a revolting superstition. Dean Stanley's language leaves no room for misapprehension ; and on this language it is quite impossible to lay too great a stress.

'Looking at the Bible only," he says, "and taking the Bible as a whole, . . . we cannot go far astray in adopting the

[1] *Commentary*, p. 91. [2] *Ib.* p. 94.

only definition of the blood of Christ which has come down to us from primitive times. It is contained in one of the three undisputed, or at any rate least disputed, Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch. 'The blood of Christ,' he said, 'is love or charity.' With this unquestionably agrees the language of the New Testament as to the essential characteristic of God and of Christ. Love, unselfish love, is there spoken of again and again as the fundamental essence of the highest life of God; and it is also evident on the face of the Gospels that it is the fundamental motive and characteristic of the life and death of Christ. It is this love stronger than death, this love manifesting itself in death, this love willing to spend itself for others, that is the blood of the life in which God is well pleased. Not the pain or torture of the cross—for that was alike odious to God and useless to man—but the love, the self-devotion, the generosity, the magnanimity, the forgiveness, the toleration, the compassion, of which that blood was the expression, and of which that life and death were the fulfilment. 'Non sanguine sed pietate placatur Deus' is the maxim of more than one of the Fathers. 'What is the blood of Christ?' asked Livingstone of his own solitary soul in the last moments of his African wanderings. 'It is Himself. It is the inherent and everlasting mercy of God made apparent to human eyes and ears.' The charity of God to man, the charity of men to one another with all its endless consequences,—if it be not this, what is it? . . . It is, therefore, not only from Calvary, but from Bethlehem and Nazareth and Capernaum —not only from the crucifixion but from all His acts of mercy and words of wisdom—that the 'blood of Christ' derives its moral significance."[1]

It is true that Ignatius gives the explanation of the phrase "blood of Christ" which is cited by Dean Stanley. The fact is in the highest degree significant, and it is of vital importance. It shows that the true spiritual tradition still survived

[1] *Christian Institutions*, ch. vi. p. 119, ed. 1.

in the fossilising process which was going on, and that the work of St. Paul had not yet come to naught.[1] For, in truth, a vast gulf separates most of the thought and language of Ignatius from the thought and language of St. Paul's letter to the Romans. The former seems to find a special comfort in the fancy that "the ruler of this world was deceived by the virginity of Mary, and her childhood, and in like manner also by the death of the Lord." Here we have the very petrifaction of the spiritual life, a state of thought in which forms of words become everything, and the mind can lay hold of nothing except through sensuous signs. It is from such a man as this that we have in these words on the blood of Christ the tokens of the presence of a quickening Spirit; and if this were all that we had received from him, this alone might have intitled him to the lasting gratitude of Christendom. The question answered by Ignatius, and asked again, and again answered, by Livingstone, will be asked now with greater frequency than ever, in proportion as men come to feel that such phrases may point to spiritual realities or may be reduced to the state of mere symbols. On these words the whole Sacramental system, as it is called, is made to rest; but for those who wish to preserve their moral balance all that is needed is to mark the parallelism or equation in the language of the fourth Gospel with the language of the General Epistle which bears the name of John.

Without going into questions relating to the origin or choice of these symbols, we have specially to note their equivalents in language which addresses itself not to the outward senses but directly to the heart of men. It is plain matter of fact that in the fourth Gospel the idea of food as indispensable for the maintenance of life leads to a discourse on bread as such a support, and this in its turn to a further

[1] See, further, *Edinburgh Review*, July 1886, p. 135, &c.

discourse on flesh and blood as symbols of the closest union with the Source of all life, the conclusion in reference to nourishment being that "except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood ye have no life in you," and with reference to union, "he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him." For these phrases we have three equations in the General Epistle of St. John, the first being that "he that keepeth His commandment dwelleth in Him and He in him;" the second that "whoso shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him and he in God;" the third that "he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him." Thus we have the keeping of the commandments, the confession of Jesus, and the dwelling in love, set forth as precise equivalents to the eating of the flesh and the drinking of the blood of Christ; and a full light is thus thrown on what we may speak of as the sacrificial language of St. Paul in his Epistles to the Romans or to other Churches. We may, perhaps, regret that this key was not systematically applied to it by the Bishop of Natal: but we must remember that the application of this key is extremely disliked, and even the existence of the key denied, by adherents whether of the extreme sacerdotal or of the Calvinistic schools, while the non-theological mind is too apt to think that the interpretation put on these terms by members of these schools must be right.

The Bishop, however, had in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* a special work to do: and this work was the insisting that the benefits received from and through Christ were benefits received for all the world. The Divine work was a work for the extinction of sin, not merely for its punishment; and any theories or doctrines which represented God as resting content with the infliction of penalties must be resolutely encountered and put down. He argues, it is true, from the language of hope to the reality of the great

consummation; but he does so because the language of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans seemed to him to point rather to hope than to assurance. We may, perhaps, see reason for thinking that the Bishop's words might have been stronger than they were; but that they are not stronger is no matter for regret. What he said has opened the way for greater clearness of thought and speech, and rendered the tyranny of the Westminster Confession and of all other like utterances impossible for the future. For him, as for St. Paul, the earnest longing of the creature pointed to the final manifestation of the sons of God; and if the creature was now subjected to wretchedness or vanity, it was because God Himself had subjected it to this wretchedness in hope "that the creature itself shall be set free from the bondage of corruption into the glorious freedom of the children of God." Indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, these assuredly will be upon every soul of man that works out evil; but can we say, the Bishop asks, with these words of St. Paul before us,

> "that such chastisement, however severe, may *not* be remedial, may not be intended to work out the hope under which the whole race has been subjected to vanity? . . . . Is there not ground from this text as well as others for trusting that in some way unknown to us the whole race shall indeed be made to share this hope at last?" [1]

Some, perhaps, may see here the influence of old associations assigning weight to the sanction of special texts; but such remarks are not here to the point. We are concerned with the working and growth of the Bishop's own mind; and the account which he gives of this growth forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of his life. He now distinctly clung to and rejoiced in the hope, or, rather, confident expectation, expressed by St. Paul. But

[1] *Commentary*, p. 196.

"there was a time," he says, "when I thought and wrote otherwise. Some years ago—in the year 1853—I published a small volume of *Village Sermons*, which I dedicated to a dear and honoured friend, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, and which was violently attacked in consequence of this dedication,[1] by those who had previously assailed Mr. Maurice's teaching, as containing what seemed to them erroneous statements of doctrine, and, particularly, as expressing agreement with Mr. Maurice's views on the subject of Eternal Punishment. I was able to show, by quotations from my little book itself, that these charges were untrue, and that I had given offence, partly by stating larger views of the Redeeming Love of God in Christ Jesus than the reviewer of my sermons himself thought it fit to hold (though views held by such men as Barrow and Macknight), but chiefly by expressing my cordial sympathy with Mr. Maurice in his noble and blessed labours. . . . Accordingly in the preface to the second edition of his *Theological Essays*, Mr. Maurice spoke of me as 'having proved by my sermons that I believed in the endlessness of future punishments.' I did believe in that dogma at the time I wrote and printed those sermons, as far as that can be called belief which, in fact, was no more than acquiescence, in common, I imagine, with very many of my brother clergy, in the ordinary statements of the subject, without having ever deeply studied the question, probably with a shrinking dread of examining, and without having even ventured formally to write or preach a sermon upon the subject, and pursue it, in thought and word, to all its consequences. There are many who, as I did myself in those days, would assert the dogma as part of their 'Creed,' and now and then, in a single sentence of a sermon, utter a few words in accordance with it, but who have never set themselves down to face the question and deliver their own souls upon it to their flocks, fully and unreservedly. For my own part, I admit, I acquiesced in it, seeing *some* reasons for assuming it to be true, knowing that the mass of my clerical brethren

[1] See 47.

assented to it with myself, and contenting myself with making some reference to it, now and then, in my ministrations, without caring to dwell deliberately upon it and considering what might be urged against it.

"The controversy which arose about Mr. Maurice's *Essays* and my own little volume of *Sermons*, brought the whole subject closely before me. And for the last seven years I have carefully studied it, with an earnest desire to know the truth of God upon the matter, and with an humble prayer for the guidance and teaching of the Holy Spirit in the search for it. I now declare that I can no longer maintain, or give utterance to, the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments,—that I dare not dogmatise at all on the matter,—that I can only lay my hand upon my mouth and leave it in the hands of the righteous and merciful Judge. But I see that the word *eternal* does not mean *endless*, and for such reasons as the following I entertain the 'hidden hope' that there are remedial processes, when this life is ended, of which at present we know nothing, but which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will administer, as He in His wisdom shall see to be good."[1]

The time may not be far distant when most or all of these reasons may seem trite or superfluous. Some of them may seem so already, as they seemed in later years to the Bishop himself. Religious thought has made great strides within the last thirty years. But it is by no means unnecessary yet to retrace the path along which thinkers like Maurice and Colenso travelled. The old superstition, though weakened and circumscribed in its teaching, has not been conquered; and we have still to do battle in many quarters with notions which more than all others are barriers in the way of the Divine working. His reasons, then, were (1) that Christians generally believe in some remedial process after death, a small section only of the Church universal contending that the hour of dissolution from the mortal body fixes the condition

[1] *Commentary*, p. 198.

of the man for ever and ever; (2) that the warning of the few and the many stripes for different degrees of guilt points in the same direction, for, if these words mean anything at all, they must imply gradations of punishment, and there can be no gradations of *endless, infinite, irremediable* woe.

"Can the punishment in any sense be spoken of as one of *few stripes* where the unutterably dreadful doom is still assigned of endless banishment from the Presence of God and all beautiful and blessed things into the outer darkness among all accursed things, where not one single ray of Divine Mercy can ever enter? It seems impossible. The very essence of such perdition is utterly, and for ever and ever, to lose sight of the Blessed Face of God. If it be certain that never, never, in the infinite endless ages to come shall one ray of Divine Light shine upon the gloom in which the condemned soul is plunged, how can such a state be described as one of 'few stripes,' however differing from that of another soul, by the pangs of bodily pain being less acute, or even (if it be conceivable) the anguish of mind being less intense?"

But (3) the drawing of a sharp line between all those who shall be admitted to endless blessedness and all who shall be consigned to endless woe is really inconceivable. The shades of difference discriminating the moral character of men are infinite, all the good having some evil in them, and the evil always seeds of good.

"Our God and Father, blessed be His Name, can take account of all, and will do so, and judge with righteous judgement accordingly. But where can the line be drawn between the two classes, when the nearest members of the one touch so closely upon those of the other? In point of fact, how many thoughtful clergy of the Church of England have ever deliberately taught, in plain out-spoken terms, this doctrine? How many of the more intelligent laity or clergy do really in their heart of hearts, believe it?"

There is (4) the further question whether stripes are not needed

"even for many of those who yet, as we humbly trust, shall be suffered to enter into life, whom, at all events, it would be a fearful and horrible thing to suppose consigned to everlasting misery. Are there not many Christians to be met with daily in the common intercourse of life, persons whom, in the main, we must believe to be sincere in their profession, yet whose weak and imperfect characters often betray them into faults which are unworthy of the Name they bear? Do not these seem to need some cleansing process after death, to purify their souls from sin,—not the sin in their nature only, but sin too often allowed and indulged in the life? . . . . We have no difficulty, then, in admitting the idea of a remedial process for *some* after death. But, surely, the most saintly character, when viewed in the light of God's holiness, will have manifold imperfections, spots, and stains which he himself will rejoice to have purged away, though it be by 'stripes,'—by stripes not given in anger and displeasure, but in tenderest love and wisdom, by Him who dealeth with us as with sons?"[1]

Further, (5), all analogy teaches us to expect that there will be growth in the world to come as well as in this.

"We cannot suppose that the spirit of an infant, or young child, will remain always in the undeveloped state in which death found it; nor have we any ground whatever to think that it will, suddenly and in a moment, expand at once in all its powers, to the full perfection of which it is capable. Scripture does not inform us on the subject; analogy is wholly against any such supposition. In all nature there is no instance of such a sudden start into fulness of life, of such a break of continuity as this would be. And would it not in fact contradict the very idea of *life* itself, if there were to be no such growth and progress."[2]

[1] *Commentary*, pp. 201, 202. [2] *Ib.* p. 205.

But (6) this growth, which we feel sure must await some, furnishes a ground for believing that it will go on in all; and (7) we must not forget that this belief attests the utterance of the Divine Voice in our hearts.

"Because we are not brute creatures, but made in the image of our God and Father, . . . because we have that within us which bears relation to the perfect Righteousness and Truth and Love which is in God,—therefore it is that we recognise and rejoice in the full revelation of those perfections in our Lord's own life, and the fainter emanations from the same blessed Source of Light, which we see in the better acts of our fellow man, or which we may be enabled to manifest even in our own . . . By that light the sayings and doings of good men, the acts of the Church, the proceedings and decisions of her Fathers and Councils, the writings of Prophets and Apostles, the words recorded to have been uttered by our Blessed Lord Himself, must all be tried. 'We must try the spirits whether they are of God.' If we are required on the supposed authority of the Church or of St. Peter or St. Paul to believe that which contradicts the law of righteousness and truth and love which God with the finger of His Spirit has written upon our hearts, we are sure that there must be error somewhere. . . The voice of that inner witness is closer to him than any that can reach him from without, and ought to reign supreme in his whole being. . . We may be certain, then, that any interpretation of Scripture which contradicts that sense of right which God Himself, our Father, has given us, to be a witness of His own perfect excellences, must be set aside, as having no right to crush down, as with an iron heel, into silence the indignant remonstrance of our whole spiritual being. And it cannot be denied that there is such a remonstrance . . . against the dogma, as usually understood, of endless punishment. This dogma makes no distinctions between those who have done things worthy of many stripes and those who have done things worthy of few,—between the profligate sensualist and the ill-trained child. . . I need hardly say

that the whole Epistle to the Romans is one of the strongest possible protests against such a notion."[1]

On this point the Bishop cites from his *Ten Weeks in Natal*,[2] the words of a missionary who, having enunciated this doctrine to a heathen child, is asked by her where her parents have gone, and on saying that their destiny was the dark place, hears her despairing cry, "Why did they not come and tell us this before?" He cites, as still more horrible and as little short of blasphemy, the following prayer printed for the use of a missionary institution of the Church of England:—

"O Eternal God, Creator of all things, *mercifully remember* that the souls of unbelievers are the work of Thy hands, and that they are created in Thy resemblance. Behold, O Lord, *how hell is filled with them* to the dishonour of Thy Holy Name. *Remember* that Jesus Christ, Thy Son, for their salvation, suffered a most cruel death. Permit not, we beseech Thee, that He should be despised by the heathen around us. *Vouchsafe to be propitiated* by the prayers of Thy flock, Thy most holy Spouse, and call to mind thine own compassion."

"As I have done before," the Bishop adds, "so do I now set forward these passages, to enter, in the name of God's Truth and God's Love, my most solemn protest against them, as utterly contrary to the whole spirit of the Gospel, . . . and, operating with the most injurious and deadening effect on those who teach and on those who are taught."

Yet further, (8), the persistent language of the Old Testament and the New on the subject of punishment calls for explanation; and by this dogma of endless and irremediable woe for all who undergo any condemnation it is either nullified or converted into nonsense. What meaning is left for the words that even Sodom and Gomorrha shall be dealt with more

[1] *Commentary*, p. 211.

[2] Pp. 252, 253. *Commentary on Romans*, p. 211. See also pp. 55, 56.

lightly than some others? or for the promise, given emphatically by Ezekiel, xvi. 53, 55, that the captivity of Sodom and her daughters shall be brought back? What force is there in the imagery of the refining fire, of the fire trying every man's work and separating the dross from the pure ore, of the worker who shall be saved, made sound or whole, though with loss, because his rotten work, in the guise of wood, hay, stubble, shall be consumed?

But (9) on the other hand the retort may be made, Are there not other passages, which plainly imply that the wicked shall "go into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels,—to the place where their worm dies not, and the fire is not quenched?"

"Certainly there are," the Bishop answers; "only let it be remembered that the word 'endless' is not a proper representation of the word 'eternal' or 'everlasting'—not because it says too much, but because it says too little. 'Everlasting' implies life, permanence, unchangeableness; 'endless' is a mere empty negative and explains nothing but that the object is without an end. We can speak of the Everlasting God and of the Living God, instead of saying the Eternal God: but we feel at once how empty is the formula, if we speak of the Endless, or the Deathless, Being. Surely, there is an Eternal, or Everlasting, Fire—understanding the word 'Fire,' of course, not literally, but as a figure, to represent the Divine Anger and Displeasure—which always has been burning, and ever will be burning, with a living, permanent, unchangeable flame against all manner of evil, so long as there is evil to be destroyed by it. While evil rules in a man, he must be subject to that displeasure, because the master is, whose slave the man is, whose service he has chosen. It is so in this life, and the man is conscious of it at times, though at others he may beguile away, by occupation, business, or pleasure, the burning sense of that displeasure. But the time will surely come when, either in this life, it may be, or in the life to

come, it will be revealed fully,—that Divine Anger, that Eternal Fire, which is burning against sin, against all wilful, allowed evil."[1]

The notion that any can be free of, or can shake off, the duty of examining this subject and sifting it thoroughly, is absurd. We can scarcely say that it is less the duty of every one in this country than of those who leave it in order to teach the heathen. But the Bishop of Natal could not but feel that it was in a special degree incumbent on himself.

"Such questions as these have been brought again and again before my mind in the intimate converse which I have had, as a missionary, with Christian converts and heathens. To teach the truths of our holy religion to intelligent adult natives, who have the simplicity of children, but, withal, the earnestness and thoughtfulness of men—to whom these things are new and startling, whose minds are not prepared by long familiarity to acquiesce in, if not receive, them—is a sifting process for the opinions of any teacher who feels the deep moral obligation of answering truly, and faithfully, and unreservedly, his fellow-man looking up to him for light and guidance, and asking, 'Are you sure of this?' 'Do you know this to be true?' 'Do you really believe that?' The state of everlasting torment, after death, of all impenitent sinners and unbelievers, including the whole heathen world, as many teach, is naturally so amazing and overwhelming an object of contemplation to them, and one so prominently put forward in the case of those who have been under certain missionary training, that it quite shuts out the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel, the Fatherly relation to us of the Faithful Creator. The conscience, healthy, though but imperfectly enlightened, does not answer to such denunciations of indiscriminate wrath, and cannot, therefore, appreciate what is represented as Redeeming Love, offering a way of escape. Hence missionaries often complain bitterly of the hardness of heart of the heathen, and say that

[1] *Commentary*, p. 215.

it is impossible to awaken them to a sense of sin. Yet, without such consciousness of sin in the hearer, the threats of Divine vengeance can produce no feeling but aversion and a determinate unbelief. These are questions which deserve to be seriously pondered."[1]

The Bishop might have added that, where there is the consciousness of sin in the heathen, these threats must first pervert and then deaden the moral sense, or, at the least, render poor and infertile soil from which otherwise a rich harvest might have been looked for. But on reviewing the general ground taken by him on this subject, we may safely say that never was a protest delivered against an oppressive and crushing dogma more carefully weighed, more sober, more moderate in tone and temper than this of the Bishop of Natal. Some who may have a wider acquaintance with the popular literature relating to this doctrine may regard his criticism as not sufficiently searching, and his judgement as, on the whole, too lenient; and undoubtedly there are aspects in which the words of some who propound this dogma call for treatment altogether more severe. In any shape or form the doctrine is utterly revolting; but the method of setting it forth has been often, and may be even now, characterized by a wilful perversion, malignity, and falsehood, which in the interests of public morality and decency must be grappled with and put down. There are certain classes of theologians or preachers who delight in pictorial descriptions of hell and its physical tortures. These descriptions fall into two classes, the one exhibiting conditions of solitary imprisonment, the other depicting an infinite multitude of sinners left to herd with each other and to sink perpetually lower and lower in the abyss of brutality and sin. The foulness of both these classes of pictures can be realised only by adducing one or two examples of each.

[1] *Commentary*, p. 218.

The Jesuit Pinamonti wrote a treatise which he entitled *Hell opened to Christians.* This treatise has been translated, or adapted, for the use of the English public by the Rev. J. Furniss, also a member of the Society of Jesus, and is put forth, *permissu superiorum*, under the title of *The Sight of Hell*, as a work specially intended "for children and young persons." The price, being only one penny, brings it within the reach of all. In this tract the ideas of Pinamonti are worked out systematically and presented in a schedular or catechetical form. To the question, "Where is Hell?" the answer is "that it is in the middle of the earth." "How far is it to Hell?"—"Just four thousand miles," the assertion proving, it may be, the sincerity and candour with which members of the Roman Church can receive the conclusions of astronomical science. The staunchest Copernican cannot deny that a distance of 4,000 miles intervenes between the outer crust of the earth and its centre; but as the measurement holds good from all parts of the crust, the hell here threatened becomes a mathematical point. The point, however, is boundless, and has ample room for all sinners that ever have lived or ever will live. "It is red hot." "Fire on earth gives light: it is not so in hell: in hell the fire is dark." For each sinner there is a special dungeon. The third dungeon is described as having a red-hot floor. On it stands a girl.

"She looks about sixteen years old. Her feet are bare; she has neither shoes nor stockings."

The door opens, and she falls down asking for mercy.

"'O that in this endless eternity of years I might forget the pain only for a single moment.' 'Never shall you leave this red-hot floor,' is the devil's answer. 'Is it so?' the girl says, with a sigh that seems to break her heart. 'Then at least let somebody go to my little brothers and sisters and tell them not to do the bad things that I did.' The devil

answers again: 'Your little brothers and sisters have the priests to tell them these things. If they will not listen to the priests, neither would they listen if somebody should go to them from the dead.'"

The fourth dungeon is the boiling kettle.

"Listen! There is a sound like that of a kettle boiling. Is it really a kettle which is boiling? No. Then what is it? Hear what it is. The blood is boiling in the scalded veins of that boy; the brain is boiling and bubbling in his head; the marrow is boiling in his bones."

The fifth dungeon is the "red-hot oven," in which is "a little child."

"Hear how it screams to come out. See how it turns and twists itself about in the fire. It beats its head against the roof of the oven; it stamps its little feet on the floor of the oven. To this child God was very good. Very likely God saw that this child would get worse and worse, and would never repent; and so it would have to be punished *much more* in hell. So God in His mercy called it out of the world in its early childhood."

It would not be easy to speak in words too severe of this farrago of abominable and blasphemous trash; but if we could realise the wretched terror and torture inflicted even by the more ordinary teachings about hell on the minds of the young and the sensitive, we could not fail to perceive that such teachers are committing the most serious of offences against the best interests of the nation. It is enough to say that they sit down to their desks with the deliberate intention of telling lies, in order to terrify *children* into goodness. That many are driven into reckless defiance, and others into madness, is a sad and stern fact; and thus these writers inflict injuries to which the crimes of murderers are as nothing. But there is yet one degree further of cool malignity, which

can be reached in these descriptions; and it has been reached by Protestant writers or preachers, or by Catholics who are not in the Communion of Rome. The pictures of the Jesuits are horrible and blasphemous. But at least the punishment of sinners is confined to the sinners, and we are not told that they are allowed or compelled to heap sin on sin in a continually increasing measure. The pictures drawn by preachers of the Church of England depict a *society* from which all restraints are removed, but in which the weakest retain the better qualities which had marked them during their sojourn upon earth. This society Dr. Pusey described for the benefit of the University of Oxford in the following terms:—

> "Gather in your mind all which is most loathsome, most revolting, the most treacherous, malicious, coarse, brutal, inventive, fiendish cruelty, unsoftened by any remains of human feeling; conceive the fierce, fiery eyes of hate, spite, frenzied rage ever fixed on thee, glaring on thee, looking thee through and through with hate, sleepless in their horrible gaze. Hear those yells of blasphemous concentrated hate as they echo along the lurid vaults of hell, everyone hating everyone,"

with more to the same purpose.[1] Dr. Pusey's words are cited from a published sermon. I must cite some passages from an unpublished sermon by a very eminent Prelate, and I do so without scruple, because I heard it myself and write from the notes which I made at the time, and, further, because these passages illustrate the astounding ideas of justice which leave the performances even of the Jesuits Furniss and Pinamonti in the shade. The sermon from which I quote was addressed to boys and girls at their Confirmation, and it dealt with the future lot of those sinners on whom the world would be disposed to look favourably. The poet, the statesman, the orator, the scholar and philosopher, the moralist, the disobedient child,

[1] *Everlasting Punishment.* A sermon preached before the University of Oxford, on the Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, 1864.

the careless youth, were each in turn described as standing before the judgement seat, and deceiving themselves still until the delusion was dispelled for ever by the words which bade them depart into the lake of fire.

"What," he asked, "will it be for the scholar to hear this, the man of refined and elegant mind, who nauseates everything coarse, mean, and vulgar, who has kept aloof from everything that may annoy or vex him, and hated everything that was distasteful to him? Henceforth his lot is cast with all that is utterly execrable. The most degraded wretch on earth has still something human left about him; but now he must dwell for ever among beings on whose horrible passions no check or restraint shall ever be placed.

"How, again, is it with many of whom the world thinks well, who are rich and well-to-do, sober and respectable, benevolent and kind? Dives is sick, and his neighbours are sorry, because he has been a good neighbour to them, polite and hospitable, and ever ready to interchange with them the amenities of life. Dives is sick, and his brothers are sorry, because he has been a kind brother to them, and now they must lose his care and assistance and see him no more. Soon all is over. The body lies in state. His friends come together and attend it to the tomb, and then place the recording tablet stating him to be a very paragon of human virtues. For some months they speak of their poor neighbour, how he would have enjoyed their present gaiety, how they miss him at his accustomed seat, until at length he is forgotten. And while all this is going on upon the earth, where is Dives himself? Suffering in torments because in his lifetime he had received his good things."

For the more special benefit of the young candidates for Confirmation was the picture of the school-girl cut off at the age of thirteen or fourteen. In her short life on earth she had not seldom played truant from school, had told some lies, had been obstinate and disobedient. Now she had to bid farewell to heaven and to hope, to her parents, her brothers, and sisters. What was her agony of grief, that she

should never again look on their kind and gentle faces, never hear their well-known voices! All their acts of love return to her again,—all the old familiar scenes, remembered with a regret which no words can describe, with a gnawing sorrow which no imagination can realise. She must leave for ever that which she now knew so well how to value, and be for ever without the love for which she had so unutterable a yearning. She must dwell henceforth among beings on whom there is no restraint, and her senses must be assailed with all that is utterly abominable. The worst of men are there, with every spark of human feeling extinguished, without any law to moderate the fury of their desperate rage. To complete the picture, the lost angels were mingled with this awful multitude, in torment themselves and the instruments of torturing others. They stood round their human victims, exulting in their misery, and increasing perpetually the sting of their abiding anguish. The bodies of men as well as their souls were subjected to their fearful sway and had to suffer all that cruelty inconceivable could suggest.

"The drunkard they seized and tortured by the instrument of his intemperance; the lustful man by the instrument of his lust; the tyrant by the instrument of his tyranny."

In order to understand fairly the ground taken by the Bishop of Natal, we have to mark the conclusions or axioms involved in these elaborate pictures of the region of the doomed. These are (1) that all mankind are divided into two classes at the moment of what we call death; (2) that hell is the abode of nothing that is not utterly abominable; (3) that it is a chaos of unrestrained passions; (4) that all the inhabitants are mingled together, so that any one may attack another whenever it pleases him to do so; and (5) that all, of whom we should be disposed to judge most leniently, retain their better characteristics. This last axiom seems hardly to harmonise with the rest; but we may ask, as the Bishop of

Natal asked, how, if these things are so, each man is to be rewarded according to his works. The brutal murderer and the bloodthirsty despot remain what they were; their cruelty is not lessened, their physical force is not abated. The philosopher and moralist, the man of learning and elegant tastes, the child who has died almost in infancy, remain also what they were; and all, murderers, philosophers, and children, are hurled together into an everlasting chaos. The strong can choose out victims who cannot resist them; the weak can put none to torment in their turn, and, according to the supposition, they can have no wish to torment any one. The school-girl may be oppressed by Cæsar Borgia; Shelley, Hume, or Gibbon may find himself assailed by Jonathan Wild or Colonel Blood. We thus see (1) that the punishment is wholly unequal, unless all have committed the same amount of sin, and are equally steeped in guilt (and the very sting of the torture lies in the fact that they are not), or unless all become equally fiendish (which it is asserted that they do not); (2) in either case the less guilty are the greater sufferers, the sensitive and refined, the benevolent and honourable man being trampled on by furious beings, who will lead an endless carnival of violence; and (3) these will scarcely be punished at all,—remorse of conscience they may with whatever success put aside, and on their passions there is to be, by the hypothesis, no check whatever; further (4) by this hypothesis evil is to increase and multiply for ever, and (5) the Divine wrath against sin is put wholly out of sight. It represents the lost as preying on each other; but it pictures none of them as brought face to face with the anger of God against all sin. In other words, the sentence of an infinitely perfect Judge has nothing whatever moral about it. It is a mere physical banishment, where sinners may, or may not, feel the sense of an irreparable loss. The degree to which they feel it has no reference to any action of God in their hearts, but is determined wholly by their temper and habits

on earth. In comparison with the sensitive moralist the ruffian will feel none; and, in short, the Divine hatred for sin will never be brought home to him.

In truth, all these inferences or axioms are born from the deadly habit of "lying for God," or, to express it more charitably, of doing evil that good may come. The hearts of those whom God has not made sad are saddened with an unspeakable misery, and torture is meted out to those who unquestionably do not deserve it.[1] Still more, everything is made to give place to a radically false idea which associates punishment for sin with time. They who maintain that all sinners suffer endless torment do so on the ground that endless torment alone can be an adequate recompense for any sin. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that their opponents should believe in a deliverance from the Eternal Fire after it has been endured for a sufficient time. Fixed penalties have no necessary tendency to produce a change of character.

To return to the Bishop of Natal, it is true, as he writes,

> "that human laws, which aim more at prevention of crime than amendment of the offender, do mete out in this way, beforehand, a certain measure of punishment for a certain offence. The man who covets his neighbour's property

[1] See two sermons on "The Revelation of God the Probation of Man," preached before the University of Oxford, by Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford, 1861. In one of these he speaks of a young man of great promise, of much simplicity of character and excellence of life, as dying in darkness and despair because he had indulged doubt, these doubts being whether the sun and moon stood still at Joshua's bidding. I need hardly add that the sermon of an eminent Prelate from which I have already given passages was a sermon preached by Bishop Wilberforce. It is only fair to say that in his work on *Universalism* (London, 1887), p. 116, the Rev. Thomas Allin mentions the name of Bishop Wilberforce among those who in the English Church have avowed, or leaned towards, the "larger hope." This fact, which in any case must belong to quite his latest years, is not mentioned in the *Life of Bishop Wilberforce;* but Archdeacon Farrar states that it rests on high authority. The tidings must be received with a feeling of thankfulness.

> may, if he like, obtain it dishonestly, at a certain definite expense. He knows that he may possibly escape altogether; or, at the worst, he can only suffer this or that pre-arranged penalty, after suffering which he may remain (so far as the effect of the punishment itself is concerned, and unless other influences act upon him) as bad and as base a villain as before. But God's punishments are those of a Father . . . We have no ground to suppose that a wicked man will at length be released from the pit of woe, when he has suffered pain enough for his sins, when he has suffered time enough, 'a certain time appointed by God's justice.' But we have ground to trust and believe that a man in whose heart there is still Divine Life, in whom there lingers still one single spark of better feeling, the gift of God's Spirit, the token of a Father's still continuing love, will at length be saved not from suffering but from sin." [1]

There are, in truth, two aspects of the great question of moral evil. There is, first, its existence in men; and next, the purpose with respect to it in the Divine Mind. This purpose must be its extinction, unless it be His design to make terms at some future time with what may remain unconquered and unextinguished. On the former the Bishop of Natal employs, as he understands St. Paul to employ, the language of hope; the latter alternative the popular or traditional theology, of which we have been speaking, practically affirms. It admits in words that the final cause of the Divine government of the world is the victory of righteousness over sin; but the picture drawn of this victory represents it as a frightful failure. According to all theories which regard the condition of men at the accidental moment of their death as final, the immense majority of the whole human race of all times and countries, all wicked heathen, all wicked Christians, all children who die with faults not repented of—according to some, all children dying unbaptized—all mere moralists, all men of indifferent or negative character, depart into a realm where lawlessness

[1] *Commentary*, p. 263.

reigns supreme, and from which all external check has been deliberately withdrawn. It is, in truth, a region, not in which evil is conquered, but from which God has retreated. It is the triumph of Ahriman, who may henceforth exult in the endless aggrandisement of sin. St. Paul would have rejected with loathing the thought that the victory of God means nothing more than this ; and it is certain that no man in his senses would ever speak thus of any earthly king who had lost nineteen-twentieths of his kingdom, over which he had been obliged to abandon all control. The failure even in a single instance to overcome evil by good is really the defeat of the Righteous Will. We might give the earthly king all the credit which a qualified success deserves. We might say that he had put bounds to rebellion, and prevented the rebels from harming those who had not joined them ; but it would be an absurd mockery to say that he had overthrown his enemies and recovered all his ancient power and his rightful realm. Of the Divine Ruler we should be compelled to say that His Will was not victorious while even a solitary soul remained under the bondage of evil. To the mind of St. Paul such pictures of mutilated empire never presented themselves. For him Christ was exalted as King over all ; and He must reign until He has put all enemies under his feet, not multitudes of individual men, in whom the evil is suffered to continue unabated or endowed with increasing venom, but all rule, all authority, all power, all the principles of self-will, disobedience, rebellion, everything which in any way opposes itself to the Spirit of righteousness and love. The final conquest and extinction of this opposing power or principle is the destruction of the last enemy which he calls death,—not the accident to which we give that name, but that state which alone with St. Paul deserved to be called death. The former was a change of material particles or elements, if so we are to speak of them,—a change, of which to cite again Bishop Butler's words, we know nothing beyond

some of its phenomena. The latter is the real death, which is the burden of the warnings of all prophets and righteous men under the Old Covenant or the New. It is the death between which and life Moses is represented as calling on the people to choose. It is the condition of those who are dead in trespasses and sins. It is the death which is the wages of sin, the death of which alone St. Paul speaks when he says that, as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all,—all without exception,—be made alive. On this subject he speaks with no uncertain utterance. As to the complete and final extinction of every power or principle antagonistic to the principle or Spirit of Righteousness and Truth he has not a shadow of doubt. Sorrow, sickness, pain, suffering, the dissolution of the frame which we call the body, all these are accidents, which St. Paul describes as part of the Divine discipline, to which God Himself has subjected "the creature" in hope.

> "These pains," the Bishop of Natal adds, drawing out the meaning of the Apostle, "though they may not know it, are, in truth, *birth-pangs*, which . . . . are tending to a better state of things hereafter." [1]

We are apt to look on this wretchedness, or vanity, for so St. Paul terms it, as the necessary consequence of sin and so having its origin in sin only. We have not the faintest warrant for any such supposition. It is a purely arbitrary assumption.[2] These sufferings, and the accident called death,

[1] *Commentary*, p. 219.

[2] Yet it is an assumption, which all who will insist on regarding the constitution of mortal creatures in a changing world as having been introduced by the sin of some of these creatures must always be tempted to make. They are right in thinking that on this hypothesis something more than the accident called death has to be accounted for. Tempests, earthquakes, the poison of serpents, the fangs of beasts of prey, are all in a certain sense evils, are evils in the same sense perhaps in which that which we call physical death is an evil. If the latter is the result of Adam's sin, so also must be the former. The topic is generally evaded or slurred over; and he is a bold man who will follow Milton's example in making Eve's transgression the cause of a declination in the earth's axis. The attempt is, however, sometimes made. I have heard the same

which for all we know may end them altogether, have nothing to do with the death of sin from which we pray to be raised to the life of righteousness; and the conquering of this, the only real death, will be the ending or consummation of the work of the Eternal Son, who will then hand over to the Father the power intrusted to Him, that God may be the All-in-all.

Whatever else these words may mean, they mean at least this, that nowhere shall any room be left for the unrestrained exercise and multiplication of sin, that everywhere it shall be hunted out and put down, and shall finally be extinguished in the creation which it has marred. It means that Divine righteousness can never make terms with sin or allow it anywhere to hold its own. To assert that God can so make terms is to assert that the Divine Nature is to undergo a change, for it is asserted that He is now at war with all sin, whereas the time will come when He will admit that His Will is not adequate to the accomplishment of the consummation which He had desired to bring about.[1]

distinguished prelate, of one of whose sermons I have already spoken, inform his hearers that thorns and talons had no place in the world before the fall of man, that the rose and the acacia had no spinæ, the lion and the tiger no claws, that the several stages which ended in the consummation of human rebellion were marked by the beginning and growth or increase of irritation in the bark of the tree and the paw of the beast; that when the woman resolved on her sin, the spinæ and the claws protruded from the coating of the plant and the flesh of the brute which, as soon as the sin was accomplished, became to its own amazement and against its will a beast of prey. The picture was drawn out with all the fulness of detail which marked this eminent prelate's oratory, and which, in this instance, gave emphasis to the conclusion, "Such, my brethren, was the effect of human transgression on the animal and vegetable worlds." It is hard to believe that a speaker in the present day could draw such a picture without some consciousness of its falsity. The offence here lies in the extravagance with which the hypothesis is worked out; but the fallacy underlies, of necessity, all the notions which connect with moral disobedience and sin the effects of the changes and chances of this mortal life.

[1] Of theories of conditional immortality and of the annihilation of those who after some definite term may remain impenitent, all that we

But if He wills to conquer sin, what power shall be able to withstand Him in the end? It is not in this age only that men have found it difficult or impossible to believe in the impotence of the Divine Will for subduing finally the disobedience of every enemy. The difficulty or impossibility of believing this led Scotus Erigena to affirm the final restoration of the devil himself, and to cite Origen and others in support of this assertion.[1] The words of St. Paul admit of neither

need say is that they do not differ in principle from the extremest declarations of Augustinian Calvinism. It is unnecessary to give the names of writers who have propounded such theories. The idea of annihilation (whatever that may be) involves the Divine defeat quite as much as the idea of the endless torturing of beings left to themselves in some portion of the universe. It is virtually the assertion that God, unable to make a bad man good, can only put him out of being. Of the possibility of such extinction we know nothing; but we implicitly deny the fact when we assert that the Divine Will must in the end be absolutely victorious.

[1] There is, indeed, no room for doubt that the horrible theology of undying vindictiveness has come like a nightmare on Christendom, and that the greatest thinkers and holiest men in the Church Catholic have lived in a joyful assurance of the complete extinction of sin. From Clement of Alexandria we have the declaration that "all things have been appointed by the Lord for the salvation of *all* both in general and in particular"; that "necessary discipline by the goodness of the great overseeing Judge compels even those who have entirely despaired to repent"; and that "all things are arranged with a view to the salvation of the universe by the Lord of the Universe." Gregory of Nyssa speaks of Christ as "both freeing mankind from their wickedness and healing the very inventor of wickedness (the devil)," and with an outburst of joy declares that "when in the lengthened circuits of time the evil now blended with and implanted in them has been taken away, when the restoration to their ancient state of those who now lie in wickedness shall have taken place, there shall be with one voice thanksgiving from the whole creation." Elsewhere he declares, "It is needful that at some time evil shall be removed utterly and entirely from the realm of existence. For since by its very nature evil cannot exist apart from free choice, when free choice becomes in the power of God, shall not evil advance to utter abolition, so that no receptacle for it shall be left?" Again, "At some time the nature of evil shall pass to extinction, being fully and completely removed from the realm of existence, and Divine unmixed goodness shall embrace in itself every rational nature; nothing that has been made by God falling away from the Kingdom of God." And again, "When every created being is at harmony with itself, and every tongue shall confess

modification nor exception. The reign of Christ will last until every opposing principle has been utterly extinguished. His salvation, then, is not partial. It cannot be so; for all theories of partial salvation imply, of necessity, a compromise with sin. This compromise with sin is inconceivable; and with this inconceivability all such theories fall to the ground.

The Bishop of Natal's conclusions might have been put more decisively had he thus fixed his mind on the consummation of the Divine Work in the conquest and extinction of evil. In other words, he might have advanced somewhat further; but the actual work accomplished by him was great indeed. He moved with no faltering step. He refused to allow himself to be entangled with any theological inconsistencies and contradictions; and the result was a vindication of the Divine Love and Righteousness, the meaning of which could neither be wrested nor put out of sight. This was the great purpose which he set before himself in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.* It is not surprising, therefore, that this little book roused the deepest "theological hatred" in the minds of his accusers at the so-called "trial" in Capetown.

that Jesus Christ is Lord, when every creature shall have been made one body, then shall the body of Christ be subject to the Father. . . . Now, the body of Christ, as I have often said, is the whole of humanity. . . . When then all who once were God's enemies shall have been made His footstool (because they shall receive in themselves the Divine imprint), when death shall have been destroyed in the subjection of all, which is not servile humility but immortality and blessedness, Christ is said, by St. Paul, to be made subject to God." With equal assurance Theodoret declares "that in the future life, when corruption is at an end and immortality granted, there is no place for suffering, but it being totally removed, no form of sin remains at work. So shall God be all in all—all things being out of danger of falling, and converted to Him."

In short, the traditional notions on the subject of future punishment may be regarded as virtually a modern heresy, to be beaten down and summarily cast aside. For super-abundant evidence of this fact I may refer to Mr. Atkin's work on *Universalism*, already mentioned, p. 164.

CHAPTER V.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE GREAT WARFARE.

1862-63.

WE have seen that the necessity of raising funds must in any case have taken the Bishop to England at this time: but the uncertainty as to the results which might follow the publication of his criticisms on the Pentateuch rendered it unwise to leave his family in Natal. Speaking of their departure, Mrs. Colenso says that

"they packed all their most valued possessions and set out with the feeling that quite possibly they were bidding a last farewell to a much-loved home and people. Archdeacon and Mrs. Grubb (Miss Alice Mackenzie) remained in charge of the Mission, the sadness of the parting being deepened by the arrival, two days before, of the news of the death of Bishop Mackenzie. After a farewell service in the little wooden chapel, the journey down to Durban was accomplished by ox-waggon, in the same patriarchal fashion as the journey up seven years ago, and lasting for three days. Part of the 'trek' was by night, when the Bishop beguiled the weariness of the little party with talk about the stars and with stories of the wanderings of Ulysses. Passage by sailing-vessel rather than by the then monthly mail steamer was chosen for economy's sake. It was an interesting voyage. The *Medusa*, though small, was a capital sailer, outstripping every vessel we fell in with.'

It cannot be said that the Bishop found himself in quiet waters when the ten weeks' voyage came to an end. Bishop Gray had preceded him to England, and, as the sequel will show, had in concert with some of his brother-Bishops determined on a line of action which, it was hoped, would end in his complete discomfiture. The Bishop of Natal was wholly in the wrong. He must be made to confess himself in the wrong, and, if possible, to eat his own words. But while he had thus to parry the manœuvres of not very ingenuous opponents, he had at the same time to undergo the harder struggle between duty and personal affection. If he was met by resistance, either active or passive, in some quarters from which he might have looked for sympathy if not for support and encouragement, this disappointment was as nothing compared with the forfeiture of old and precious friendship. Almost from the moment of his landing it became manifest that he must prepare himself for the great warfare; and as this warfare was solely and wholly in the cause of truth, he was ready, rather than be untrue to that cause, to yield up, if need be, even the good opinion of dear friends. All that he could do was to see that the breach of friendship should not come from himself; and to this resolution he was persistently faithful.

The terror felt at this time by the several parties which professed to regard the raising of any questions as to the date, authorship, and historical value of any books of the Old Testament as an onslaught on the very principles of Christianity and even of all religion, is curiously shown in Bishop Gray's Charge to the Diocese of Natal, delivered in 1864. In this charge the one over-mastering desire by which he acknowledges himself to have been actuated in reference to Bishop Colenso's criticisms on the Pentateuch was not to prove their falsity, but to prevent their publication. There are some, perhaps many, who lose their tempers in discussions

on the antiquity of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and regard as a terrible heresy, or even as a sign of moral obliquity, the assertion of the manifest fact that they were not known in their present form in the days of Perikles. But this agitation is as nothing to the scare of those who feel, or profess to feel, that everything, their peace of mind here and their highest hopes hereafter, must give way beneath them, if it should turn out that Moses had nothing to do with the composition of the book of Genesis. Accordingly, the Bishop of Capetown was anxious, not to insure a fair examination, but to prevent all scrutiny whatsoever. His Charge[1] gives the story of his doings in a passage, of which almost every sentence bristles with assumptions and misrepresentations.

"Upon the appearance," Bishop Gray tells us, "of his first work, assailing the faith through his Commentary [on the Romans], I wrote a letter, earnestly intreating him not to publish, and, when too late to hinder publication, sought to point out to him wherein he had taught amiss. When unable to convince him, I referred the book and the correspondence to the Fathers of the Church at home, who met, at the call of the late Archbishop, now with God, to consider it. Before I could receive their sanction the death of the well-beloved Bishop Mackenzie compelled me to proceed to England.[2] I then received the concurrence of the Bishops, generally, in the course which I had pursued; and on the arrival of your late Bishop[3] shortly after me in England, I communicated their views to him. At the same time I intreated him to meet three of the most eminent Bishops of our Church, who had expressed their willingness to confer with him on his arrival and discuss his difficulties with him, hoping that he might thereby be induced to

[1] P. 27.

[2] Bishop Gray must have started by the first steamer after getting this news. He therefore reached England some weeks before the Bishop of Natal in his little sailing vessel.

[3] It suited Bishop Gray's purpose to use this form.

suppress his book, so full of error. He, however, declined. He would not meet more than one, and then, not as if he were in any error, but only as a common seeker after truth. At that time he had not published his open assault upon the Word of God; but, hearing that he had printed, for private circulation in the colony, a work reputed to be sceptical in its tendency,[1] I besought him not to put it forth in England, until he had met and discussed his views with the Bishops. But this also was declined, and the work was published.

Two years before the delivery of this Charge, the Bishop of Natal had told Bishop Gray that the rough draft of the book had been printed, not for circulation in the colony, but solely that it might be submitted to the judgement of valued friends in England. One charge is thus rebutted; and after the denial given to it by Bishop Colenso, Bishop Gray ought to have been ashamed to repeat it. There remained the other charge, that Bishop Colenso rushed impetuously into publication, without caring for the advice of those eminent scholars on the English Bench who might have lightened or removed his difficulties. This charge is disposed of, or rather turned against the accuser, by the following narrative of the Bishop of Natal.

"Within a few days after my arrival in England, I received a letter from the Bishop of Oxford. . . . In this letter the Bishop said, with reference to some points in my Commentary on the Romans, 'On these points I should greatly like calmly and prayerfully to talk with you, if you will let me. They are too long for writing. But what I mainly wish for now is, to pray you not to take any irretrievable step, until you have, in free discourse with

[1] By whom was it so reputed? Bishop Gray admits that the book was not published at the time to which he refers. He must, therefore, have formed his opinion on mere hearsay or on information received by breach of confidence.

some of us, reviewed the whole matter. . . . All I would ask for Christ's sake is that you rest not satisfied until you have given us some such opportunity for free brotherly converse. . . . If you would come to me to give a day or two to such a consultation, you would find a warm greeting, and, I hope, a loving and unprejudiced discussion of differences.'

"To this affectionate appeal I was about to respond at once in the same spirit, accepting heartily the invitation given, when another post on the same day brought me a letter from the Bishop of Capetown, which seemed to change wholly the character of the proposed discussion.[1] It appeared to me, in short, that, instead of being invited to a friendly conference, I was about practically to be 'con-

[1] The Bishop of Natal was quite right. The nature of the scheme taken in hand is revealed by the Bishop of Oxford himself. Writing to Bishop Gray, June 1st, 1862, before the arrival of the Bishop of Natal, he says: "We have now held two episcopal meetings on the Bishop of Natal's case. . . . We met on Friday—a large number. . . . The Bishop of Winchester had your letter to Natal and his answer communicated to the Archbishop, and offered to read them. London objected. The book [*The Commentary on the Romans*] was all we had to do with. I replied. St. David's backed me, and after tedious discussion your letter was read. The Bishop of London (Tait) declared it to be an absolute perversion of the whole book: a tissue of misrepresentations, &c. I responded, and Salisbury, that it was a clear, loving, fair, and most considerate statement of his errors. . . . Another discussion again settled for reading, and it was read through.

"Then came a long discussion as to our course. I suggested that on his landing we should open personal communication with him. . . . that *we* had read his book . . . . and invited its suppression; and, failing that, agreed to request him not to officiate in our dioceses until the matter had been legally examined. . . . St. David's seemed to fear that such a common action had too much the appearance of a synodical condemnation without a hearing. . . . London was strong against action as action, 'was not prepared to say,' &c. The old story. 'Did not know that it was beyond the teaching of Mr. Maurice. . . . If he did this, must he not forbid the Bishop of Brechin,' &c."—*Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. iii. pp. 114, 115.

In short, a trap was laid for the Bishop of Natal before he had landed in England; and he was then left to believe, it would seem, that no trap had been laid at all.

vened' by him, as Metropolitan, before a bench of bishops, for my offences. And that I was not wrong in this supposition is shown by the fact, that the Bishop of Capetown did not correct my own view of the matter, as expressed to him in my letters, copied below, and that he still says, in the extract cited from his charge, 'He would not meet more than one, and then *not as if he were* in any error, but only as a common seeker after truth.'

"This language may be compared with the expressions of the Bishop of Oxford, 'free discussion with some of us,' 'free brotherly converse,' 'loving and unprejudiced discussion of differences.'

"(i) As by submitting to be thus called to account by him, I should have recognised indirectly the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan, I thought it my duty to reply to the Bishop of Oxford and to the Bishop of Capetown, as follows:—

"TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

"'*August* 9, 1862.

"'I thank you most sincerely for your most kind and friendly letter. I should be most happy to discuss any points in my book on the Romans, either with yourself, or any other brother bishop *singly and privately;* though I must confess that I do not anticipate much result from such a conference as the views which I have expressed in that book are, generally speaking, not the result of a few years' Colonial experience, but have been long held by me, have grown with my growth, and are, as I fully believe, quite compatible with a conscientious adherence to the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England. I do not think, however, that any good would result from my meeting a number of Bishops together upon the subject, and, therefore, would prefer declining your very kind invitation.

"'Under any circumstances I am sure that you would be the last person to wish me, for any personal reasons, to shrink from the confession of what I believe to be the truth.'

"TO THE BISHOP OF CAPETOWN.

"'Just before your letter reached me, I had received one—a very kind one—from the Bishop of Oxford, making a similar proposal. I should be most happy to meet any of my brother Bishops *singly*, and discuss with him any portion of my book on the Romans; but for various reasons I do not think it would be productive of any good result for me to meet a number of them together; and I have written to that effect to the Bishop of Oxford.

"'With respect to my other book . . . . it is quite true that I have been for some time past deeply engaged in the study of the Pentateuch, and have arrived at some startling results. I have had a portion of them privately printed, for the express purpose of laying them before such of my friends in England as would be most likely to be able to give me assistance and advice in this matter, by possessing sufficient acquaintance with the subject, and by being free from those strong prejudices which would prevent their discussing calmly and dispassionately with me the points in question. I trust that I duly reverence both the Church and the Bible; but the truth is above both. I have already taken measures for submitting my views on the Pentateuch to some of my friends, and shall be glad to do so privately to any intelligent, candid, and truth-seeking student. Among others, I had *thought of asking the Bishop of St. David's to confer with me* upon the subject. But I am not prepared at present to propound my views prematurely *to any* one.'

(ii.) The Bishop of Capetown replied as follows:—

"'*August* 12, 1862.

"'I think you have not quite understood the object of my proposal. I have been placed in great difficulties by the book [*Commentary on the Romans*] which you have published. People in England, and many of the Bishops who have read it, are pained and shocked by it. They have thought, and so have I, that the most Christian course was

for those who were able to do so to meet you and endeavour to convince you that you were in error.

"'If by God's blessing they should succeed in this, it might lead to your withdrawing a book which so many think unsound, and *render all other proceedings unnecessary.*

"'I doubt much whether *one* Bishop would meet you (!); and I do hope that you will not decline to meet any who wish to discuss the language used, lovingly with you, as a Brother.'

"As from the expression above italicised it was now plain to me that the proposed proceedings, under the guise of a friendly conference, were really intended to have a formal meaning, and to be in fact, indirectly, an assertion of jurisdiction over me,—and as I did not believe that in my book on the Romans I had written anything which could warrant such a course of conduct towards me, so that I must not so much as indulge the thought that any Bishop of the Church of England would be willing to meet me singly, in private friendly conference,—I replied briefly, adhering to my former resolution.

"(iii.) I now quote the Bishop of Capetown's answer, dated August 20, 1862.

"'I am very sorry that you have come to the conclusion that you will not meet the Bishops; and I do earnestly hope that you will reconsider your decision.

"'Just think what the position of this painful case is. You have published a work [on the Romans] which has distressed many both in this country and in Africa,—which has led some of your clergy to communicate formally with me on the subject,—which, when examined, appears to me and the other Bishops of the Province to contain teaching at variance with that of the Church of which we are ministers, and which is, in consequence, referred by me to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and through him to certain other Bishops for their opinions.[1] These Bishops, without pretending to sit

[1] In other words, the whole plan of action had been preconcerted before the arrival of the Bishop of Natal in England, and the trap had been laid accordingly.

in judgement upon the work, do, nevertheless, very generally [not unanimously] concur in thinking that its teaching is extremely painful, and apparently not in accordance with that of the Church of England,—so much so indeed that several of them have expressed themselves as unable under present circumstances to admit you to officiate in their dioceses. You may be able at an interview to explain much that shocks the mind of others; or they may, if they should meet you, be able to convince you that you have expressed yourself unguardedly and unscripturally.

"'In the hope that by God's grace they might be able to do this, men like the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Lincoln, and I doubt not others too, would meet you and endeavour to show you where your error lies. If they should succeed, they would win a brother. If they should fail, they would at least have used every effort to lead him back to the truth from which they believe him to have departed. Is not the course proposed, of "two or three" meeting you, the truly Christian and Scriptural one? Is it right to refuse to be a party to it?

"'The case is not an ordinary one. You cannot but be aware that you have propounded views which are very startling,—which you did not hold when you were consecrated,—some of which have just been condemned by a legal Court,—and which it is impossible that the Church should silently acquiesce in. It is not we who are the first to move in this matter. It is you that have departed from your former standing-ground, and have been led to adopt views which I am sure you are far too honest to maintain are those of the Church of England, and to propagate those views by your writings and by word of mouth. As the guardians of the Church's faith, we cannot but, under such circumstances, plead with you.[1]

"'Forgive the freedom with which I write. There is, I believe, on the part of the Bishops a very earnest desire to do what

[1] When, and by what authority, and by what instrument, have the Bishops of the several English dioceses been constituted "guardians of the faith of the Church of England"?

in them lies to recover one who is . . . . [I omit some complimentary expressions]. I venture to hope that, if you are willing to meet the chief pastors of the Church at home in the same spirit in which they are prepared to meet you, and to discuss with them those views which you have recently adopted and propounded, good only would result from it. But I confess that *I do not see how they can consent to meet you one by one, merely in a private way*, or treat the grave statements which you have made as open questions.[1] Many of these statements, however qualified by a different language in other parts of your book, appear to all the divines that I have met with, who have studied your book, to be both unsound and dangerous. You may be able to show them that you have been misunderstood; or you may be led to qualify statements which we regard as rash and erroneous. Do not lightly throw away the chance of setting yourself right, and settling a matter of very great importance to yourself and to the Church.[2]

"(iv.) My reply to the above was as follows, dated August 27, 1862:—

"'I received your last letter before I left Cornwall; but have delayed replying, that I might give its contents a due consideration. I thank you most sincerely for the kind expressions which you have used towards myself in it. I wish indeed that I were more worthy of them. But as to the main question I am sorry to be obliged to say that I feel it due to myself and to my rightful position to adhere to my resolution of declining to meet a number of Bishops together in the way proposed.

"'I do so for the following reasons among others. I am so far from considering that the views which I have expressed

[1] The case was therefore prejudged by the system of Jeddart justice.

[2] The conceivable *possibility* that these Christian-minded counsellors might find themselves mistaken and the Bishop of Natal right is not taken into consideration at all. In other words, the infallibility of the would-be advisers is taken for granted; and their infallibility, it is to be supposed, is to rest on the infallibility of the Church of England, which disclaims this infallibility for herself and denies it to all other Churches.

in my *Commentary on the Romans* are contrary to the teaching of the Church of England, that—as indeed I have already stated in the first letter which I addressed to you from Natal in reply to yours expressing your disapproval of my book—I entirely believe that what I have taught in that book I am permitted to teach within the liberty allowed me by the Articles and Prayer-Book of the Church of England, and with a conscientious adherence to the letter and spirit of them. With, I think, two exceptions only, those views I held as strongly and preached them as plainly when I was consecrated as I do now. On two points, I admit,—the Scriptural doctrine of the Atonement, and the subject of Eternal Punishment,—my mind has progressed with advancing age, experience, inquiry, and meditation, to my present views. But I have said nothing, as I believe, and as able and eminent divines assure me, which can justly deserve the censures which some have passed upon my book.

"'Of course, I am aware that the recent judgement of Dr. Lushington [in *Essays and Reviews*] brings me under condemnation on certain points.[1] But you cannot surely believe that that judgement will be maintained in the Court of Appeal, when it obviously departs from the very principles which the Judge himself laid down, and which the higher Court has laid down in other cases. Mr. Grote's pamphlet makes this absolutely plain. If, however, it should be confirmed on these points, it will then be the duty of myself, and a multitude of other clergymen who have held and taught views like my own, to decide on our future course.

"'Believing, then, that there is no real ground whatever for the opinion that the views expressed in my *Commentary on the Romans*, however they may differ from those of some of my episcopal brethren, are in any way condemned by the Articles and formularies of the Church, and having already

[1] This is very doubtful, even on the supposition that these points were law. But they have been set aside on appeal; and the inquiry, therefore, is superfluous.

entered into a full explanation on all those points on which you expressed objection to my teaching in a letter which (I presume) has been laid before the Bishops assembled to discuss my book, I feel that I should place myself in a false position, if I should consent to be convened before a number of Bishops in the way proposed, which would, in fact, amount to a recognition of their right to interrogate me.

"'Nevertheless, as I have said, I shall be most glad to meet singly and privately with any Bishop who—either from a sense of duty to the Church and to what he believes to be the truth, or from a feeling of charity towards a brother whom he wishes to 'recover,'—would be willing to meet and discuss with me any of the questions I raised in the *Commentary*. It seems to me that this course will be most truly in accordance with the Scriptural rule to which your letter refers.

"'I was wholly unaware that Bishop Claughton had joined in the condemnation of my book [though I knew that he did not agree with some of my views]; and certainly from his letters to myself I should never have inferred it.

"'The only pain I feel is that of causing to yourself so much anxiety and grief in addition to your other vexations. But this God lays upon you (and upon me also) in the path of duty.'

"(v.) At the end of three weeks, I received this note from the Bishop of Capetown, dated September 17, 1862:—

"'I think I ought to tell you that the dear good Bishop of St. Asaph has expressed a readiness to discuss your views with you, if you choose to visit him with a view to that purpose, and that, although I have no commission from the Bishop of Oxford to say so, I cannot help feeling that he would be ready to do the same. I cannot tell you how deeply I grieve over the case.'

"As the Bishop of Capetown must have discussed the whole matter with the Bishop of Oxford, and 'had no commission from him' to say that he would be willing to see me, of

course the latter portion of the above note had no meaning for me under the existing circumstances. For the Bishop of St. Asaph I have the deepest esteem and respect, and, perhaps, I ought to have gone to him for the purpose. But I was in London, he in Wales; and I hardly felt that with a Prelate of his advanced years a discussion upon my *Commentary* would be likely to lead to any practical result, and I had no reason to suppose that he had studied at all the criticism of the Pentateuch. To the Bishop of St. David's [Thirlwall], whom I myself mentioned to Bishop Gray, and whose learning might, indeed, have been profitably consulted by us, my proposal, as his lordship has informed me, was never in any way communicated. The fact was, as I believe, and as the above correspondence, I think, will sufficiently evidence, that the Bishop of Capetown was determined from the first *to bring me to account*, if possible, in some form or other, for my book on the Romans, which, though containing, as I maintain, no single statement at variance with the Articles and formularies, was yet very strongly condemned by himself and others, holding extreme views in the Church on either side, both in England and in South Africa. If I had consented to be thus 'convened,' no doubt the act would have been quoted, as my private letters have been, to show that I had recognised the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan."

Had the Bishop under these circumstances accepted the invitation, he would either have betrayed a wonderful simplicity in running his head into the noose prepared for him, or, if he saw the snare, would have grossly failed in his duty. Possibly the Bishop of Oxford, in acting on this ingeniously arranged plan, may have counted on the Bishop of Natal's simplicity and earnestness as likely to blind him to the motive and the purpose which prompted it. The attitude of the Bishop of Capetown in this singular correspondence is significant of his whole bearing through all the incidents of the coming year. From first to last it is that

of the infallible ecclesiastic towards one whom he calls a brother, but who, come what may, must be proved to be in the wrong. Had there been, in anything that he said or wrote, the faintest admission that he himself might possibly turn out to be mistaken, the case would have been altered. But any such admission is implicitly held to be equivalent to a rejection of all faith in God. He and the Bishops who were acting with him had resolved on taking "the most Christian course," and this course imposed on them simply the duty of striving to convince the Bishop of Natal that he was "in error."

Six years later the Bishop of Oxford felt himself called upon to say something in reply to Lord Houghton, who in the House of Lords had expressed the opinion that the Bishop of Natal had not been met generally with feelings of kindness and brotherly friendship. The fact, he declared, was as diametrically opposite to Lord Houghton's statement as it could possibly be.

> "Dr. Colenso had received private remonstrances, brotherly counsel, the tenderest and kindest counsel, from his seniors at home; and such counsel had led him only to some new outbreak of violence."

If these words meant anything, they meant that Bishop Colenso had repeatedly received kind remonstrances from his episcopal brethren at home, to all of which he had turned a deaf ear. What these kind remonstrances and tender counsels were, we have seen in part already. The next step of the majority of the Bishops, after the publication of Dr. Colenso's first volume, was to send him a circular letter calling upon him to resign his see; and to this he returned a reply, together with the following letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury:—

"*March* 5, 1863.

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

"I beg to inclose my reply to the address which has been forwarded to me by your Grace from the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England.

"I share very deeply in your Grace's expression of regret that your first act of intercourse with me should have been of this character. And I am painfully sensible of the fact that ever since my landing in this country—with the exception of one letter from the Bishop of Oxford more than six months ago, and a message from the Bishop of Capetown to the effect that the Bishop of St. Asaph had expressed a readiness to discuss my views (upon the Romans) with me, if I chose to visit him for that purpose—not a single expression of sympathy or brotherly kindness has reached me from any one of my spiritual brethren in England or Ireland, though it was well known that I was suffering under great mental trial and perplexity.

"I am, &c.,

"J. W. NATAL."

On the same day, at his wish, "expressed through a mutual friend," he had an interview with the Bishop of London; but, although he felt Dr. Tait's courtesy and kindness, the latter offered nothing in the form of either advice or remonstrance. To the preceding letter, however, he received from the Archbishop the following reply:—

"LAMBETH PALACE, *March* 6, 1863.

"MY LORD,

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your answer to the address of the Bishops, which I will cause to be forwarded to all the subscribers to that address.

"In reference to your remark that since your landing not a single expression of sympathy or brotherly kindness from any of your episcopal brethren had reached you, I feel it due to myself to observe that I believed that the Bishop of

Capetown had intimated to you my willingness to hold an amicable conference with you on the painful subject of your publications; but I understood that you declined all such intercourse.

"Then I must in Christian candour and sincerity state that I did feel that the tone and spirit of your writings, irrespective of the matter, were such as rather to repel than invite friendly intercourse.

"I can with the greatest truth assure you that I feel very deeply for what I must consider your very unhappy position; and it will be my constant prayer that you may have grace to perceive the peril in which you stand, and retrace your steps before it be too late.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your faithful friend and brother in Christ,

"C. T. CANTUAR."

Like Bishop Gray, Archbishop Longley addresses Dr. Colenso as a man who has been not merely accused but tried and condemned. There is not the faintest hinting that, even if he were condemned in his archi-episcopal Court of Arches, the judgement might be reversed by the highest Court of Appeal. The reckless assurances of his present peril and his future vain regret are proofs, at least, of complete lack of the judicial sense. To this letter the Bishop sent the following answer:—

"*March* 10, 1863.

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's reply to my former letter. I am sorry that the Bishop of Capetown did not in any way intimate to me your Grace's 'willingness to hold an amicable conference with me on the subject of [my] publications.' I should at once have gladly availed myself of such an intimation; nor have I ever given him any reason for saying that I 'declined all such intercourse.' On the contrary, I wrote to him on August 27 to say that

'I should be most glad to meet, singly and privately, with any Bishop who—either from a sense of duty to the Church and to what he believed to be the truth, or from a feeling of charity towards a brother whom he wished to recover—would be willing to meet and discuss with me any of the questions raised in my *Commentary*.' But the Bishop of Capetown was anxious to bring me before a *number* of Bishops,—in other words, to 'convene' me,—and to that, and that only, I objected. Your Grace will perceive that the above was written *two months* before my Part I. on the Pentateuch was published. And I had been in England *nearly* three months before I had published anything to which I can suppose your Grace to refer when you say that 'the tone and spirit of [my] writings were such as rather to repel than to invite friendly intercourse.' I shall very much regret if there is anything in my First Part to which such language can justly apply. I cannot doubt that I might have profited much by friendly counsel from some, at least, of my episcopal brethren, if any such had been offered. And on this account alone I must especially regret the complete state of isolation in which I have been left by them upon returning to my native land after some years of labour in the missionary field.

"Your Grace speaks of my 'unhappy position.' Conscious that I am striving by God's help to do my duty as a servant of the Truth, I cannot deem my position 'unhappy,' however at times my faith and hope and patience may be tried. Rather, I bless God for the peace which He has granted me inwardly, while the roar of tongues has been raging without.

"And I pray that He may grant me grace to correct any faults which may be justly held to disfigure my writings, and to be steadfast to the end, striving ever to speak the truth in love.

"I am, my Lord Archbishop,

"Your Grace's very faithful and obedient servant,

"J. W. NATAL."

Writing on September 1, 1868, the Bishop says:—

"From that time to this not a single word of 'sympathy,' 'brotherly counsel,' or 'private remonstrance' of any kind has reached me from any one of my seniors at home. I am not now complaining of this. I only state the fact."

Among the friends to whom the Bishop soon after his landing in England submitted the rough draft of his first criticisms on the Pentateuch was Mr. Maurice, to whom, at a time when the voices of the "religious world" were loudly raised against him, the Bishop had dedicated the little volume of *Sermons* preached at Forncett.[1] To his amazement, instead of counsel or comfort, he received from this honoured friend little more than denunciation. The correspondence which ensued has unhappily been imperfectly preserved; but enough remains to show the part taken by both in this momentous discussion. In Mr. Maurice's letters there may be (I venture to say that there is) much to regret: in those of the Bishop there is not one word for which either apology or excuse can be needed.

TO THE REV. F. D. MAURICE.

"6, CRESCENT, BLACKFRIARS,
"*September* 4, 1862.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

I need hardly say that your letter has seriously distressed me. I am pained, in the first place, to think that you should suppose I could be guilty of so much ingratitude and insolence as to suggest that *you* were clinging to orthodox views merely *because they were orthodox.* Such a thought could never have entered my mind, or been expressed by my pen. I am pained also—very much pained—by your references to those blessed ones who have been taken to their rest. I have a mother, and a sister, and a brother, who, like your dear sister, my most true and honoured friend, have died in the belief of those

[1] See p. 47.

matters, which I myself believed, till God has led me in his Providence to believe otherwise. Can you suppose that I have not daily and hourly beloved forms such as these before my eyes—that I should pursue the path I am now taking, if I did not think and most entirely believe that they from their higher places look down and breathe their blessing upon my work, while struggling here on earth—(amidst much infirmity and every kind of temptation to give up the struggle and be content to lie)—to be true to the Living God and His truth? The reproaches which you have, I am sure in haste, uttered with reference to the dear departed, and the employment of my native boy, lose all their sting with me, except as coming from you, if I believe that in this book I am doing that which your sister would have me to do, which I was really sent to Natal to do, which our Church itself, that protests against all manner of lies, would have me do, to my life's end.

"In point of fact, such a book as this is, by the recent judgement, strictly within the licence given to a clergyman of the Church of England. You say that I shall be carried on beyond my present views. I admit that that is possible. But I call on such as yourself to help to stay me and a multitude of others, not by denouncing a few hasty expressions, such as 'fiction' (a word which obviously was ill-chosen, and does not properly express my meaning), 'reasoning person,' &c. (all of which I shall do my best to expunge from my book, and I thank you sincerely for correction of this fault), but by seriously examining into the truth of the main argument. Is it true, or is it not true, that the Pentateuch in a number of places distinctly maintains that there were 600,000 warriors in the wilderness, yet in other places distinctly shows that there could not have been a hundredth part of that number?

"But, my dear friend, you write as if I had no fear of God, no faith or living hope, no desire, however weak, to serve Him. God only knows how unworthy I am to be called His servant, much more His child; and yet I trust in His mercy. But others there are whom you yourself would

regard with more charitable thoughts, and who do not shrink, as you have done, from the views which I have expressed. I do not think you would class Dr. Davidson with the band of impious unbelievers. I breakfasted yesterday with Canon Stanley, and had much interesting talk with him upon the matters discussed in my book. Why should you say that they, or that even I, *undervalue* the Bible, because we do not adopt the same views as yourself with respect to its historical value and the age and manner of its composition? Your remarks will certainly lead me to insert a few passages to save me from such misconstruction as you have put upon some of my expressions. I told you that the book was a mere first proof, and had many faults which would be removed before it was published. But your argument seems mainly to be based on these defects in my style. You do not so much as touch one point in the reasoning.

"I am afraid that it would be useless for me to come to you at this time. Please excuse me now. I shall yet hope to see you when you return to London. Meanwhile, may God have us both in His holy keeping.

"Ever yours affectionately,

"J. W. NATAL.

"P.S.—I have again perused and considered your letter; and while most heartily thanking you for your great kindness in writing it, I am constrained to say that the more I consider it, the more I feel your words—very many of them—to be harsh and unjust. You have only a fraction of my book. You do not know what I should say of the Bible itself before I close the argument."

TO THE SAME.

"6, CRESCENT, BLACKFRIARS,
"*September* 5, 1862.

"I must say a few words more in reference to that part of your letter in which you speak of Ewald and Bleek. With reference to the former, Dr. W. Bleek, when he sent me his

father's posthumous work, wrote, 'You will see that your estimate of Ewald pretty nearly agrees with my father's', as you would also find if you read Bleek's last work. Ewald, in fact, is far wilder in his hypotheses and far more rash in his conclusions than I should wish to be. It is not because he is *too* conservative that I cannot agree with him, but just for the very contrary. Nevertheless, I had long ago struck out from my book every word that might give unnecessary pain to a great and good man, though I do not at all doubt that what I have said of him, supported as it is by Bleek's calm judgment, is perfectly true. . . . . .

"With regard to the native boy, it is right perhaps that I should say that the Natal Government granted me £300 per annum, without any reference to religion, strictly for industrial purposes,—that I had to find industrial employment for my printing boy,—that I gave him what he very much needed and the Government desired, practice in printing from *English copy*, under my own surveillance, by which he is now fitted to take work in an English printing-office,—and that I was glad of the opportunity of so doing, and having matter, which you deem so dangerous, privately printed by one who *could not* understand what he composed, instead of by an English printer."

TO THE SAME.

"LONDON, *September* 6, 1862.

"I said, on p. 159 [of the proof], 'It seems impossible that any reasoning person, '*if he only considers the facts which have already been laid before him*, ...' &c.

"I do not believe that you have considered these facts. All your expressions imply that you have merely glanced at the matter, and not really weighed the force of any of my arguments. It is not that I doubt the exactness of the number 600,000 that I cannot receive the Pentateuch as historical, or teach others to do so. And, of course, I could retort—if that were seemly from me to one whom I

shall ever revere—that those who will not look at the plain facts of the case, will employ no argument of reason, but simple denunciation, to check a work which *may be*, and I verily believe is, from God, the God of Truth, may themselves one day deeply regret the course which they have taken.

"Stanley has seen my book with all its faults, and so have others, whose piety and charity you would respect; and yet not one of them has taken that view either of the facts of the case, or of my duty under the circumstances, which you have done. Is it not possible that you may be mistaken in your judgement? I will quote a few words from a letter which I have this moment received from Stanley. You will see that he does not think it necessary to condemn either my purpose or my work as you do. 'I have written this abruptly' [he says] 'and critically. But do not suppose me insensible either to the vast labour or the painful efforts which this work must have cost you. It is my full consciousness of this which renders me so anxious that *no indiscretion of expression* or *exaggeration of argument* should lead off the public scent from your real meaning and intention.'

"But it is useless in your present frame of mind to argue upon the matter. May the great Being, whom we both desire to serve, be our guide and grant us mercifully His blessing."

TO THE SAME.

"LONDON, *September* 8, 1862.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I think you will feel upon consideration that there is not a shadow of real ground for reproach[1] against me with reference to the Mission Press, when you are made aware of the following facts:—

(1) The printing of my books does not cost the *Mission* Fund one penny, unless it be supposed that the iron press itself has been worn by use. It would have been more injured by rust if it had not been used.

[1] In a later letter Mr. Maurice withdrew this reproach.

"(2) Half was printed at my own expense by a town printer.

"(3) The rest was printed with means given me by the Government for the express purpose of training native youths in industrial work of any kind, without any reference to religion.

"(4) I had taught my boy to print well from Zulu MS.; but I had no Zulu MS. in hand to give him.

"(5) To carry out the Governor's wishes and make him useful to the colony at large, with a view to which the Government money was given, it was necessary that he should be able to print from English MS.—which he had never yet attempted to do.

"(6) I taught him to do this by giving him my MS., the only means I had of employing him at all.

"(7) As, though knowing a little English, he was utterly unable to follow the argument of my book or understand its real meaning, it was as good employment as I could have found for him, and has, in fact, made a man of him.

"(8) In employing him about what you would consider the most deadly part of my book, I did what I could to prevent any injury being done through the employment of Europeans.

"(9) These few copies were printed not for general circulation, nor for *sale*, but to be laid before Heads of the Church and others eminent for piety and ability, who might prevent altogether, perhaps, the publication of the work.

"(10) Lastly, a friend writes, as it seems to me, very justly: 'If you are right, you are not less, but more, orthodox than Hengstenberg, than Paley, than myself.'

"I believe that in the main I *am* right. Not one, at least, of my other friends, whom I have consulted (though they have given me many kind and judicious hints, and have urged me to modify some of the strong expressions of my rough draft) have expressed a single doubt as to the general correctness of the argument in my book, or as to my duty to 'act,' as you say, 'upon the Truth which I see, even though it does involve a very great sacrifice of my own will.' *My own will* would have me to be a paltry sneaking coward who, seeing the truth, would for the sake of avoiding

reproach and calumny of every kind, and bitter censures from one at least of my most revered and valued friends—for the sake of living comfortably and quietly, in honour and comparative wealth—consent to 'suppress' that truth which I see so plainly, and leave brave good men like Davidson and others to bear all alone the burden and heat of the day. May the good Spirit of God not leave me to myself at any moment for this: but *your* letters are a sore temptation—at least, they would be, did I not perceive that you appeal only to my feelings and my pride, not to my reason.

"P.S.—According to *your* reasoning, I myself have committed a crime in spending my time in writing such a book, since, according to your view, I was not 'sent out,'—the Colonial Bishoprics Fund was not 'meant'—for such purposes. I, indeed, think differently. I believe that I was sent out to speak the *truth*,—that our Protestant Church will have us speak the truth at all cost, and will not in her *principles*—however, for the moment, she may seem by the letter of the law to do otherwise—countenance any kind of lie, whether by perversion or suppression of the truth. But see how the very same argument might be turned by an *enemy*—not certainly by a *friend*—against yourself. Many of the doctrines which you preach—though, as you believe, and as I believe, in accordance with the spirit of the Church of England, however seemingly at variance with the latter—are certainly not considered by the mass of our fellow-Churchmen, and by the judge administering the law of the Church, as being in accordance with her teaching. You and I were not 'sent,' it might be said, to preach such doctrines: we have no right to eat the bread of the Church, while we teach counter to her teaching. Of course, *we* do not believe that we are doing wrong; but the great body of the Church, undoubtedly, does condemn us. And I suppose there would be found quite as many ready to support my view on the Pentateuch, including men of unquestionable piety and ability, as there are who would agree with the views which you and I have expressed on the subject of Eternal Punishment. Certainly, till Lushington's judgement

was delivered, I did feel a great difficulty about the words in the Ordination Service of Deacons. The judgement, and Stephen's reasoning, have removed that difficulty. I see that we cannot mean to express 'unfeigned belief' in the historical veracity of the story of the Exodus any more than in the historical veracity of Job or the Song of Solomon. The passages in my preface, which refer to that Ordination answer, of course, are now without point. And, indeed, the whole preface requires, I find, to be remodelled, now that I know the present state of feeling in England. But what you appear to me to have done is to have rushed at once to conclusions, as a necessary consequence of my view of the Pentateuch, which do not at all follow from it *necessarily*, and to which I certainly at present do not intend to commit myself. As I have said before, most truly glad and rejoiced should I be, if the whole fabric of my book should be swept away by true and powerful reasoning; and then all the conclusions, which may seem to you to follow from it, and some of which, perhaps, *may* really follow from it, would be swept away also."

The Bishop, no doubt, was absolutely sincere in wishing that his arguments and conclusions should be decisively refuted and convincingly proved to be worthless and untenable. But he seems to have forgotten for the moment, or perhaps he had not yet come to see, that, if such should be the case, an enormous power would be given to the system of popular tradition which upholds the fetish-worship of bibliolaters.

TO THE REV. F. D. MAURICE.

"FOWEY, *September* 11, 1862.

"I most certainly believe with you that the Jehovah, the I AM, is the ground of all that is true and good, in individuals and nations.[1] I believe also that the name was revealed from above to man,—whether to Samuel or to some one else. We differ on this point only, as it seems to me, in this, that I do not think it *necessary* to believe that it was

[1] See *Life of F. D. Maurice*, ii. p. 510.

revealed to *Moses at the bush* in the way described in Exodus iii., and that my critical examination of the story of the Exodus has convinced me that it is not historically true. But supposing it to be true (as I conjecture, and am not far from believing) that it was first revealed to the inner consciousness of Samuel and by him communicated in Exodus iii., it does not at all follow in my own judgement, and in that of others whom I have consulted, that Samuel must have been a liar and deceiver. I grant that the use of the word 'fiction,' as it is commonly understood, might imply this; but I did not intend to imply it, and used the word, as the best I could think of, to imply 'not real,' 'not historically true.' One of my friends writes, objecting to the word, and adding, 'Many traditionary facts must be imbedded in the annalist's conglomerate; and it will not do to beg the question of the annalist's honesty by the use of any word implying fraud. Perhaps an imagination of an exalted order was at work; and the annalist may have had no more consciousness of wrong or historical deception than Homer had, or the early Roman annalists.'

"I am sorry that any of my expressions have been such as to leave you under the impression that I thought contemptuously or arrogantly of those whose views and conclusions do not agree with my own. By such expressions I have not done justice to myself; but if I know myself, I have no such feelings. For Hengstenberg's works, certainly, I do feel something like contempt, for his arguments are often dishonest—I can use no milder term,—and that with a prodigious affectation of honesty and censure of others as suppressing the truth from interested motives. But I have no such sentiments with regard to any one else whose opinions conflict with my own. And I shall endeavour to mend my faulty language. I am sure that your words are those of a friend, and faithfully meant. I receive them as such.

"Believe me to be,

"Ever yours affectionately,

"J. W. NATAL."

It is not easy to understand how a man like Mr. Maurice could read such a series of letters as those which were addressed to him by the Bishop of Natal in the memorable September of 1862 without pausing to think that his own view of the matter might perhaps be not the only one which might legitimately be held. But it can scarcely be said that on this subject Mr. Maurice deliberated at all. The friends met, it seems, early in September; and Mr. Maurice, we are told, gave expression to his thoughts in the form, "Well, I think that the consciences of Englishmen will be very strongly impressed with the feeling that *you* ought to resign your bishopric." Such is the report of Colonel Maurice in his father's *Life*,[1] and there is, unhappily, not the least ground for questioning its perfect accuracy. Colonel Maurice is undoubtedly right in saying that his father

> "drew a very wide distinction between the duty of paying respect to men's consciences, to the sense of right and wrong developed by genuine care and thought upon a question, and the absolute duty of disregarding mere opinions, the things that men glibly repeat after their fugleman."

But inasmuch as the Bishop of Natal had been impelled to his task solely by regard to the instruction offered to the poor, the ignorant, the helpless, the perplexed, we might suppose that the consciences of Englishmen would rather be impressed with the need of reform in a system which could be upheld only by falsehood. If the mere questioning of historical statements in the Pentateuch was held to damage the Church of England, then her whole system must surely demand a very searching scrutiny. Allowing, or rather assuming, as Colonel Maurice admits, that Mr. Maurice's position was unassailable, and therefore that at least to him

[1] Vol. ii. p. 422.

the unfairness of such an appeal as he had made ought to be clear, the Bishop replied that there were many who said that he had no business to retain his living. The fact spoke for itself. This language had been for years applied to men of all parties. It was a weapon thrown recklessly in every direction. The religious press and those who paraded a cynical secularism had denounced the wickedness of Dr. Pusey or Mr. Newman or other Tractarian leaders for not finding their proper home in the Roman Church. There had been broad hints that the Christianity of Dean Stanley or even of Dean Milman was not such as to justify them in the retention of their deaneries or even of their position as clergymen in the English Church. But on hearing the Bishop's words Mr. Maurice instantly jumped to the conclusion that the charges of mercenariness and dishonesty were being urged against himself in particular, and he answered therefore that if any supposed him to profess belief in the Church's creeds and in the Bible for the sake of the money which he got from his chapel, such a scandal called for his immediate resignation. He wrote, accordingly, to Mr. Llewellyn Davies, in a strain which showed that there was very little chance of sober reflexion on the matters with which he was professing to deal.

"The pain which Colenso's book has caused me," he says, "is more than I can tell you. I used nearly your own words, 'It is the most purely negative criticism I ever read,' in writing to him. Our correspondence has been frequent, but perfectly unavailing. He seems to imagine himself a great critic and discoverer; and I am afraid he has met with an encouragement which will do him unspeakable mischief. He says I have only appealed to his pride in my argument. I fancy I wounded his pride[1] even more

[1] We might be pardoned for thinking that Mr. Maurice was talking at random. The Bishop had no pride to wound; he was shocked at such vehemence from one whom he had always revered and loved.

than I ought. I appealed to his love of truth. I asked him whether he did not think Samuel must have been a horrid scoundrel if he forged a story about the I AM speaking to Moses, and to my unspeakable surprise and terror he said, 'No: many good men had done such things. He might not mean more than Milton meant.' He even threw out the notion that the Pentateuch might be a poem; and when I said that to a person who had ever asked himself what a poem is the notion was simply ridiculous, he showed that his idea of poetry was that it is something which is not historical. And his idea of history is that it is a branch of arithmetic. I agree with you that it is very difficult to say to what point of disbelief he may go; but it seems to me just as likely, with his tolerance of pious frauds, that he may end in Romanism and accept everything."[1]

We shall find a while later the Bishop's accusers at Capetown expressing themselves in language even more absurd and extravagant than this. It is enough here to say that neither they nor Mr. Maurice were in the least aware how absolutely void of all effect such language is on the minds of those who have honestly worked in any branch of human history. For such students it soon becomes luminously clear that negative conclusions must of necessity be additions to our positive knowledge; that there are many subjects which admit of none but purely negative criticism; and that the honesty of chroniclers or other writers must be measured by the circumstances of the age in which they lived. No story is forged, unless it is put together with the purpose of cheating and deceiving; and the Jews are not the only people amongst whom the practice of putting forth books under the names of thinkers whose reputation might secure them some attention was very general, if not universal. There is scarcely one illustrious Greek writer whose sanction has not been claimed

[1] *Life of F. D. Maurice*, vol. ii. p. 423.

for a mass of pseudonymous literature. This literature was not designed to be a pious fraud, and hence it never carried with it the reputation for falsehood. Even if we take the supposition that the book of the law found in the time of Josiah was a book recently composed, we have no more warrant for applying to the writer or writers of it any more than to John Bunyan the charge of wilful and deliberate lying.

The question is so important that it becomes necessary to notice more at length the expressions used by Mr. Maurice in reference to it.

"You know, of course," he writes to Mr. Clark, "this business of Colenso. You know how he had identified himself with me, and how great a struggle it must be to me to disclaim him, especially when he is putting himself to great risk. Yet I think him so utterly wrong that I must do it at all risks to him or to me. How to do it, and yet not to put myself entirely in the wrong with respect to him, and so to injure the cause of God far more than myself, has been a subject of earnest thought with me. It has obliged me to consider my whole position at Vere Street. I had long perceived that that was put in jeopardy by the recent decisions in Heath's case and in Wilson's case. I had prepared myself for a prosecution, and had determined that when it came I would not go into the court, but would rather retire. To plead by help of an ingenious counsel for permission to do what I feel I *must* do to fulfil my ordination vows seemed to me mischievous. But I had meant to wait till the blow came. Now I see very clearly that I ought to anticipate it. If I give up Vere Street, stating my reason for doing so very fully in a letter to my congregation, I can distinguish my position from that of all who wish to diminish the authority of the Scripture. I can show that my only offence is that of adhering too literally to the words of the Prayer-Book and Articles."

Mr. Maurice was absolutely sincere; and he felt not a shadow of doubt of his own ability to trace the literal meaning of the formularies or Articles of the Church of England; but we shall find that there is not a single argument urged by him, or a single expression cited in support of his conclusions, to which the accusers of the Bishop of Natal at Capetown have not ascribed quite another sense. Mr. Maurice, for instance, laid great stress on the withdrawal of the Article on the subject of the endless torturing of the impenitent. To Bishop Gray and his partisans this fact furnished the most conclusive evidence that the dogma was held and imposed as indubitable by the Church of England as by the Church Catholic in all ages. It was not likely, therefore, that on the purely ecclesiastical or sacerdotal mind his resignation of Vere Street Chapel would produce any impression whatever. Nevertheless, he had no hesitation in taking this step.

"Colenso's act," he wrote to Mr. Kingsley (October 1862), "though it clinched my resolution . . . . only showed me what would have been best at all events. My mind has been nearly racked this vacation at the thought that the whole family life of England must go to wreck if there is not some witness that the Father of all is not a destroyer. At the same time I have faith and hope, at times most cheering and invigorating, that some of our scientific men and our secularists, if they could be spoken to as husbands and fathers, not as schoolmen, might pass from atheism to the most cordial belief. Arguments about a Creator will fall dead upon them. A message from a Father may rouse them to life."[1]

Writing to his friend Arthur Stanley (October, 1862), he speaks of himself as lying open to the suspicion that while he partly talked of the Old Testament as the guide to all moral and political wisdom, he partly looked upon it, with Colenso, as a book of fictions and forgeries.

[1] *Life*, vol. ii. p. 428.

"The coincidence of the appearance of Colenso's book with the re-hearing of Wilson's case has determined the time of my retirement from Vere Street."[1]

Mr. Maurice was, happily, brought to see that there was no reason for this step; and he did not resign. Dr. Stanley begged him, as a strong personal favour, to postpone his decision until Dr. Lushington's recent Judgment in the Williams-Wilson case had been reviewed by the Privy Council; and more particularly Mr. Bunyon, the Bishop's brother-in-law, had insisted that if he resigned

"as a protest against Dr. Colenso's book, it would be taking an unfair advantage of Dr. Colenso's having come to him as a friend and having put the proofs into his hand. . . . You are prepared to betray him by having an engine of attack to be issued simultaneously with his book. . . . I think this involves a question of honour."[2]

This letter, Colonel Maurice adds,

"was written under a feeling that such a remonstrance was the only means that would stop my father from taking a step which many friends had intreated Mr. Bunyon to do all that he could to prevent. The strong wording was designed to produce the effect which it actually did produce upon a man sensitive to the last degree on the point of honour. Mr. Bunyon had interposed with great reluctance and as a last resource, from attachment to my father, and regret that his brother-in-law should have been the occasion for such action. The blow fell with the effect of a complete surprise upon my father. His action had been largely determined by his dislike to the position of having to oppose an unpopular man, whilst he was thoroughly convinced that it was his bounden duty to oppose the Bishop. The suggestion that his proposed conduct looked a little cowardly, a little like taking the side of the strong against the weak, and altogether unfair, was intolerable to him. It was just

[1] *Life*, vol. ii. p. 429. [2] *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 433.

that against which he had struggled all his life. . . . He gave way at once. He wrote a letter of pained and indignant protestation to Mr. Bunyon, saying that he did not think that any one who knew him would attribute such motives to him. He wrote to the Bishop of Natal to say that he would not at all events act before the book appeared."

In a letter to Dr. Stanley he admitted that he had not at first seen his way to do more than say that he would suspend all his doings for a while, but that he soon perceived that he had been "about to injure Colenso" when he fancied he was only injuring himself.

"Then it became clear to me that people did—as you said they would—utterly mistake my meaning and suppose me to be leaving the Church. This being clear, I had no alternative but to say, 'I have been utterly wrong, my friends altogether right.' I said so to my congregation last Sunday. It was humiliating, but it was a plain duty. . . I must have been most wilful, but I could not see it till the Bishop of Natal complained of the injustice done to him."

In the same spirit Mr. Maurice wrote to a son then an undergraduate at Oxford :—

"From the moment that I saw that I should not be making a declaration of principles at my own cost, but be casting another stone at him, I knew that I must be wrong. Then I gradually perceived from the comments in the papers and from private letters that my whole meaning had been mistaken,—that I was supposed to be discontented with the Church, when I wished to assert my devotion to it most strongly. Therefore I had nothing to do but to retreat and confess my error. I did so last Sunday before my congregation. I cannot call it eating the leek, except that, being a Welshman by origin, I am bound to like leeks. But it was a humiliation, however much I might rejoice to feel myself once again the minister of a most kind and friendly people."[1]

[1] *Life*, vol. ii. p. 435.

With those who have a true faith in the living God of perfect righteousness and perfect love, time cannot fail to deal gently in bringing out into clearest relief the unity which underlies all their superficial differences. In their treatment of the books of the Old Testament as records of events and incidents, the Bishop of Natal differed from Mr. Maurice as widely as one man could well differ from another. But, although Mr. Maurice might suppose it to be otherwise, in their conceptions of the Divine government and work there was a complete and unbroken harmony. Some who may suppose that they are holding the balance of judgement indifferently between both may think that, if in their faith with regard to the eternal world there was this agreement, it was unfortunate that the Bishop of Natal should have raised a controversy of no importance. But we shall find, when we come to deal with the so-called Capetown trial, that the debate was one of no mean significance; nor can it be forgotten that it was not a debate of the Bishop of Natal's raising. There are other errors in Christendom besides those against which Mr. Maurice maintained a persistent warfare; and among the most mischievous and certainly the most oppressive of these other errors is the fetishism which treats a book or a collection of books as an image which "fell down from Jupiter." The criticisms which the Bishop of Natal directed against this idolatry only strengthened him in convictions which none could express more forcibly than Mr. Maurice.

'Punishment, the Bible teaches me," said Mr. Maurice, "is always God's protest against sin, His instrument for persuading men to turn from sin to righteousness. If punishment is to endure for ever, it is a witness that there are always persons on whom God's discipline is acting to raise them out of sin. Modern theology—Dr. Pusey's theology —teaches that God sentences men to sin, to go on sinning

more and more, for ever. I hold that that is to say that He is not punishing, that He gives over punishing. I stand to the letter,—the *ipsissima verba* of Christ. They translate them into other and directly opposite words."[1]

They were translated into directly opposite words by the accusers of the Bishop of Natal at Capetown; and their condemnation of the error imputed to Mr. Maurice was perhaps not a whit less sweeping than their condemnation of the heresy of Dr. Colenso.

We may go a step further, and say that the temporary separation must be laid wholly at Mr. Maurice's door. He had a full right—nay, he was bound—to proclaim that the whole purpose and course of the Divine work in the world has been and is to convince men of the absolute and unswerving justice of God, and of a love which is stronger than death—

"the eternal death from which they cry to be delivered, the torment of the worm in their conscience, the misery of being left alone with themselves."[2]

But he took up untenable ground when he implied, or rather affirmed, that the multitude of books (biblia) which we speak of as the Bible, instead of as the Bibles, contains nothing that is not inconsistent with the truths which to Mr. Maurice and the Bishop of Natal were dearer than life itself. The result was that he had to treat as antagonists men whom, if he would but have altered his forms of expression, he would have seen to be wholly on his side.

In September, 1864, Sir Edward Strachey, the life-long and devoted friend of Mr. Maurice, invited him to meet the Bishop at his house.

"Your purpose," Mr. Maurice answered, "is most kind, and your way of putting it kinder still. I will answer with

[1] *Life*, vol. ii. p. 473.

[2] *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 476.

the frankness you desired. There has been an estrangement between Colenso and me since he came to England. I think that the Bible is the great deliverer from ecclesiastical bondage, the great protector for human freedom. That is the maxim I have always tried to maintain when he took up exactly the opposite maxim, when he treated the Bible as itself the instrument of our slavery, and seemed to think that to throw it off would be the great step to emancipation. I felt that he was giving up the ground to the Bishop of Oxford and Dr. Pusey. I saw nothing before us but that fanaticism against criticism, that effort to bind a human tyranny upon us, which these last few years have developed. . . . If I identified myself with those who were called liberal thinkers, who seemed to be, and in many aspects were, pleading for the rights of the clergy and the rights of conscience, I must have abandoned my own position, a position difficult enough to maintain, full of sorrow, involving an isolation from all parties, but, as I think, necessary for the good of all parties. To make Colenso understand why I do this—that I am not a traitor to freedom, and friendship also—is impossible at present."[1]

In this passage there is nothing said of the Bible with which the Bishop of Natal would have hesitated to express his agreement. These books are, or may be, great deliverers from ecclesiastical bondage, great protectors for human freedom. Luther found them to be so ; but the extent of the deliverance depends on the spirit in which they are applied. Against the system of Latin Christendom, Luther found in them a potent engine of war ; and just because he took, or professed to take, his stand on the *litera scripta* of words on which criticism only of a certain kind—that is, his own interpretation—was to be brought to bear, he made it the bulwark of a bondage quite as severe as that against which he had himself rebelled.

[1] *Life*, vol. ii. p. 486. Mr. Maurice concludes this letter with the following words, "I have met the Bishop several times, and there is, I hope, not the least unkindness between us."

But to say that the Bishop of Natal treated, or spoke of, the Bible itself as the instrument of our slavery, is to say simply that which is not true. He never meant this, and he never said it. The Bible had by many been made a fetish; and Mr. Maurice seemed to speak as though the superstition which had made it a fetish should not be assailed and put down. Had the Bishop, moreover, been really giving up the ground to Dr. Wilberforce or Dr. Pusey, it is strange that they should not recognise or admit their obligation for his good service. This mistake (and lapse of time seems to exhibit it more and more as an absurd mistake) runs through all that Mr. Maurice has to say on the subject.

> "I had felt a stronger interest," he writes to a clergyman in South Africa, "in Colenso's diocese and mission than in any other. He and his wife were old friends of mine. He had behaved very generously to me. When he avowed his sympathy with my refusal to speak of three-score years and ten as the limit of God's education of man, I was ready to follow him in any conflicts into which he might enter. When he set himself at war with the Jewish economy, I was utterly struck down." [1]

But the Bishop had never done, never thought of doing, anything of the kind. What he had sought was to find out, so far as it might be possible to do so, what this economy was. The life of the Old Testament was, he knew, the life of "the prophets which had been since the world began," and he knew also that to this life the main body of the people with their rulers, ecclesiastical and civil, had been always more or less vehemently opposed. Far, therefore, from setting himself at war with the life of the Old Testament, the Bishop was anxious only to bring it into clearer light. But if Mr. Maurice once took it into his head that any thinker or writer applied the

[1] *Life*, vol. ii. p. 490.

laws of human evidence to realities of another order, the conviction remained immovable. The suggestion that the prophecies of Balaam, for instance, are, to say the least, post-Davidic, implied in his opinion want of faith in the Divine government of the world. Any one who presumes to offer such a suggestion has been dabbling in the school of Niebuhr; and the school of Niebuhr maintains, it seems, that

> "God has nothing to do with nations and politics. They are to be left to such men as Metternich and Louis Napoleon. Accursed doctrine; part of that Atheism of our religious world which nothing but a baptism of the Spirit and of fire can deliver us from."[1]

We shall have to recur to this subject elsewhere. For the present it is enough to say that Mr. Maurice, using the simplest and most familiar words, seems to pass here beyond the range of ordinary human comprehension. The most diligent students of Niebuhr will look with amazement at a charge for which they will discern in all his writings not even the shadow of a foundation. They will remember that, while he insisted on the need of historical evidence for historical facts, he asserted for himself, and for other students who had attained to his own experience, the possession of a divining power which enabled him to recover facts for which historical testimony was really lacking. But they will remember also that his *History of Rome* is indeed not a denial of the truth that God has something to do with nations and politics, but a passionate and most vehement assertion of it, from the beginning of the work to its close. It is singular that in his assertion of this truth the language of Niebuhr is not unlike that of Mr. Maurice. But the unbelief, which the latter finds in Niebuhr he finds also in the Bishop of Natal.

[1] *Life*, vol. ii. p. 510.

"This unbelief about nations, Colenso, I apprehend, shares with his opponents. It comes out equally in both. And it should be observed that Colenso has not the least studied under Niebuhr. He belongs, if he has investigated such questions at all, to the later and merely negative school of Sir G. C. Lewis."

To this also we must recur hereafter, now noting only that not a line can be cited from the Bishop's writings which lends the faintest colour to the suspicion that he limited the action of the Divine government to individual men. So far as such a notion could have been intelligible to him, he would have shrunk from it with horror; but it resolves itself seemingly into something like nonsense. Mr. Maurice, indeed, knew not what he was saying.

The fact is that the denunciation of unbelief, of want of faith and want of love, was with Mr. Maurice a potent instrument of war; and he used his weapons somewhat recklessly. He never more sadly misused them than when he imputed to the Bishop of Natal the idea that nations do not come within the scope of the Divine discipline. Mr. Maurice did not live to witness it himself; but, had he been spared, he would have seen the singleness of devotion with which the man whom he charged with this unbelief gave himself up to the task of bringing home to his countrymen a long series of acts of national injustice and wrong. Mr. Maurice, however, can scarcely have failed to know that long before his return to England in 1861 the Bishop had won from the Kafir and Zulu people the title of Sobantu, and that this title expressed emphatically the gratitude not of individuals, but of races.

Only three more letters are forthcoming from the correspondence with Mr. Maurice at this time. The two last are given with the address and the final subscription,—sad proof of the havoc wrought on a friendship of many years by an

obstinate refusal to examine or even to look at the evidence for alleged facts.

TO THE REV. F. D. MAURICE.

"WINNINGTON HALL, NORTHWICH,
"*October* 14, 1862.

"In one of your letters you said that you would send me back the copy of my book, which you had, by post next day. It has never reached me; and perhaps you may have forgotten to send it. I am shortly about to publish the First Part of my book, containing only a small portion of the matter brought together in that volume, and wish, therefore, to recall the copies of my 'first impressions' which are in the hands of my friends. . . .

"I send you a copy of the introductory chapter, as it now stands; or, rather, I have cancelled this chapter also in order to introduce a few verbal corrections.

"I have thought it right to state that *you* are in no way committed to the views expressed in this book; that, in fact, 'in making and publishing such investigations as these, I am acting neither with your advice nor with your approval.'

"P.S.—I think, upon the whole, it will be better not to send the introductory chapter. I shall send you the whole book when published."

TO THE SAME.

"PENDYFFRIN, CONWAY,
"*July* 25, 1863.

"MY DEAR MR. MAURICE,

"I did not mean to 'mock you.' Every word of my letter was written in sincerity, with an unfeigned desire to express the most kind and respectful feelings towards you. I had been told that you thought that I *resented* your former expressions. I thought it might show to you that your estimate of the worthlessness of my labours in a critical point of view was not altogether justified by the reception which they have met with from one, at least, of the most

eminent Continental scholars. But I wished at the same time to convey to you as plainly as I could an intimation that on my side, at all events, there were no such feelings of resentment as (I was told) you imagined to exist. I am sorry that I happen to have failed, though I cannot think that my language deserved the last sentence in your letter.

"I am, my dear Mr. Maurice,

"Faithfully yours,

"J. W. NATAL."

TO THE SAME.

"23 SUSSEX PLACE, *August* 17, 1863.

"MY DEAR MR. MAURICE,

"Let me write one line to acknowledge the receipt of your last kind note, and to thank you sincerely for it. I am sorry that I have pained you and other good men by anything that I have written or published. But I am confident with you that our God and Father will make all these things—these strivings after truth, these feeble efforts of His children to know and to serve Him better—turn at last effectually to His own glory and our good.

"Yours very truly,

"J. W. NATAL."

CHAPTER VI.

WORK IN ENGLAND, 1863–65. THE BATTLE.

IN spite of all that may be said from any one of the many points of view taken by those who would not have quiet things disturbed, the publication of the Bishop's work on the Pentateuch marks a stage in the progress of religious thought in England. By all who had any vested interests in inaction the work was received at the time with jeers; and these jeers were repeated on every possible opportunity during the remainder of his life, and were renewed with scarcely less asperity after his death. The fascination of ribaldry must indeed be strong for writers who could affect to feel regret that Dr. Colenso was not allowed to end his days in the recesses of Norfolk, to which wandering Zulus were not likely to penetrate with suggestions of arithmetical difficulties known by all theological students to be stale with the age of centuries. Such writers might feel a solid satisfaction in relating

> "how, in a fashion which moved, and reasonably so, the laughter of the profane and the contempt of the robuster orthodox, the newly-appointed Bishop went to convert and was converted himself."

The egregious folly of cynicism was seldom more extravagantly shown than in a sentence which affirms that the mockers

began to laugh and gibe some six or seven years before any cause for laughter or mockery was given. But it was a bolder thing to say, more than twenty years after the book appeared, that

> "though many men, and some of them men of the highest honour, if not of the most exalted intellect, might have written the too famous *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua*, no man of delicate honour could have attempted to hold the office of bishop in the Church of England one day after writing it, or even one hour after definitely forming the opinions which it was written to expound." [1]

This is just the point at issue, and the challenge shall be forthwith taken up and dealt with. But the nature of these opinions must be first of all defined. If they are held to be notions about the general estimate of the authority of the collection of writings called "the Bible" as a whole, then it must be said at once that these were not the opinions which the Bishop was desirous of maintaining. His purpose was to examine the first six books in this large collection ; and the conclusions which he reached were that these books contained, with some historical matter, a large amount which cannot be considered historical at all, and more particularly that they contained an elaborate account of an extremely minute and highly wrought ecclesiastical legislation put together many centuries after the time to which they professed to relate. The Bishop would have been basely deserting his post, he would have been doing an irreparable wrong to the coming generations, had he foreclosed the debate by declaring that such conclusions might not lawfully be maintained by any clergyman of the Church of England.

[1] The reference for this extract is designedly withheld. I do not purpose to honour with mention the source of these vile falsehoods. But the reference has been kept, and is producible if it should be needed.

It is childish to say that he was in any way called on to heed the great mass of so-called criticism with which he was assailed. His *Commentary on the Romans* had been attacked in some quarters with violent abuse and scurrilous invective. These onslaughts deserve no notice, and have now little interest except as instances of the readiness with which writers coming forward as champions of traditionalism resort to the potent weapons of falsehood. One of these in the *London Quarterly Review* (1862), affected to regard it as a dire offence that the Bishop, after returning to England in 1854, should presume to express any opinion on anything connected with his diocese after so short a stay as ten weeks[1] only; and then avows his surprise that

"a ruler in the Church of God and a Bishop pledged to uphold the teaching of the Church of England"

should be able

"in so short a time to arrive at a definite opinion *in favour of* polygamy, and to promulgate it, along with his censure upon those who had upheld the doctrine in which both he and they had been brought up."

The italics are those of the writer, and the statement so emphasized is a lie.[2] The falsehood renders it unnecessary to give further heed to any of his remarks.

In the same fashion some *Familiar Dialogues* set forth under the title *Is the Bible true?*[3] start with the assertion that the Bishop's work on the Pentateuch

"insists on the absolute untruth of all the first five books of the Bible."

This statement also is a lie.

Such criticisms are pre-eminently dishonourable. But not a little of such unfairness is roused still in some minds after

[1] See 73. [2] See p. 67. [3] Seeley, 1863.

the lapse of a quarter of a century, whenever the name of Colenso is mentioned. The word *sat* in Sanskrit, denoting truth, means simply *that which is.* If a man feels that he has reached conclusions which rest on this foundation, he may well dispense with the encouragement or the applause of his fellows. Of such a one Professor Max Müller asserts:

"Whoever has once stood alone, surrounded by noisy assertions and overshadowed by the clamour of those who ought to know better, and perhaps did know better—call him Galileo, or Darwin, or Colenso, or Stanley, or any other name—he knows what a real delight it is to feel in his heart of hearts, This is true, this *is*, this is *sat*, whatever daily, weekly, or quarterly papers, whatever Bishops, Archbishops, or Popes may say to the contrary."

This sentence would probably have been allowed to pass unchallenged, but for the recurrence of one name in it. But, this name being introduced, an Edinburgh Reviewer found himself constrained to remark:—

"Certainly, if it be true. But does the mere presence of opposition prove it such? Or does it follow because Galileo was so beaten down by ignorant fanaticism, and the reasoning of Darwin for a time opposed by those who, in ignorance of its meaning, dreaded what they regarded as its consequences, that the criticism of Colenso was not exceedingly poor, and the reading of Stanley, in spite of his genius, sometimes discursive, and his conclusions sometimes illogical?"[1]

This is a sample of the fashion in which anonymous journalists, among other champions of traditionalism, shelve a subject with which they have no intention to deal. But the article from which these words are taken illustrates further the fatal temper of mind which has made so much missionary work abortive and against which the Bishop of Natal fought

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, April 1884, p. 473.

most earnestly. The Rig Veda, like the Pentateuch, contains the literature of a time earlier probably by a millennium (it may be more) than the Christian era. It contains much that is pure, beautiful, and touching; it contains certainly some matter to which these epithets could not possibly be applied. But it is the contention of the Reviewer that in this respect there is no comparison between the Rig Veda and the Pentateuch or the Old Testament generally. In the latter the growth is in his judgement always upward; in the former it is uniformly downwards, and he denies absolutely that in the Old Testament we have

> "in juxtaposition with that which is pure and elevated about God and man the false, silly, and repulsive elements which we shall find in such abundance in the Rig Veda."

He professes to be so shocked and horrified with the soliloquy of Indra after drinking the Soma juice that he refuses, as he says, to sully his page by quoting any part of it; and yet the most dreadful part of this soliloquy is in the following words:—

> "The draughts which I have drunk impel me like violent blasts: I have quaffed the Soma. . . .
> The hymn of my worshippers has hastened to me, as a cow to her beloved calf: I have quaffed the Soma.
> I turn the hymn round about my heart, as a carpenter a beam: I have quaffed the Soma. . . . .
> Let me smite the earth rapidly hither and thither: I have quaffed the Soma.
> One half of me is in the sky, and I have drawn the other down: I have quaffed the Soma.
> I am majestic, elevated in the heavens: I have quaffed the Soma.
> I go prepared as a minister, a bearer of oblations to the gods: I have quaffed the Soma."[1]

[1] Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v. p. 91.

Without troubling themselves to analyse the many meanings which the word Soma assumes in the Rig Veda, such writers as these look only with contempt on hymns which speak of Soma as, like Varuna, forgiving the penitent or punishing the guilty, and see nothing but degradation in the prayer—

> " Be gracious, Soma, Rig, for our salvation.
> Be well assurèd then that we are thine.
> Against us rise both wrath and cunning, Soma :
> O leave us not in power of the foe ; "

or in the intreaty—

> " This Soma, drawn into my inside, I invoke as quite near ;
> Whatever sin we have committed may he graciously forgive it."

Yet these prayers are not without points even of close likeness to the Eucharistic language of Christendom or the Tridentine phraseology in reference to the Real Presence ; and the " jargon of the inebriated divinities of India " suggests a parallel with the expressions which speak of Jehovah awaking out of sleep and smiting his enemies in the hinder parts like a giant refreshed with wine. Nor can the poor Vedic worshipper be well blamed for his superstitious dreams about the power of the Soma over Indra, if Jehovah after smelling the sweet savour of Noah's burnt-offering promises that he will not again curse the ground for man's sake. The Reviewer was probably not a missionary ; but the missionary who enters on his work with such prejudices, and who condemns the Rig Veda for juxtaposition of pure and gross matter, as though this juxtaposition might not be charged on the old Hebrew Scriptures, will find that he is using a weapon which will recoil upon himself, and will, at least, multiply precisely those difficulties which the Bishop of Natal set to work from the first to sweep away.

It may be well perhaps to take notice of one or two more samples of the many sorts of comments evoked by the Bishop's volume five-and-twenty years ago. Appearing without any date, probably in 1863 or 1864, a volume, intitled *The Bible in the Workshop*, and professing to make short work of the Bishop's criticisms on the Pentateuch, was put forth, as the title-page averred, by two working men, "a Jew and a Gentile." Towards the end of the book the two writers relieve their consciences, it would seem, by thus addressing the Bishop :—

> "When you are lying upon your death-bed and your past life is passing in rapid review before you, it may be some small satisfaction to you to know that at least two (the Jew writer and the Gentile writer) of the class to whom your book is calculated to be most dangerous, after careful examination are convinced of its utter groundlessness and folly."

Speaking again as *we*, in their twenty-third chapter as everywhere else, the Jew workman and the Gentile workman declare that

> "we believe that our Lord never uttered a single word that was not strictly true in every sense of the word."

The two broadly hint and broadly state that the Bishop is an apostate from Christianity; but what has the Jew workman, if he retains at all any distinctively Jewish faith, to do with Christianity? how, being a Jew, can he speak of Jesus Christ as his Lord and Master? and if he has abandoned the faith of his fathers, how can he call himself a Jew? The whole thing looks like a fraud on the public; and if the title-page only be taken into account it is nothing less than a fraud. But the advertisement informs us that

> "every word has been written by one workman, with the advice and assistance of the other in all matters concerning Jewish customs and the Hebrew language."

By this statement a falsehood of one kind is got rid of by introducing a falsehood of another kind. To say the least, the Jew workman, by giving his authority, whatever its weight might be, to a work which fights for a very narrow form of Christian traditionalism, seems to have fairly crossed the borders of apostasy to his own faith. A fight so carried on is not legitimate warfare.

Not much more creditable than this was the method resorted to by Dr. Kay,[1] who denounced the Bishop of Natal as applying to the Pentateuch a disintegration theory, which rests on the principles of "religious unbelief" and "historical Pyrrhonism."

"The question of the authenticity of the book was evidently decided," he said, "long before the critical analysis was set on foot. The muster-roll of phrases has no more real office to fulfil than had the senate of Tiberius or the jury of Judge Jeffreys. Unbelief, the spirit that refuses to recognise any (!!) Divine intervention in the world's history, had already settled the matter.

"If Genesis be an authentic document, then it is certain that there is an objective basis for religious faith. God *has* communed with men. Preparation is thus made for the future introduction of Christianity. The Gospel has its roots buried deep in the world's history, for its seed was laid in the Protevangelium, Gen. iii. 15. To get rid of this book of Genesis, then, is a necessary preliminary for any assault on Christianity."[2]

With equal assurance Dr. Kay adds,

"Admit the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and all is solved. Deny it, and all is impenetrably dark. One of the most conspicuous facts of history, namely, the existence of a purer religion for fourteen centuries among a people not less prone than the rest of the world to a sensual idolatry, has *no*

[1] *Crisis Hupfeldiana;* Parker, 1865. [2] *Ib.* pp. 60, 61.

explanation. Other miracles, which affected the physical world for brief intervals of time, may be got rid of: this enduring miracle in the sphere of spiritual life cannot." [1]

Dr. Kay's fact was a mere delusion; and from it we may pass to the thoughts and words of more sober-minded and careful critics and students. In truth the Bishop of Natal was giving a marvellous impulse to thought in England. But he was not perhaps fully aware that the two currents of belief and feeling which were manifesting themselves in this country might be traced, within the limits and beyond the borders of his own South African diocese, in communities not belonging to the Church of England. These were the Presbyterian and Calvinistic societies, the peace of which had been disturbed by controversies on the personality of the devil, on the duty or the wickedness of inquiry, on the power of man to *will* what he will be, on the arbitrary selection of some as chosen vessels before their birth, all others being rejected. The direction in which the current was flowing, was shown in the election of Mr. Burgers, a "renowned heretic," as President of the Transvaal. On this subject some remarks by the Rev. Henry Rawlings deserve to be noted.

"The story of Colenso's career, as commonly told, does not," he thinks, "throw any special light upon religious progress in South Africa, because the conflict between the Progressive and the Conservative parties here took its origin from other sources, notably Dutch Liberal theology, and received its stamp from the peculiar circumstances of the colony. Of course, I do not mean to say that Colenso did not exercise great influence here. Undoubtedly he did, as he did everywhere,—even in Holland itself, and amongst the most learned and liberal professors there. But the point is that he did not impart the original impulse here, nor did he give to

[1] *Crisis Hupfeldiana*, p. 93.

the struggle its characteristic nature. He only reinforced (powerfully, it may be) tendencies already manifested.

"When I learnt in the beginning of 1862 that Colenso was occupied with a work upon the Pentateuch, I sent him the then published first part of Professor Kuenen's now famous work upon the Old Testament. He replied on April 1, 'I thank you most sincerely for sending me Kuenen's book, which will be of the greatest use to me. It has compelled me in the first place to read Dutch, and I shall now be able to appreciate *De Onderzoeker* better than I could. But I have now read the first 186 pages of the book, those which concern the Pentateuch, with deep interest, and fully understand what you say about the value of it.' And he related in the preface to Part I. of his own work on the Pentateuch that, when he was occupied in Natal in preparing it for the press, he was still unacquainted with all other foreign works on the Old Testament, except those of Ewald and Kurtz, of which the first was somewhat liberal and the second wholly and entirely orthodox; and that after becoming acquainted with other works, and especially that of Kuenen, which he calls a work of singular merit, he had to modify his own in some respects.

"On my advice he visited Holland in September 1863, and wrote to me on October 5 of that year:—'I have just returned from a delightful visit to Leiden. I discussed with Professor Kuenen at full length every point of difficulty in the criticism of the Pentateuch. The contrast between the reception which I met with from really learned Hebrew and Biblical scholars at Leiden, and that which has been my lot in England from an unlearned and prejudiced clergy is very striking, and not a little humiliating to an Englishman. I saw most of the notabilities of Leiden,—among the rest, Professor Scholten, Professor Van Hengel, Professor Rauwenhof, &c. . . . When I visited Germany, Professor Hupfeld was unfortunately out on his vacation tour.'

"Later Kuenen visited the Bishop in England, and there arose between them a friendship which had very important fruits for theological science. . . . The readers of *De Onderzoeker*

know how much is now made of Dutch theology in England, and I trust that it will be clear from the foregoing that the first cause of this must be sought chiefly in Colenso's work, and at the same time that there was every chance that Colenso would have remained still for a long time unacquainted with Holland's theological work, if the existence of two languages in South Africa had not been the means of making him conversant with the theological literary work of Holland."

When he left Natal, he did not intend to be absent from his diocese for more than eighteen months or two years at furthest. He was detained in England for a much longer time; but, indefatigable in his work, he availed himself of delays caused by his opponents, not by himself, to do what he could towards making English readers acquainted with the Biblical criticism of the Continent, and especially of that country in Europe with which, in the days of Erasmus, England was more closely connected than with any other. The interruptions caused by the so-called trial at Capetown and its consequences prevented his settling down, during the later portion of his stay in England, with any prospect of being able to complete the Fifth Part of his work before returning to his diocese. He therefore resolved, by translating Professor Kuenen's criticisms on the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, to show how nearly the results attained by a great Continental scholar going independently over the same ground with himself corresponded with his own. Of the book, generally, he spoke as "a splendid instance of clear and scholarly criticism"; and undoubtedly it is so. But its extreme brevity and its marvellous compression of matter detract from its fitness for popular use; and probably for English minds Professor Kuenen's method must be less attractive than that of the Bishop, which places the evidence for each statement before the reader, and leaves to him the responsibility of forming his

own judgement. It is scarcely necessary to say that Professor Kuenen regarded the Bishop's main position as established beyond a shadow of doubt. This position rested on the composite character of the Pentateuch, and affirmed it. If these books are the production of different writers, then only a portion of them can be the work of Moses, and it becomes possible that no part of it may be such. In comparison with this all other considerations have a subordinate interest. The field of inquiry is thrown open to all workers; and the determination of the time at which the several books were written must depend wholly on the evidence. In the method of making this search the scholars of the Continent exhibited a remarkable amount of agreement; and, with the exception of the small minority who still strove to maintain the old traditional notion, they all held that the book of Deuteronomy was the work of a writer living under the later kings of Judah. The time of this writer might be fixed in the reign of Manasseh; or the composition of the book might be ascribed to that of Josiah. This was a matter of quite secondary importance as compared with the great fact that it was written some seven or eight centuries after the Mosaic age. But between the Bishop's conclusions and those of Professor Kuenen it can scarcely be said that there was any substantial difference. Such points of divergence as there may have been are reserved for notice in our survey of the Bishop's examination of the Pentateuch.

Nor does this translation of Kuenen's book make up all the work accomplished by the Bishop before he left England to return to his diocese. Almost on the eve of his departure he published, with elaborate notes by himself, the translation of a treatise by Dr. Oort on the worship of Baalim in Israel, based on Dr. Dozy's volume on the Israelites at Mecca. The subject had for him a deep interest, as indeed it must have for all who really wish to ascertain the true course of religious

developement both in Judah and in Israel. What was the origin, and what was the character, of the religion which Mahomet set himself either to reform or to root up? By whom and when was the sanctuary at Mecca established? and what relation, if any, was there between the worship in this sanctuary and that of the temples of Gibeon, Gilgal, or Jerusalem? Dr. Dozy's researches led him to the conclusion that

> "*din Ibrahim*, the old religion in Arabia . . . was a remainder of the religion of the Simeonites, who had founded the sanctuary,"

and that

> "the great festival of Islam was originally an Israelitish feast."

If this be so, then, the Bishop remarks,

> "we have here given us a new source of help towards the knowledge of the religious condition of Israel about the time when the tribe of Simeon emigrated."

With the question of the time of this emigration the Bishop dealt in the first appendix to his Fifth Part, his conclusion being that a small body of the Simeonites emigrated shortly before the death of Saul, the greater migration occurring at some time during David's reign.[1] The fact of the connexion between Mecca and the Simeonites seems to be accurately ascertained; and in the fact itself there is nothing surprising. It is simply the relationship exhibited in the genealogy which makes Isaac and Ishmael brethren.

> "In fact," the Bishop remarks, "the religion of the Israelites in Palestine and that of the Simeonites at Mecca are as twin sisters, who, parted in youth from one another, have experienced heaven-wide differences of education, so that in

[1] Part V., *Critical Analysis of Genesis*, p. 269.

their old age they do not at all resemble each other, while they have both of them merely slight reminiscences of that which has made them what they are."[1]

But this calm examination of facts and of the evidence for them carried weight only amongst the few who had no other object than to ascertain the truth. The effect of the earlier parts of the Bishop's work on the Pentateuch in this country was to open wide the flood-gates of theological strife and animosity. In almost every quarter in which his criticisms were rejected, they were rejected with a vehemence which showed that the feeling of resentment had been deeply stirred. In many quarters they were denounced with a bitterness and ferocity which revealed how far the iron had entered into their soul. But high above all other sounds rose the cry of anger and indignation at the method which the Bishop had chosen to employ in the execution of his task. He had laid violent hands on the sacred ark of the popular belief. He had sedulously instilled doubts into the minds of the ill-informed and the half-educated. He was like a critic who could do nothing more than point out the flaws of a beautiful picture or the petty blemishes of a splendid building. He had exhibited in some portions of sacred books difficulties, which would or might be found to extend through every other part of them. He had shown a cynical carelessness for the consequences of his destructive arguments, if not a malignant eagerness to bring about a collapse of all belief. The precautions which more exact or more charitable thinkers would feel themselves bound to take he had refused to take. He might have been content to mark the beneficent working of Christianity, and have convinced himself that any imperfections in that work were more than compensated by the vast benefits bestowed by the Church upon mankind. He might

[1] *Worship of Baalim*, p. 4.

have followed the advice given by Horace to some would-be poets, and have left his manuscript in his desk for nine years. If he had not the patience to do this, he might have gone back to the good old fashion, and might, as Dr. Donaldson had done with his *Jashar*, have clothed his thoughts with the decent covering of a foreign tongue. Why could he not write in Latin? and, still more, why should he write at all? He had not come to the conclusion that there is no God or that Christianity is a delusion; and if he had not done so, why should he lead people on a path which must bring them to that conclusion? What need was there of showing that some of the positions occupied by Christian teachers or thinkers were untenable, some of their claims and beliefs groundless, and some of the weapons employed by them against opponents illegitimate?

No single sentence can return an answer to this string of questions. Some of them might come from men who, conscious of the faults of popular methods, were doing their best in other ways to remove them. Others might be asked by men who were resolved to maintain a system which they regarded as perfect, and to inforce their shibboleth on all. Opponents such as these could deserve no mercy. But the best mode of dealing with the Old Testament, as with any other book, might remain, nevertheless, an open question. The thought of England had not been stagnant during the quarter of a century which preceded the publication of the Bishop's book. Many an old superstition had been exploded, many narrow and exclusive notions had been got rid of, many falsehoods exposed and much real progress made, without causing any wide-spread disquietude or creating an alarm which might be easily intensified into panic. Such good service had been done by many writers, by none perhaps more successfully than by Dr. Stanley.

There are more ways than one of doing the same thing;

and of this no one was more aware than Dr. Stanley, who frankly confessed that he preferred his own method of dealing with the Bible to that of Bishop Colenso. In his candid and generous speech on "The South African Controversy in its relations to the Church of England,"[1] he draws a sharp contrast between the two methods.

> "His peculiar style of criticism," he said, "is not such as commends itself to me, nor is his mode of approaching the Sacred Volume that which is consonant to my tastes and feelings. . . . . My endeavour has been, in the first instance, to get whatever there is of good, whatever there is of elevation, whatever there is of religious instruction, whatever there is of experience, whatever there is of the counsel of God, whatever there is of knowledge of the heart of man, whatever there is of the grace of poetry, whatever there is of historical truth, whatever there is that is true, honest, lovely, of good report, of virtue, and of praise in the highest degree, as they exist nowhere else in the same degree, in the Sacred Scripture. . . . That I think is the best way of approaching the Bible."

Of the beauty of this method, and of the great benefits to be derived from it, there can be no question. But it has this marked characteristic, that it does its destructive work without calling attention to it; that it generally keeps the process out of sight; and that its destructive effects may be more far-reaching than those of more direct assault. Dr. Stanley saw, for instance, how marvellously Samson differs from all other Jews before or after him: so in a few sentences he speaks of his love of practical jokes and his frolicsome and irregular exploits, thus leaving the impression that a personage so utterly unlike his countrymen in all his essential features must be an importation from the traditions of some other tribe or nation. So, again, to give point to the

[1] Oxford and London, James Parker and Co., 1867.

ceaseless remonstrances and denunciations of the prophets, he remarks that the national religion of the Jews down to the Babylonish captivity was the sensual and bloody idolatry of the Ashera, or "grove," and that the prophets were an insignificantly small minority of earnest and pure-minded men who carried on a vain fight against these abominations. Nothing could be more true; but the implication is that the history of the books of the Pentateuch, of the Kings, and, immeasurably more, of the Chronicles, is inexact and untrustworthy. If the religion of the whole nation was of this sort in the days of Hezekiah and Josiah, then the whole system of the Levitical law, if it was ever carried out at all, must belong to a still later age. That this should be the condition of a people who had heard in the wilderness the magnificent discourses of the book of Deuteronomy, was inconceivable; and in this case, these discourses must have been put together in some later centuries. Dr. Stanley's method, therefore, although it may seem to give only, or chiefly, positive results, is yet to a high degree negative. It is none the worse on this account; and it might be pleasanter to confine ourselves to it altogether, were there not other enemies to be fought with, other barriers to be surmounted, other stumbling-blocks to be moved out of the way. Dr. Stanley's method, always (perhaps) more inviting, is also fully justified, so long as it is addressed to those who are capable of appreciating it. To those who lack the historical faculty, his words might come with a pleasant sound, but they would produce on them no great impression. To those who might be perplexed and distressed by the seeming fact that an infallible book displayed some mistakes, blunders, inconsistencies, and contradictions, his method would seem much like an evasion or slurring over of difficulties,—would seem, in short, not altogether ingenuous. But Dr. Stanley was far too earnest a lover of the truth to allow the notion to get abroad

that he condemned the work of the Bishop of Natal. His own mode of dealing with the Bible was, he knew, not the only mode.

"Although Dr. Colenso's mode may not commend itself to me as the best, it may do so to other minds; and therefore I could never bring myself to condemn any mode .... however different from mine it may be, supposing always that it is a *bona fide* honest attempt to ascertain what is the nature of the Sacred Books, and to draw instruction from them. .... He has thought it his duty to endeavour to ascertain, as far as possible, the dates and authors of those several books, and that by a minute and laborious analysis, which has hardly ever been surpassed by any divine of the Church of England."

But it was not for Dr. Stanley's hearers or readers that the Bishop of Natal was writing. Was there, or was there not, throughout the English Church, a state of feeling about the letter of the Bible, the expression of which looked much like an admission of fetish-worship? Was there, or was there not, a self-contradictory teaching with regard to the value and authority of sacred books, which could only bewilder, mislead, and corrupt? Were not thousands mentally and morally weakened by the abject superstition which treated appearances of error as in no way impairing their infallibility? If it was so, how could this deadly disease be arrested by Dr. Stanley's method? The disease was, in truth, raging.

"The Bible," Mr. Burgon had said,[1] "is none other than the voice of Him that sitteth upon the throne. Every book of it, every chapter of it, every verse of it, every word of it, every syllable of it (where are we to stop?), every letter of it, is the direct utterance of the Most High. The Bible is none other than the Word of God, not some part of it more

[1] *Inspiration and Interpretation*, p. 89.

some part of it less, but all alike, the utterance of Him who sitteth upon the throne, absolute,—faultless,—unerring,—supreme."

Yet the same writer, who could give expression to what is either frantic folly or mere blasphemy,[1] could advise young students to

"approach the volume of Holy Scripture with the same candour and the same unprejudiced spirit with which you would approach any other famous book of high antiquity. Study it with, at least, the same attention. Give, at least equal heed to all its statements. . . . . Above all, beware of playing tricks with its plain language. . . . Be truthful, and unprejudiced, and honest, and consistent, and logical, and exact throughout, in your work of interpretation."

But this freedom from prejudice, this honesty, this truthfulness, must bring them to Mr. Burgon's conclusions, must leave them convinced that every sentence, every letter of the Bible is as absolute, faultless, unerring, supreme as He whose direct and immediate work it is. Thus we have a pretence of freedom with the reality of an abject slavery. It was more than superstition; it was mere madness. Were there none who would feel it their duty to arrest its progress? Of the nature and extent of the disease there could be no question. Mr. Garbett had declared that

"in all consistent reason we must accept the whole of the inspired autographs, or reject the whole as from end to end unauthoritative and worthless;"

and in a manual on *Verbal Inspiration*, Dr. Baylee, the principal of one of the most important theological colleges in the kingdom, had laid it down that

"every word, every syllable, every letter [of the Bible] is just

[1] If the Bible be the Word of God (the Church of England has never said that it is so), would Dean Burgon apply to the Bible the phrases in which the first chapter of the Fourth Gospel speaks of the Divine Word?

what it would be, had God spoken from heaven without any human intervention.[1] . . . Every scientific statement is infallibly accurate, all its history and narratives of every kind are without any inaccuracy. The words and phrases have a grammatical and philological accuracy such as is possessed by no human composition."

These utterances are not much more than an echo of Dean Burgon's words, and indeed are not worthy of attention, except as evidence of the extent to which these absurdities were gravely maintained at the time when the Bishop of Natal came to do battle with this gross superstition. The character and incidents of the fight will best be described in the Bishop's letters.

"TO JOHN MERRIFIELD, ESQ. (*a friend from boyhood*).

"KENSINGTON, *November* 29, 1862.

"MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

"I was rejoiced to get your first letter, just as I was starting for Cheshire. I took it with me, meaning to answer it, but brought it back unanswered, and now have received the second. I thank you most sincerely for both, and for all the words of encouragement which you have sent me. Thank God, I am not at all troubled by the storm which rages around me. Perhaps my colonial experience has helped me in this respect. To tell you the truth, it is such a joyous thing to feel the solid rock under one's feet, that I have to guard against being *too* regardless of the feelings of others. *They* cannot see what I see plainly as the sun in the sky. And I must allow for the bitterness and even anguish of spirit which many good people will feel certainly at first, while they think that I am only taking

[1] The words look much like nonsense. If they have any meaning, they affirm that there are not, and that there cannot be, any corruptions of the text in the Old Testament or the New. With many writers the allegation of corruptions in the text is a favourite plea for evading difficulties.

away from them all the light of their life. I do not intend to answer any anonymous writers. I had a particular reason for writing one letter to the *Telegraph*, and perhaps I had better not have written it. Happily, I have several good men at hand to help me in replying to adversaries. I cannot but hope that the cause of Truth is gaining ground daily."

To his friend Mr. Shepstone,[1] in Natal, he writes :—

"*September* 4, 1862.

"We have now been a month in England, and you may suppose that I am by this time deep in my work, the magnitude and importance of which increases daily in the estimation of others as well as myself. . . . It is true that Lushington's recent judgement would bring me under sentence in two points. . . . But I think I may say that no sensible person in England supposes that judgement will be maintained. . . . It is the most inconsistent and unfortunate judgement that has ever been given. Professor Grote, of Cambridge, a first-rate man, writing from the orthodox point of view in a most temperate manner, has expressed the alarm which he and all other intelligent clergymen must feel at having one, if not two, new articles made for them besides the thirty-nine, by a mere stroke of the pen in a lawyer's study,—for so it really is. The judgement does more than all the Convocation could do by months of discussion ; and, as Professor Grote says, lays the clergy under a yoke the tyranny of which is quite insufferable. Strangely enough, however, the very same judgement allows me free licence to publish my *new* book without fear of coming under Church censure. You may now discuss the authenticity of Genesis and criticise it as much as you please ; only you must be able to say that you 'believe in all the canonical Scriptures,' meaning only thereby that you believe that all things necessary to salvation are contained in the Bible, and that to that extent it has the direct

[1] See *Ten Weeks in Natal*, throughout.

sanction of the Almighty. This, of course, any one could say, who believes that the fear, and faith, and love of God are taught in the Bible, and that, so far as the words of man teach such Divine truths, the writer's heart must have been taught by the Spirit of God to utter them. Now whatever the judgement has given is ground gained for ever. This part will not be appealed against, and therefore it practically stands as henceforward the law of the English Church. . . . My belief is that a strong effort will be made next session of Parliament to procure the repeal of the Act of Uniformity."

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"6 CRESCENT, BLACKFRIARS,
"*October* 2, 1862.

. . . . "I had a very pleasing letter from Magema by this mail. . . . It is quite refreshing to receive such a letter from him, in which he expresses most heartily his deep sense of all the kindness he has received from us and his determination to be my child for the rest of his life. I long to come back to you all, and I am not without hope that I shall."

TO THE SAME.

"LONDON, *November* 4, 1862.

. . . . "Last Wednesday the book, Part I., was published. . . . It is not yet a week from the day of publication, and the fourth edition is in the press, though the second will only be ready for delivery to-day. This fourth edition will complete 10,000 copies."

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, KENSINGTON,
"*December* 29, 1862.

. . . . "I am printing Part II., which I hope will be ready before the meeting of Convocation, when no doubt, a grand discussion will take place. I am in very good heart upon the whole matter,—am still Bishop of Natal, and as far

as I can see at present, am likely to remain so. I shall certainly, as at present advised, not resign; and it seems to be exceedingly doubtful if they can eject me under any circumstances. However, time will show, and I am prepared for anything. One thing I am resolved on, to go steadily forward with my book, whatever may be the consequences. The movement, however, is begun which will end,[1] I cannot doubt, in a revolution of the English Church. . . . The attempt is made, of course, in every way possible to vilify me, and decry my book. A certain Mr. McCaul, son of Dr. McCaul, Divinity Professor at King's College, London, has written to the *Record* and gives out that he has picked a hole in my scholarship. Fortunately I have received very interesting letters from some of the first scholars in England and Europe, which are all that I need desire. . . . I have also a very favourable letter from Professor Hupfeld, of Halle, one of the most eminent German critics. . . . It is hopeless to do anything until I can arouse the laity; and thank God, I am reaching *them*, I hope, effectually. . . . I see no reason to suppose that I shall not return to Natal, as Bishop, with full power to make any reform, not compulsory of course, but when desired by congregations, as may be needed. . . . I do not mean that by that time the law will be altered by Parliament, for it will be a long and slow work to change thoroughly the laws of the Church in England. But the work will have begun, and the very best thing to help it forward would be to see the reformation *actually* in progress, as I hope it may be, in Natal."

"TO THE REV. A. W. L. RIVETT (*one of the clergy of his diocese*).

"KENSINGTON, *January* 4, 1863.

"I have now published another book, of which, of course, some tidings will reach you. I have sent some copies for

[1] There can be no doubt that the Bishop did not reckon upon this end as likely to come in his own time. His words will remain true, if the movement should go on for a century.

sale to the care of Mr. Foster by mail-steamer. Perhaps you can aid him in the matter. But I have not made presents of the book to any of the clergy (except my commissary), as I do not wish to press my opinions upon any of them, otherwise I should send a copy to you. Should you hear it said that I am about to resign my see, you are at liberty to contradict it. I have no present intention to do anything of the kind; but I intend to fight the battle of liberty of thought and speech for the clergy."

"To Th. Shepstone, Esq.

"23 Sussex Place, *January* 26, 1863.

"It is impossible not to see that the reformation now begun will be of the deepest and most extreme character. The men of science and literature are almost in a body with me. I have seen a great deal of Sir Charles Lyell. . . . He is about sixty-five years old, I should think; a very pleasing, intelligent, venerable man, in a green and active old age. And he too has just completed, and in a few days will publish, a work on the antiquity of the human race which will entirely support my views and utterly upset the orthodox view of the degradation of man. . . . I have just come from a very interesting visit to an old gentleman (foreign translator at the Foreign Office), Mr. Norris, who seems to know every language under the sun. . . . He showed me a very curious MS. of the Vei language. This is the language of a lost African people. And it seems that a native of that country went once to visit one of our settlements, and there saw an English book. He caught the idea of an alphabet at once, went home, and made a syllabarium for himself, *i.e.* characters to represent not mere letters, but elementary syllables. . . . Accordingly, here was a long MS. written by himself in these characters. It told the tale of a journey made by a native into the interior, and introduced an old story which, Mr. Norris says, occurs almost identically the same in an old Cornish legend. It is to this effect. A man went to serve a master for wages.

. . . At the end of his time the master gave him his choice, to be paid in money or in advice. He chose the latter, and worked on, till he had received three pieces of advice, and no money. Then he went home, taking a cake which his master had given him to eat with his wife, in the middle of which they found all the money. As to the three pieces of advice, he applied them on three several occasions, and saved his life in consequence." [1]

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *March* 2, 1863.

. . . . "The day after I was turned out of S.P.G. [from the list of Vice-Presidents] I was admitted into the Athenæum —by invitation from the Committee. The Governor will know that this is a great victory, as it is the stronghold of the dignified ecclesiastics. Dean Trench violently opposed my admission ; but the Committee carried me in by 9 to 3.

. . . . "All sorts of lying paragraphs are inserted in the journals by way of damaging my position,—one that my new book was lying a dead weight on the shelves of the publishers. *Ans.* Nearly 8,000 copies sold in three weeks. Another that nothing is known of my intentions, but the Bishop of Capetown will administer my diocese till I have made up my mind. *Ans.* I fully intend to return to my diocese as soon as I have done the work for which I came to England. . . . .

"On Saturday I received a round robin from the Archbishop and Bishops except Hereford (Hampden). . . . . My answer is in preparation and will be calm and decisive. I tell them that I have no intention of resigning ; that the 'scandal' they complain of is not caused by me, but by those who maintain a state of things in the Church opposed to the plainest results of modern science. The fact is that these 'round robins' have become ridiculous, through their famous attempts in that line upon the *Essays and Reviews* and

[1] This story appears also in an Irish tale, under the title of "John Carson's Wages."

Sabbath questions. There is not a *man* among them; but they are obliged to flock together, like sheep running through a gate, when one leads the way."

TO SIR CHARLES LYELL.

"KENSINGTON, *February* 27, 1863.

"The *Record* thinks that *you* will be much offended by my introduction to the Athenæum. You will be amused with their leader in Friday's paper. Though such a friend, it seems, to their principles, I believe that you do not take in, as I do, that respectable journal."

TO THE SAME.

"KENSINGTON, *March* 6, 1863.

"I had an hour's talk with the Bishop of London [Tait] by appointment on Wednesday last, about which I will talk to you on Wednesday next, if I have not the pleasure of meeting you before. He then spoke of your book as lying on the table, and seemed to think that it was quite possible to hold both it and the Bible story as *true in some sense*."

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *April* 5, 1863.

"The Bishops . . . . are one by one forbidding me to preach and minister in their dioceses, &c., as if I cared for that when my books enter into so many houses, and are welcomed, thank God, by so many hearts, and when, if I had a desire to preach, God's great House is ever open to me; and the Bishop of London is an example to me of the propriety of open-air preaching. No doubt I shall manage to address my old Norfolk parishioners in this way before I leave England, if the embargo is not taken off."

TO THE SAME.

"*May* 1, 1863.

. . . "The change has been decidedly in my favour since I last wrote, owing to the line of conduct which the Bishops

have adopted . . . viz. to anathematize instead of answering me. This does not satisfy the English mind, and I have numerous letters in consequence from clergy as well as laity. However, my next book will bring matters to a crisis. I am hard at work upon it, and have it more than half printed. . . . . Canon Stanley has just printed a letter to the Bishop of London, urging the abolition of subscription to the Articles and Liturgy, which implies more than it says—viz. that the Bishop of London is not averse to some such measure. . . . . .

"What Bishop Gray is going to do in my case is at present quite unknown to us here in England. . . . . Now, as I am entirely protected by Lushington's judgement for what I have said about the Pentateuch, and as I shall be able to show in my next preface that I am equally supported, in regard to the suggestions which I have made about our Lord's ignorance of matters of human science, by some of the highest authorities in our Church, I do not believe that he can do anything. . . . .

"In one word, I am as strong, and cheerful, and full of hope as ever. . . . . The 'Church Union' has had a meeting, where they have seriously discussed the following question: 'Whereas Bishop Colenso's Part I. was full of errors in Hebrew, and Part II. shows a masterly acquaintance with the language, ought we not to apply to him to know by whom he has been assisted?' The fact is that the errors in Part I. are all mythical. They took it for granted that I could not possibly know Hebrew, and find to their surprise that I know more about it than they imagined. . . . There are only *two* trivial errors, of not the slightest consequence to the argument, but mere oversights from following the English version without referring to the originals,—one in Part I., the other in Part II.,—which have been brought to light by the most hawk-eyed criticism; for I need not tell you that every line has been greedily searched for something to throw at me by way of reproach. I am, therefore, quite at ease on this point."

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *June* ½, 1863.

. . . . "I think you will see that the Convocation have done the very best thing they could for me. . . . If *this* is all the heresy they can find after nine days' searching by the most eminent divines of England, it will follow that my position is considerably stronger than even I myself had imagined. You are quite right about the necessity of my doing the work completely *here*. . . .

"You will see that the Bishop of London (Tait) does not act with the other Bishops. *They*, headed by the Bishop of Oxford, have cut me dead. But I met him in Pall Mall a few days ago, where he was walking arm-in-arm with another Bishop, and I was going to pass him with a salutation. But he made a point of shaking me heartily by the hand, and stopping to ask me some friendly question—the other standing mute all the while. I could not see who it was: perhaps he did not know me. . . . A friend told me that after the debate on Lord Ebury's motion (for abolishing Subscription) he had heard Lord Derby say to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 'Another such debate, and the question of Subscription will be settled.' It is felt that Subscription is doomed since the late division. . . .

"Speaking generally the *cowardice* of men in England is something amazing. The truth will prevail, I doubt not; but it is painful to me how little *love of truth* there is among those from whom one hoped most. I see that the Metropolitan is going to take some measure against me. And it is plain from his reply to his clergy that what I have all along believed is true, viz., that the 'letters of inhibition' were part of a concerted scheme, planned by the Bishop of Oxford and others,[1] by which they hoped to get up 'public opinion' against me. In this, however, they have signally failed. The only effect of these letters has been to enlist a great deal more of public opinion on my side. . . . An old

[1] We have for this the admission of the Bishop of Oxford himself, see p. 175, note.

gentleman writes to me that he has just seen Professor Hitzig, of Heidelberg, probably the best Hebraist in Europe, who said to him: 'Your Bishops are making themselves the laughter of all Europe. Every Hebraist knows that the animal mentioned in Leviticus is really the *hare*. The word is derived from the Arabic, and has the same meaning in both languages. Every physicist knows that it does not chew the cud. But most of all is it ridiculous to assume that there are no physical errors in the Pentateuch.' My *hare* has been running a pretty round since I last wrote, and done excellent service to the cause of truth,—the matter being perfectly within the grasp of every old hunting squire. The following epigram has been going the round of the Clubs, and may amuse you:

> "'The Bishops all have sworn to shed their blood,
> To prove 'tis true the Hare doth chew the cud;
> O Bishops, Doctors, and Divines, beware!
> Weak is the faith that hangs upon a Hair!'"

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *June* 24, 1863.

. . . . "I think you will see by the papers of this mail that my hopes have been fulfilled, and my Part III. has put me (as Dean Milman says in a private letter which I saw) 'on much higher ground.' In reality, there is no difference whatever in the 'level.' *He* says that whereas before I was only destructive, now I am constructive; and I dare say that others will say the same. And if they choose to say so, they are welcome for my part to do so.

"It is their best way, I suppose, of getting out of the difficulty into which their own mistake of the nature of my work has carried them. Nothing, however, could have happened more favourably for my purpose than the course which has been followed under the advice (I doubt not) of the Bishop of Oxford. It is evident that they have entirely misapprehended the whole nature of my undertaking. They took it for granted that a mere 'arithmetician' would know

nothing of Hebrew criticism—and the contents of my first volume confirmed them in this, as it contained chiefly arithmetical arguments, although one at all acquainted with the subject would have perceived glimpses of another kind of criticism in the midst of my calculations.

"I have now finished about *half* my work, and hope at the end of twelve months to have completed it. *Then*, as far as I can now see, I shall prepare to leave for Natal, and the sight of the Zulu handwriting which reached me from William, Magema, and Umkungo this morning, makes me feel quite a longing to be back again among them.

"Part III. was published last Thursday, 4,000 copies, and already the second edition of 1,500 is in the press. The two former parts are also selling steadily. A gentleman was introduced to me at the Athenæum two or three days ago, who told me that he had just come from Rome, and the book was producing an immense sensation all over the Continent. At Rome he went into a Jesuit's room, and found him deep in the study of it. He then went to the room of another Jesuit, and found him similarly engaged. Manning has been preaching at Rome about it, and of course the Romish Church triumphs at the perplexities of Protestantism, and calls on every one to come and put himself under the direction of the infallible Church, which can do without the Bible. . . . Of course I am brought into daily connexion with all the great men of science, who are warmly with me. . . .

"I was invited by the head master of Harrow to the speeches, with Mrs. Colenso, last Thursday. . . . It is usual for the school to take note of their *friends*, when they come out of the recitations, by calling out their names for cheers. And it may show how the tide has turned to mention (though I would only do it to a friend such as you) that the lads gave me a hearty *double* set of cheers, in presence of my arch-opponents, Dr. Wordsworth and Dean Trench. . . .

"Please *keep up the hearts* of my poor people at Bishopstowe."

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *July* 23, 1863.

"My third preface has produced great effect, and almost silenced my adversaries. Indeed, not a word is now said about my *leaving the Church.* It is felt that, if I am to go, then Dean Milman, Canon Stanley, and a host of our most distinguished men, must go also. . . .

"I think that your document leaves you full authority to act for me. If you have not already had occasion to interfere, I now request you to take such steps as may be necessary to carry on the operations at Bishopstowe, the printing of Kafir books, and the preaching at St. Mary's (which, being unconsecrated, is merely a building erected on ground for which I am trustee, and you, therefore, acting trustee). . . . Do not let the Dean take possession of *my* trust property. Better that places should remain vacant till my return, which I shall hasten as much as possible."

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *August* 26, 1863.

. . . . "I send by this mail a copy of Mr. Wilson's address to the Privy Council, which I think you will pronounce to be a most masterly document. It is generally understood that they, Wilson and Williams, will completely reverse the unfavourable part of Lushington's judgement; and of course the favourable part stands good as ever. Wilson's arguments completely cover my own case. It would be ridiculous for the Bishop of Capetown to pass any judgement on me, if Wilson succeeds.[1] . . .

"Magema has written to me a capital *English* letter[2] this time, saying that he will have finished the New Testament and

[1] This would have been strictly true, if Bishop Gray proposed to exercise a jurisdiction which would be recognised by English courts. So soon as he took to what he deemed spiritual processes and spiritual sentences, he could act in defiance of the English courts. These proceedings were a nullity in English law, and from a nullity there can be no appeal on the merits of a case.

[2] See pp. 85—88.

other printing which I gave him to do, by April or May 1864, and he is anxious that I should know it, that I may provide more, as he does not wish to leave the station! Bravo! I am thinking of having some of Callaway's productions printed, though he does not deserve it."

"TO SIR CHARLES LYELL.

"KENSINGTON, *September* 13, 1863.

"I have had a very pleasant trip, and have returned strengthened in mind and body after my intercourse with some of the best critics of Europe. It would be amusing, were it not humiliating, to see what view they take of the state of Biblical criticism in England, more especially among those who sit on the episcopal bench."

"TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *October* 18, 1863.

"Archdeacon Denison, I *hear*, has just, in his monthly periodical *The Church and State Review*, accused the Bishop of London and Professor Stanley of *rank infidelity*, and says that the former is not fit to be a Bishop! So I am in good company." . . .

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *January* 5, 1864.

. . . . "You will see that Stanley, whom the *Record* and Archdeacon Denison consider a more dangerous heretic than myself, is to be the new Dean of Westminster, notwithstanding Wordsworth's furious fulminations. Behold the consistency of these men. . . . Dr. Wordsworth, the great stickler for Church order, can publish this libellous attack upon the ecclesiastical character of his intended superior; but there he stops short. He neither charges him with his offences before a court of law, nor resigns his own office.

"What would be thought of a major in the army, who, on hearing that some one was appointed to be colonel of his

regiment, published immediately a pamphlet charging him with cowardly or disloyal conduct? Would he not be bound either to bring those charges before a court-martial, or to quit the army himself? . . .

"I hear from Bleek that the rumour at the Cape is that I am to be suspended, and the Bishop to go up to Natal and act for me. Of course, I cannot prevent his doing what the patent allows him to do, viz. to go up in person, and while present personally, assume my spiritual powers. But as to temporalities, I would not give way for a moment. Do not therefore, as I am sure you will not, part with any of the documents in your possession should he demand them."

Litigation is commonly a costly process, and the steps which the Bishop was compelled to take in order to test the pretensions of the so-called judgement of the Metropolitan of Capetown were likely to involve him in expenses which he could not meet from his personal resources. His friends accordingly resolved to raise a Defence Fund, to which reference is made in the following letter:—

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *February* 2, 1864.

"The first donation came on Saturday from a gentleman in Yorkshire, a layman, quite a stranger to me, £150, with a promise of 'five times as much or more, if needed,' and an earnest exhortation to maintain my ground to the utmost, 'which is of more consequence at present than the continuation of your work.' The second was £50 from a Beneficed Clergyman' who is unwilling to give his name because he lives in a focus of orthodoxy; but this is his *first* subscription." . . . .

"*February* 5.

"I copy a passage from a letter from a clergyman this moment received: he is a master at one of our great schools. 'I have spoken of the Defence Fund to several of the masters, all of whom intend to subscribe. Whether

they will give their names or not depends on the course adopted by the masters of other public schools, Rugby, Eton, Marlborough, &c. I have talked . . . to the head master of ——, and he thinks it is yet uncertain whether they will subscribe anonymously or openly. There can be no question that the latter is the more honourable course, and I shall use whatever influence I have to get it adopted.'

"I don't think that he will succeed. But even a row of 'anonymous' clergy will tell a tale."

To THE REV. T. P. FERGUSON.

"KENSINGTON, *February* 26, 1864.

"I am quite sure that your thoughts in the matter of the Defence Fund are only good and kind towards me, and that you have done what you felt to be right. And I do not wish to put any force upon your own sense of duty in the matter. There is one point, however, and indeed a principal point, in your letter, on which in justice to myself I must give you some information. You speak of my 'clergy' being adverse to me, and of my inability to advise or direct them. And you have in mind, I suppose, a protest from eight of my clergy, addressed to me about a twelvemonth ago, calling upon me to resign my see, &c. You must remember first under what circumstances that document was forwarded. The 'Bishops' Manifesto' had just reached the colony, and it is by no means improbable that the protest itself was suggested by a letter from the chaplain of some English Bishop to Archdeacon Grubb. It was composed at a time when the Bishop of St. David's had not thrown his shield around me, and the Convocation was expected to grind me to powder. Above all, it was written before the Privy Council had, by its recent judgement, completely legalised my present position."

The Bishop goes on to examine the list of names. Two only were those of University men, one of these being

Archdeacon Grubb, who, knowing that the Bishop was going to England to publish his work on the Pentateuch, accepted the office of commissary during his absence without hesitation, and discharged it until he was frightened by the uproar from England. His signature almost of necessity carried those of the rest, and of these, one, Tönnesen, publicly expressed his regret for having signed it.

"You may have heard that I have received a warm address of sympathy from a large body of the laity of Durban, and that a counter address, which was prepared, has *not* been sent, because, as I suppose, it was not sufficiently signed. Thus you may get a general idea of the state of things in the diocese, and as Mr. Shepstone says (previously to the results of my last volume, with Perowne's admission and Thirlwall's judgement of Convocation, and previous of course to the recent judgement) it only needs me to gain the day in England to have all right in Natal sufficiently for all practical purposes."

TO MISS COBBE.

"23 SUSSEX PLACE, *February* 29, 1864.

"I heartily thank you for your little books. . . . I can say no more than that your words speak to my heart throughout, and that I truly rejoice in the work which you are enabled from above to do, and which, God be praised, you are doing. What my own future course may be, is still uncertain, though I think I see before me the path of duty becoming more clear daily. . . . . Should the decision as to jurisdiction be in my favour, as we have every reason to expect, then I shall be in a position to return to Africa free of all ecclesiastical shackles, except the vows made at my consecration. . . . . The late judgement of the Privy Council has made a wonderful gap in the fence which protected the old superstition. 'Take away our hot plates and pincers, and where are we?' say the dogmatists. The *Saturday Review* compares the said 'fence,' which the

orthodox deemed a stone wall, to a mere paling with wide intervals between the pales, so that any clergyman may now go in and out and find pasture for himself and his flock, if only he will take care not to run his head against one of the pales,—add, *until* the said pale has become sufficiently rotten to give way at the least push."

TO THE REV. G. W. COX.

"KENSINGTON, *March* 4, 1864.

"Bishop Cotterill will, I think, be mistaken as to my clergy. The best of them has just written to say that he 'has now been reading my third volume, and is sorry that he signed the protest.' Another writes to me month after month in the most dutiful manner, and a third refused to sign anything, and sent his duty to me. Of course I shall have a fight *à l'outrance* with Dean Green, backed by Bishop Gray and Archdeacon Fearne. But they can do nothing. . . . . You remember that Denison intimated some eight months ago his willingness to 'bury' me with the due honours of the Church Service, as I was not excommunicated. He seems anxious to hurry the ceremony, as he writes upon 'the late Bishop of Natal' though, even on his own principle, I cannot be 'dead' ecclesiastically till the Cape mail leaves England to-morrow evening, which *might* take my retractation, and he cannot be sure that it won't go out and be presented to Bishop Gray on April 17."

TO THE REV. T. P. FERGUSON.

"*March* 4, 1864.

"Thanks for your note and for all your love.

"But I do not think that your comparison of a Bishop with a General at all holds good.

"In the first place, if a commanding officer becomes unpopular with his officers,—*e.g.* Colonel C——, it may be because his *officers* are bad; and the remedy may be to remove *them* to other regiments, as in his case has, I believe, been done. The soldiers, you remember, liked him; and the laity have

addressed me. But at all events, if the Colonel is removed, he is allowed to retire on half-pay, or sell out. What am I to do? . . . . But this after all is only a secondary question. Did St. Paul retire from the oversight of the Galatians, when they 'so soon removed from him to another gospel'? Or did he think it necessary to consider whether the clergy of the Galatian churches, who preached that other gospel, would *like* his supervision or not? 'Do I seek to please men? For, if I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ.'

"As soon as the 'law' deposes me, of course, my office is at an end, and I must bear the consequences of speaking what I believe to be the truth. But till then, it seems to me to be my duty to proclaim the truth, as I see it, though all the clergy and laity of England and Natal were banded against me, and though all possible annoyance and insult might be my lot for so doing; unless, indeed, I have lost all faith in the power of Truth to prevail at last over all opposition."

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"*March* 29, 1864.

. . . . "First let me quiet your anxieties by saying that *all is going well* with us at present, and as well as we could possibly desire, and that I am now seriously expecting that we shall sail for Natal in the fall of this year.

"The Privy Council judgement [on the *Essays and Reviews* case] has been delivered, and is of infinite importance. On every point appealed against the judgement of the court below has been reversed. . . . The decision goes very far beyond what we had any of us anticipated or hoped for, in all essential points. . . . I need not say that it sweeps away at a stroke the whole farrago of the Bishop of Capetown's judgement. On the very point of 'endless punishment,' on which the three Cape Bishops were so positive, the three English Bishops are agreed in the very opposite direction. And on every single point of the nine (on which they have condemned me) which has been under discussion in the

English courts, either in the Gorham judgement, or Lushington's, or this last of the Privy Council, *I* am justified, and they are condemned."

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *April* 4, 1864.

"The greatest news of the last month is the 'Declaration' pushed forwards with the utmost vigour by the joint efforts of the Tractarian and Recordite parties. In the face of the judgement of the Privy Council, between 9,000 and 10,000 clergy have declared that the Church of England holds that every part of the Bible is the Word of God, and that the punishments of the other world *are* everlasting. Happily, only about *half* of the English clergy have been got to sign it; and though, of course, a great many of the non-declarants may have withheld their names for various reasons, and not because they differ from the declaration itself, yet it is plain, I think, that the *liberal* party in the clergy is considerably stronger than we ourselves had imagined, and it will, I doubt not, increase daily."

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *June* 6, 1864.

. . . "We have not yet got the list of Dr. Pusey and his 11,000 virgins. But the *Record* says that almost all the *Irish* clergy have signed the declaration. If so, it is unfortunate for its *importance*, as the Irish Church stands very low in public estimation in England. Perhaps its clergy may be 5,000; take these away, and then deduct the curates under the screw from their rectors, the deacons, and the literates, and how many will remain of the genuine, intelligent, English clergy?"

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *July* 3, 1864.

"It appears from the Bishop of London's statement in Convocation that the whole number of clergy in England and

Ireland is 24,805, of which 10,906, not one-half, have signed the famous declaration. The signers among the English clergy were only 9,675, out of 22,509; and 8 only of the 30 Deans, 9 out of 40 Oxford Professors, and *not* one of the 29 Cambridge Professors, have signed it. . . .

"I have now Professor Kuenen staying with me for a week, and of course we are discussing the Pentateuch at every available moment. Though he differs in detail from some of my views, I see no reason as yet to modify any of them.

"I came out of the Athenæum the other day, and saw at the door my old college friend, Bishop Ellicott, of Gloucester and Bristol, with whom we had all stayed a night at his deanery in Exeter, shortly after landing, upon which occasion I discussed with him all the principal parts of my work on the Pentateuch. Though not agreeing with all my views, yet he made no serious objection to them. But as soon as he got upon the bench, he issued a bull of inhibition as long and unmeaning as any of them. There he now was (on horseback) at the door of the Athenæum. . . . On seeing me he nodded, and I went up and shook hands with him, upon which he said, 'Upon my word! you don't seem much the worse for all the storms and tempests that have gone over you!' So there you have the last report of my health at this moment."

To Miss F. P. Cobbe.

"23 Sussex Place, *May* 12, 1864.

"Your refreshing note reached me yesterday, and came like a single drop to sweeten a whole cup full of bitterness, which I found awaiting me, as the result of the post, during a two days' absence. . . . . You wish to know what I am doing. I post the 'Letter to the Laity,' which will give you some idea of the present state of things. . . . I quite feel that if life and strength are spared, my work must be done eventually in England, and your letter is not the only one which has put before me strongly my duty to remain here. But I think that I must return for a *time* at

all events, if only to set things in order, and take a final leave of my friends and my poor native flock. Whatever I may have to write, as I pursue the work which God in His Providence has laid upon me, I have as yet written nothing which deserves the treatment which I have received at the hands of the Bishop of Capetown. And I think that the cause of truth itself requires that I should assert this by maintaining my ground in the face of his excommunications. If he had waited quietly for the decision of the authorities at home—not shrinking from what he felt to be his own duty in the matter, but yet acting *openly*, *fairly*, and *temperately*, abiding calmly the result of my appeal, and prepared to submit himself to the judgement of the Privy Council if adverse to himself, as well as to carry out his 'sentence' if confirmed—I *might* have seen it best to retire at once from the conflict, as soon as the appeal was decided, though it would have cost me a sore pang to give up thus my work in Natal. But now, after the violent course which Bishop Gray has taken and still intends to pursue, . . . I feel bound to go out, *if I go alone*, and stand my ground before him—supposing that the Privy Council gives a decision in my favour. Last night I had an intimation from the Colonial Secretary to the effect that my case *is* to go before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—but 'in its most general form,' *i.e.*, I suppose, they will only discuss the question of jurisdiction. My course will be determined pretty nearly by the *form* which the decision takes. If it should be adverse to me, on the score of jurisdiction, . . . then I should perhaps appeal to the Court of Arches or Privy Council on the question of 'merits,' if such appeal is allowed; and if this appeal were decided for me, I should probably then go out for two or three years—long enough to assert my rights, and to complete my work on the Pentateuch. The decision of the Privy Council may, however, be given in such a form *as to put me into the hands of the Bishop*, in which case I should certainly not go out again, or only for a few months, just to wind up my affairs. But whenever I do return finally to

England, what am I to do? Indeed I know not; and I can only trust that some work will be found, by which I may earn a living for my family. Criticism alone will not do this: and my books will exclude me from almost every situation which I might feel myself competent to fill. What 'respectable' person could be expected to vote for the ex-Bishop, heretic, infidel, and renegade? Or, if some few had the courage to do so, how many would not? This would be nothing if one were beginning life, or were alone in the world; but, as things are, I must confess the worldly prospect in the future is very blank and cheerless; nor do I at present see my way at all through the gloom. I do not wish to leave the National Church and become a sectarian. Yet within the Church, when I shall have once resigned my see, I know of no post that I could be allowed to fill. Well, time will show what is to be done, and God's good Providence is over all.

"I am not writing at present, though a great part of my fifth volume is written. But I have been reading a number of German works, full of learning and information, though utterly unknown to English divines. The more I study the subject, the less reason I see for withdrawing my foot from any of the positions which I have taken in my different volumes. In particular, as to the later origin of the name Jehovah, I had no idea what very strong confirmation of this opinion is given by the records of the Phœnician religion. Many English readers will be astonished, I think, when they have the facts to which I refer laid plainly before them. . . . . I am well pleased that my books are on the bookshelves of your host. I wish that they were more worthy of the perusal of a learned foreigner. But things which are new and strange to us in England have been long familiar to German scholars. You probably see the *Victoria Magazine*, where, in this month's number, the editor takes you to task for your judgement of Mr. Maurice. Not a word of sympathy has reached me from that quarter since you left England. Father Newman is now giving a most interesting account of the Tractarian movement in a

series of pamphlets which he calls an 'Apology' for his life.

"Yesterday the famous declaration was presented; but only four Bishops with the Archbishops were present at its reception, viz. Bangor, St. Asaph, Gloucester, and Worcester. It has been signed by about *half* the clergy; and it will be curious to know by what class of the clergy it has been chiefly signed."

TO THE REV. A. W. L. RIVETT.

"KENSINGTON, *June* 6, 1864.

"I am afraid that you and others of the clergy will have been much perplexed by the proceedings of the Bishop of Capetown, and I am sorry on all accounts that he did not wait quietly for the legal decision of the questions at issue. You will see by the *Times* of May 25 that I dined *as Bishop of Natal* with the Colonial Ministers on Her Majesty's birthday—a fact which shows that the Government at home does not recognise the validity of the sentence of deposition, according to which I ceased to be Bishop of Natal on April 16. My petition is to come before the Privy Council at its next meeting, either this week or next, and then it will be decided what course the affair is likely to take. If the matter is referred to the Judicial Committee, time must then be allowed for the Bishop of Capetown to appear by his counsel, and I shall not be able to leave England till the end of the year. But the Privy Council may decide at once, or may decline to interfere at this stage; and in either of these cases I shall hope to sail for Natal as soon as I can complete my preparations for the voyage.

"I am very glad to find that your health bears up under the heavy work you have had, and also that you have paid off the debt upon the church. It does you great credit to have managed this work so well.

"You will see from the above that by the next mail I hope to be able to speak more definitely of my plans. The delays of the law are tedious: still it is better to wait quietly and

patiently, until my ground is made sure for me by an authoritative legal decision, if that can be obtained, than to take rash and hasty steps such as those which the Metropolitan appears to be taking.

"I should strongly advise you and others of the clergy, who may be perplexed between the injunctions of the Bishop of Capetown *not* to obey me as Bishop, and your sense of duty to the oath which you have taken of obedience to your Bishop, who is still recognised as such by the Queen's Government, and by the law of the land, to write personally to Mr. Hawkins, Secretary of the S.P.G., and put the case before him, and ask his advice and direction as to what the Society wishes you to do under the circumstances, seeing that, by the instructions to their missionaries, they expressly require you to be subject to your Bishop. But do not write before the September mail, as the Committee does not meet till October, and therefore your letter, if arriving sooner, might be lost sight of."

It is scarcely necessary to do more than notice in passing the incidents which took place at Claybrook in September 1864. It was the old story. The incumbent had invited the Bishop to preach for his village school; and the Bishop of the diocese anticipated him by an inhibition. Instead of preaching, the Bishop published his sermon (to which it would be hard indeed for any one to offer any objections), and addressed the people later in the day in the school-room, until the pressure of the crowd made it needful to end his speech in the open air. It was but a few weeks before these occurrences that Mr. Briarly, a Yorkshire clergyman, addressed the Archbishop of York with reference to a book intitled *The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch considered in connexion with Parts II. and III. of Bishop Colenso's "Critical Examination of the Pentateuch."* This work was announced as "By a Layman," but it was dedicated "by permission" to the Archbishop; and although in a work so dedicated the person receiving the

dedication cannot fairly be considered responsible for minute and subordinate details, still it would follow that he approved its main arguments and conclusions. The Archbishop may have done more: he must, if he had read the book, at least have done this. But the "Layman" in this book had expressed himself thus:—

"It must be confessed that the results we have thus arrived at do differ very materially from the views commonly held. The pre-Mosaic origin of large portions of Genesis; the existence of two records of the Exodus, one, certainly, therefore, non-Mosaic; the incorporation of narratives of foreign origin; the numerous additions and occasional alterations made by a later writer after the Conquest,—these are facts very strangely at variance with the notions generally entertained. *Facts* they are, however—not mere theoretic fancies or unfounded assumptions; and in accordance with them we must frame our final view of the true origin of the Pentateuch. Much of it is certainly non-Mosaic, some earlier, some contemporary, some later than Moses. Many portions of the Pentateuch could not have proceeded from his pen, or even have been written under his direction."

A hundred other admissions of a similar kind might be cited; but one is as valuable as a multitude. Any one of them makes the whole criticism of the Pentateuch, and therefore of all the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, an open question. In the words of the "Layman," the result to be aimed at is a "final view," which may be right or which may be wrong; but every one of the admissions swept utterly away traditional theories for disputing which the Bishop of Natal had been covered with the foulest abuse by clergymen and others who are usually supposed to be gentlemen. If twenty or thirty chapters of the Pentateuch are non-Mosaic, any number more may be in the same predicament. If there be mis-statements, or errors of any kind, in two or three passages

there may be any number, serious or slight, in others also. The "Layman" beyond doubt was justified in avowing these conclusions: he was bound to do so. But the Archbishop was not a whit less bound to avow the sanction for these conclusions implied in the fact of the dedication. Yet how did the Archbishop act? Mr. Briarly put together many of these admissions, and then wrote to Archbishop Thomson, asking him whether he allowed these statements to go forth with the authority of his name, and whether he felt the importance of these admissions in their bearing on the present controversy. To this letter the Archbishop returned no answer, and a month later Mr. Briarly printed his letter with the "Layman's" admissions, and circulated it amongst "members of the United Church of England and Ireland," with the remark that he could only suppose that the Archbishop took on himself the responsibility of these statements,

> "and that we must now make up our minds to admit the 'composite character' of the Pentateuch, and the 'non-Mosaic' origin of considerable portions of it, for attempting to demonstrate which the Bishop of Natal has incurred so much, and, as it appears, so much undeserved obloquy."

The subsequent withdrawal of the dedication cannot affect the fact of its having appeared with the first editions. The Archbishop may not have read the book; but in this case must not the conclusion be that he regarded the subject as one of no great consequence?

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *September* 2, 1864.

. . . "I am going to the British Association at Bath on the 13th inst."

TO THE SAME.

"*October* 3, 1864.

. . "From Claybrook [where Dr. Jeune, Bishop of Peterborough, had the impertinence to send him a lawyer bearing an inhibition] I went straight to Bath . . . My reception, as you will see, in this thoroughly *evangelical* city, was remarkable. But particularly so was the fact of the Dean of Hereford coming bravely forward on the platform in the theatre, in sight of the whole vast assembly, to shake me cordially by the hand. . . . When Sir Charles Lyell at one point of his address spoke of our being unable to get the chill of traditionary beliefs out of our bones, he was stopped for some minutes by repeated peals of applause; and so was I, when I got up to propose Livingstone's health after the dinner. This was not planned beforehand, but had only been thought of a minute or two before. . . . I know that you will like to hear all these little details, and won't think me egotistical in relating them, for they show how the wind is blowing here in England."

It was, indeed, only to inform his friend that he noticed these details at all. What occurred at Bath and at Harrow was known generally, and was the subject of common conversation; but these incidents had their significance as serving to show what impression had been produced by the work thus far done, and his distant friends might, therefore, reasonably expect to hear about them from himself.

TO JOHN MERRIFIELD, ESQ.

"KENSINGTON, *October* 18, 1864.

" I have in the press a complete criticism of the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, a translation by me from the Dutch of Professor Kuenen, with notes of my own showing the points of agreement with my criticisms as far as published, and the unimportant particulars in which I differ from him. It is a masterly work, this of Kuenen, and may be, I hope, a

text-book for the younger clergy; and at any rate it will serve as a stop-gap until I can complete the whole of my own work. It would not be prudent in me perhaps, nor indeed, would it be possible, to bring out the rest of my own book, though I have a deal of it in MS. I shall do my best to let the Privy Council come to their decision, without rousing any more hostility than is necessary until that decision is given.

"As to my future course, much will depend on the nature of that decision. But I *must* run down some day to Brighton and have a talk with you, the *only old* friend whom I can consult about this matter."

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"23 SUSSEX PLACE, *December* 9, 1864.

"Bishop Gray puts into print a statement of the Dean [Green] that he believed I had received £500 from S.P.C.K. for a grammar school at Maritzburg, the fact being that I had only *asked* for such a grant, and for *the present* the Society declined to make it, the colony not being sufficiently advanced. But there it stands, insinuating that I have had the money and misapplied it. Now the Bishop might have had the fairness and courtesy to write and ask me first privately to give an account of this sum, and the other sums which I *have* received, before he rushed into print in this way."

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *January* 6, 1865.

. . . . "My case has been duly heard, and took up four days of the judges' time. . . . . It is universally recognised by the English press that some of the gravest constitutional questions are raised by this case. . . . . It is doubtful, at present, in what form the decision will be given,—whether they will say that Bishop Gray has no jurisdiction, . . . or, which seems more probable, will allow his jurisdiction, but with an appeal to the Crown. This is all that we really

contend for, and this Sir Hugh Cairns has allowed in plain words, for which I fancy Bishop Gray will not thank him."

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *March* 9, 1865.

. . . . "I breakfasted a few days ago with Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Under-Secretary for the Colonies. . . . . We got upon the subject of the education of the natives, and I started the idea of devoting the £5,000 in Natal to the establishment of Government schools with all the great tribes, having heard from Mr. Scott that he was himself inclined to take steps in this direction. Mr. Fortescue listened with the deepest interest, and I feel sure that, as far as he is concerned, the idea will not be allowed to drop. I told him that I am bound to fight out the ecclesiastical question; but when I have gained the victory, as completely as the case will allow, I would gladly exchange the Bishop's throne for the chair of Inspector of Native Education in Natal, if they could allow me enough to live upon. . . . . Mr. Fortescue took the matter in entirely, and I am persuaded that, if it rested with him alone, it would be done. . . . . I cannot help thinking that a great deal might be done for the improvement of the natives by a system of Government schools, without *dogmatic* teaching, though, of course, elementary religious truth would not be excluded from them. And I need hardly say that to be engaged in such work would be the realisation of my most cherished wishes in going to Natal at all in the first instance."

Towards the close of the year 1864, the pretensions of the Bishop of Capetown came before the Sovereign in Council. In dealing with the questions submitted to it, the Judicial Committee laid down certain positions which still remain law. But a tribunal which lays down principles may be mistaken as to the circumstances of the case to which those principles are to be applied. It may be taken as certain

"that in a colony having legislative institutions there was no

power in the Crown by virtue of its prerogative (independent of statute) to establish a metropolitan see or province, or to create an ecclesiastical corporation whose status, rights, and authority the colony will be required to recognise;"

also

"that there was no consensual jurisdiction, for it was not competent for the one Bishop to give or the other to exercise any such jurisdiction."

The first consequence of this ruling would be, as the decision of the Judicial Committee, delivered March 20, 1865, declared it to be,

"that the proceedings taken by the Bishop of Capetown, and the judgement and sentence pronounced by him against the Bishop of Natal are null and void in law."

There was, and there is, no question that at the time when the metropolitical diocese of Capetown was created, the colony of the Cape of Good Hope possessed "legislative institutions." But the Judicial Committee made one mistake as to fact, or perhaps two mistakes. They treated the colony of Natal as an integral part of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, or looked on both as possessed of the same "legislative institutions." This was not the case. At the time when the bishopric of Natal was created, and the title of Metropolitan was conferred on the Bishop of the newly formed diocese of Capetown, Natal was, to all intents and purposes, a Crown colony.[1] The Crown, therefore, had full power to create an ecclesiastical corporation in that colony, "whose status, rights, and authority the colony would be required to recognise;" but without an Act of the legislature of the Cape of Good Hope it had not the power of conferring Metropolitan or any other powers on the Bishop of the re-made diocese of Capetown.

[1] In a measure it is so still

Legally, then, the proceedings of the Bishop of Capetown and his judgement were worthless. Spiritually, it was contended by himself, and by his supporters, that they were valid; and the inference insisted on was that, if he had no jurisdiction, and if his judgement was in law a nullity, no appeal could lie to the Queen in Council. This plea was summarily set aside by the Judicial Committee, which held

"that under 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, an appeal would lie."

But it was the fault of the Bishop of Capetown and his adherents that the appeal was made simply against his exercise of jurisdiction. It was impossible to carry an appeal to the Crown on the *merits* of the case, unless both parties were agreed that it should be so carried. The coercive jurisdiction might be appealed against, but not the detailed charges with reference to which that professed or pretended jurisdiction had been exercised. Under no circumstances, however, would the Bishop of Capetown hear of an appeal to what he spoke of as a purely secular tribunal. The way to an examination of the case on its merits was absolutely barred. Neither the Judicial Committee nor any other court could waste its time in debating the details of charges brought by a so-called tribunal which was asserted to have no legal existence. But if the charges had been brought honestly and in good faith, as they might have been brought, as against a Bishop or an incumbent in England, the right of appeal to the Crown being admitted, then the nullity of the metropolitical court, and the legal invalidity of its sentence, would have been no bar to a settlement of the case on its merits. The appeal and the scrutiny would have followed in due course, and the scandalous divisions introduced by the setting up of the so-called Church of South Africa, would all have been avoided. To get rid of what he called the yoke of a secular court, the Bishop of Capetown set up a schismatical body ; and its

schism is none the less a fact because it has continued to exist for more than twenty years.

It becomes, therefore, unnecessary to examine the language of the letters patent creating the new diocese of Capetown in December 1853. But even if the validity of these letters were conceded, there can still be no doubt as to the meaning of the clause which declares that, if any party shall conceive himself aggrieved by any judgement, decree, or sentence of the Bishop of Capetown, it shall be lawful for him to appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Gray, as of favour, condescended to allow in this particular instance an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury in person. The appeal indicated in the letters patent was to the Archbishop in his judicial capacity, from whom an appeal would of necessity lie to the Crown.

The attempt made by Bishop Gray to draw a distinction between ecclesiastical and spiritual authority was summarily disallowed. It was determined that

> "pastoral or spiritual authority may be incidental to the office of Bishop; but all jurisdiction in the Church, where it can be lawfully conferred, must proceed from the Crown, and be exercised as the law directs; and suspension or privation of office are matters of coercive legal jurisdiction, and not of mere spiritual authority."

The plea of consensual jurisdiction might seem to carry greater weight. With this plea the Judicial Committee dealt as follows:—

> "There is nothing on which such an argument can be attempted to be put, unless it be the oath of canonical obedience taken by the Bishop of Natal to Dr. Gray as Metropolitan.
>
> "The argument must be that, both parties being aware that the Bishop of Capetown has no jurisdiction or legal

authority as Metropolitan, the appellant agreed to give it to him by voluntary submission. But, even if the parties intended to enter into any such agreement (of which, however, we find no trace), it was not legally competent to the Bishop of Natal to give, or to the Bishop of Capetown to accept or exercise, any such jurisdiction.

"There remains one point to be considered. It was contended before us that, if the Bishop of Capetown had no jurisdiction, his judgement was a nullity, and that no appeal could lie from a nullity to Her Majesty in Council.

"But that is by no means the consequence of holding that the respondent had no jurisdiction. The Bishop of Capetown, acting under the authority which the Queen's letters patent purported to give, asserts that he has held a court of justice, and that with certain legal forms he has pronounced a judicial sentence; and that by such sentence he has deposed the Bishop of Natal from his office of Bishop, and deprived him of his see. He also asserts that, the sentence having been published in the diocese of Natal, the clergy and inhabitants of the diocese are thereby deprived of all episcopal superintendence. Whether these proceedings have the effect which is attributed to them by the Bishop of Capetown, is a question of the greatest importance, and one which we feel bound to decide. We have already shown that there was no power to confer any jurisdiction on the respondent as Metropolitan. The attempt to give appellate jurisdiction to the Archbishop of Canterbury is equally invalid.

"This important question can be decided only by the Sovereign as Head of the Established Church, and depositary of the ultimate appellate jurisdiction. . . .

"Unless a controversy, such as that which is presented by this appeal and petition, falls to be determined by the ultimate jurisdiction of the Crown, it is plain that there would be a denial of justice, and no remedy for great public inconvenience and mischief."

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"23 SUSSEX PLACE, *April* 10, 1865.

"Doubtless before this the news of the 'decision' will have reached Natal, and you will agree with me, I think, in considering that we have gained a complete victory. The Tractarians (Dr. Pusey, &c.) try to make out that they have got as much out of it as I; that, if Bishop Gray has lost his power, I have lost mine; that the Church of South Africa is free, &c. These gratulations are, in reality, only pretences to hide their discomfiture. As they do not mean to give up their posts and incomes within the good old Church of England, it was, of course, necessary to make out that the decision was just what they wanted. But every day shows more and more clearly the importance of it to *our* cause, and the devastation which it brings to theirs. The whole edifice which they have been so carefully piling up for years has toppled all at once to the ground. Of course, the Long judgement prepared us to find that we had no 'coercive jurisdiction' by *patent* over our clergy, but only that which their *contracts* under their licences have given us. But, as I have not the least wish to exercise any such jurisdiction, ... this part of the decision, however destructive it may be to Bishop Gray's notions of authority, is perfectly acceptable to me. It is not, indeed, certain that it does apply to Natal, for the question would still have to be decided, if any case of discipline arose, whether Natal had *representative institutions* when it had merely a *nominee* Legislative Council. However, I am never likely to raise the question, and so we will consider all coercive jurisdiction by patent-right gone. But what then? The patent is perfectly valid, as ever, to give title, position, protection, independence, and (which is of most importance perhaps) to constitute me a lay-corporation for holding lands in trust for the English Church, and transmitting them to my successors. . . . Thus there can be no Bishop of the Church of England in the colony but myself; and no one can hold land for the English Church but myself. If any like to join

the Church of South Africa, of course they may do so, as they might have done all along.

"But Bishop Gray has no power whatever to interfere in any of the affairs of the *Church of England* in Natal,—not even, I suspect, as holding lands in trust for it, for a very curious case arises out of the recent decision. . . . By his *old* patent the Bishop of Capetown was a *lay-corporation*, and, as such, had lands granted to him in Natal in trust for the English Church. What became of these lands when *that* corporation was *destroyed* by the cancelling of his former patent? With whom was the trust vested during the fifteen days when there was no Bishop of Capetown, and no patent constituting the office? Lawyers tell me that by English law the property in that case would return to the *donor*, and be held by him in trust for the object in question. But who was the donor? Not the Queen in England, but the Queen in Natal, represented by the Governor and Executive Council, and the Queen had no power, by a stroke of her pen in the new patent, to re-grant those lands in trust to the new Bishop of Capetown. He should have applied to the Colonial Government. If so, the cathedral and other lands, supposed to be held by Bishop Gray in Natal on trust, are really held by the Government, and would, I suppose, on application be re-granted to me, in accordance with the decision of the Privy Council."

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *May* 9, 1865.

. . . . "The Colonial Bishoprics Fund Committee, consisting mainly, I believe, of the Archbishops and Bishops, have decided, it seems, to do what honourable laymen, I imagine, would not have thought of doing, viz. to withhold my income until they are compelled to pay it. I have just heard . . . . that they are doing this without any expectation of finally succeeding in their attempt, but only to cause annoyance, and especially *delay* in my return to Natal. They expect (my friend says) to be able to keep

me here till perhaps Christmas. . . . And this private information is fully confirmed up to the present by the course they have taken. First, they gained a fortnight by the pretext that they had not had a meeting, though they were all in London at the time of the decision. Then they merely referred me to their solicitors. . . . We go to the solicitors, and offer to lay a case with them before Council, if they are in any doubt as to any legal question. The solicitors reply that they know nothing at all about the matter, have not read any of the documents, &c., &c., but as soon as we file our bill they will take advice. We are therefore obliged to file a bill in Chancery, and my solicitors yesterday requested them to receive service of the same. They reply that they have no instructions to receive service; whereupon my agents have told them that, if they do not consent to receive service to-morrow, they shall regard their proceedings as frivolous and vexatious, and go down and serve upon the two Archbishops themselves, who are made defendants. When the bill is served, they have a month by law before they *need* say what course they will take. Some think that they will knock under, seeing that they have not a shadow of ground on which to stand. But I am by no means sure of this. . . . For the present I adhere to my purpose of leaving England about the end of July. For my friends are not idle, and are, I believe, going to raise a sum which is to be used for my income while this law-suit is pending, and then to be left at my disposal."

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *July* 9, 1865.

"As I anticipated, the attempt to crush me by stopping my income has resulted in a miserable failure. Thus far the 'fund' has amounted to about £3,000 without any publication of it. . . . In fact, it has been quite a triumph for the party of progress. . . .

"The hopes of my first preface have been actually fulfilled, even before the time I gave for it. I said in *five* years, and

behold in *three* the terms of Subscription for clergy have been already relaxed. We are now only required to say that 'we assent to the Articles and Liturgy' (assent in what sense, for what reason, whether as a temporary arrangement, a compromise, &c., is left perfectly open), and that we 'believe its doctrine generally to be agreeable to Holy Scripture,' without, therefore, being *true* in itself or in any of its details. But more of these things when we meet."

TO THE SAME.

"SUSSEX PLACE, *August* 9, 1865.

"We hope by this day week to be going down the Channel, the *Verulam* being fixed to sail on the 15th. . . . So, please God, we hope to reach Natal some time about the end of October or beginning of November. . . . If you cannot be at Durban when we arrive, I should like to have a line from you awaiting me there, just to tell me how things stand. . . . My desire and my duty will be to be as patient and quiet as possible, to act simply when required to maintain my own rights, without taking any notice of mere insults, anathemas, &c., &c. . . .

"Up to this moment the council and trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund have not given any reply to my case in Chancery, though we filed it more than three months ago. They have three times asked for more time. My lawyers say that there can be no reason that will bear the light of day. I must believe that the whole proceeding is a mere piece of manœuvring on the part of the Bishop of Oxford, &c., to *gain time for Bishop Gray*, and especially to see what effect can be produced on the *clergy and laity of Natal* by working upon their minds with the statement that my income was stopped, and letting the report go out mail after mail, while I should be unable to contradict it or to counteract it by showing that it was stopped for no just ground whatever. In England, through the 'fund,' this object has utterly failed. I only hope that the laity of Natal have been sufficiently alive to the craft of the High

Church party, and sufficiently awake to the consequences to themselves, should the schemes of that party be allowed to triumph."

TO JOHN MERRIFIELD, ESQ.

"KENSINGTON, *August* 12, 1865.

I duly received both your kind letters, and now, having just packed my books, &c., sit down to write just one line of farewell. Most heartily do I thank you and all my friends for the help you have given in the time of need. (You will be glad to hear that the Bishop of London's chaplain has signed the Fund,—of course with the Bishop's permission.) I am going, please God, to fight out the battle for liberty of thought and speech within the Church of England at Natal. But many things lead me to think that I shall not be very long away from England. If it please God, I may hope to see you and shake you by the hand once more.

I wish you would keep Fawcett up to the mark. Let him bring in a Bill (if nobody else will) to remove the disabilities of the clergy. Say nothing about 'indelibility,' &c. If any one believes in that dogma, nobody will prevent them from so believing. But let a clergyman be free, while not holding clerical office, to engage in any trade or profession or be elected to Parliament. There are clergy enough in the House of Lords to prevent any progress. We shall never have a real reform of the Church system, till we have some in the House of Commons who know where the shoe pinches."

TO THE REV. G. W. COX.

"KENSINGTON, *August* 14, 1865.

Many thanks for your most kind and loving letter. We looked for you all day yesterday, the more so, as a very important proposition has been made by Mr. Marriott which will perhaps bring me back at the end of twelve months. I have a heap of letters to write to-day, so cannot say more but to assure you of our affection, and wish you

every happiness. . . . . I feel as though I had not half expressed my grateful thanks for all the most able and effective help which you have rendered to me and to the cause during these three years. May you now be recruited for further work hereafter."

TO SIR CHARLES LYELL.

"KENSINGTON, *August* 15, 1865.

"In an hour we expect to start for the ship. So I use the last moments to say farewell to Lady Lyell and yourself, and to thank you most sincerely for all your innumerable acts of kindness to me and mine during the last eventful three years. I duly received your letter from Kissingen, about three weeks ago, but delayed replying to it, wishing to be able to communicate the latest intelligence. There are now one or two important matters to name, in which I think you will be much interested. (1) The trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund have at last sent in their reply (provoked, I fancy, by the proceedings at Freemasons Tavern). It reached our hands on Friday last, after three months of incubation. But it contains literally nothing of the slightest consequence, and when pulled to pieces by my lawyers will, I am afraid, exhibit the conduct of the trustees and council in no very creditable light. They actually 'crave leave to refer' to a letter of Miss Burdett Coutts (!), addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury a few weeks ago, as a proof that *none* of the subscribers to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund ever contemplated supporting 'such a Bishop as that which the judgement of the Privy Council decides the plaintiff to be.' Of course, the reasoning, so far as it is worth anything, applies equally against their paying the Bishop of Capetown and others their incomes. But the genius of the Bishop of Oxford, is shown, I expect, in this matter magnificently. The *fact* is, as Mr. W. M. James told us in consultation a few weeks ago, that Miss Coutts is so displeased with Bishop Gray's proceedings in separating himself and his flock from the *Anglican*

Church that, while no friend of mine, she has taken legal advice as to whether she could not withdraw the whole endowment of *his* see (which she gave), on the ground that she did not contemplate founding a bishopric independent of all control, &c. (I don't know the exact words; but that I believe to be her meaning.) And so the council adroitly use such a letter as bearing against me. . . . .

"This gives you a specimen of the sort of arguments they employ. Their 'reply,' as one of my counsel say, is childish and ridiculous, and amazing as coming from such men as Sir W. P. Wood and Mr. Gladstone.

"(2) On Sunday last Mr. Marriott made to me a most important proposition, which may have the effect of bringing me back to England much earlier than I had at all thought of—perhaps as soon as my case is decided. He is prepared to bear the whole expense of bringing out a new translation of the Bible, with notes of all kinds, excursus, &c., bringing it up to the latest results of criticism. He wishes me to return, and take the office of chief editor, and to secure the services of ten of the first men on the Continent, and five Englishmen, so that the book may be a standard work; and being thus the result of the combined action of Englishmen, Germans, Dutch, and French, may become European, though he says he cares principally for the English. He reckons that it will take five years to complete it, and a sum of £20,000; and he is prepared to place that sum in the hands of trustees as soon as ever the plans are sufficiently advanced. Mr. Vansittart Neale, Rev. H. B. Wilson, and Prof. Kuenen, are already consulted about it; and the former will probably carry on the preliminary correspondence during my absence. The idea is to divide the whole Bible among the different writers, the special work of each person to be printed and sent round to all the others for their notes, then returned to the writer, then forwarded to a committee of three or four in London, then once more referred to the writer for his final corrections. This is, of course, only a rough sketch of our present notions. But I think you will feel that Mr. Marriott's

proposal is a very noble one, and the work contemplated one of the very best that could be devised for carrying on the movement in favour of free thought.

"(3) Another project, which I fancy Mr. Domville will take in hand, is to form a society on a *scientific* basis (like any other, Geological, Astronomical, &c.), for a scientific investigation into the origin and history of *all* religions. It would have a central room in London, with foreign and English theological reviews of all kinds, a library, and a bi-monthly journal, in which would be discussed all matters of interest connected with the various religions of the world."

CHAPTER VII.

THE SO-CALLED TRIAL AT CAPETOWN.

THE change brought about in the relations between Bishop Gray and Bishop Colenso after the publication of the *Commentary on the Romans* was great indeed. In the Life of the former there are some indications that Bishop Gray regarded himself as having been treated not altogether fairly by his brother Bishop; and that, in short, the Metropolitan felt that there had been some undue concealment of opinion on the part of his suffragan. What has been already said must be more than enough to show the real state of the case. The biographer of Bishop Gray admits that their intercourse up to that time had been "most kindly and affectionate."

> "Bishop Gray," he tells us, "was in very weak health from over-work and over-excitement, and, as he himself says, he was watched over and cared for very tenderly"

by his new fellow-labourer; and indeed, until the period of Dr. Colenso's return to England in 1862, they were "as brothers." Their correspondence was unceasing and "most confidential." We need not doubt it; but Bishop Gray's powers of discernment are more open to question. During all these years it is quite impossible that in their intimate communings Bishop Colenso can have said anything expressing,

or even implying, agreement with Bishop Gray's ideas of the Christian Church, of its catholicity, and of its faith. It is impossible that he can have veiled, or that he could have the slightest wish to veil, the wide differences between his own convictions and those of Bishop Gray on these momentous and vital subjects. It would be equally impossible, we might suppose, for the latter to converse for any long time without giving utterance to his theories, or beliefs, on the questions of substitution, of the absolute truth of every statement in the Old Testament and the New, of the unending torturing of those who do not quit this life in a state of grace; and most certainly, if he did so, Bishop Colenso would have avowed his own entire rejection of those theories or beliefs. If Bishop Gray had been possessed of even ordinary insight, he must have known that his own notions on the whole range of theology must sooner or later come into conflict with those of his colleague. Whether the battle should be fought out between themselves personally or not, he would have seen that the contest was inevitable, and that under the existing conditions of thought in England it could not be very long delayed. But from first to last, in the biography of Bishop Gray, there is not a hint that the faith as well as the discipline and the ritual of Christendom is liable to change and modification, and that in many most important particulars it has been modified and changed already. There is nowhere the least approach to an admission that his own definitions, or even his *obiter dicta*, on any theological questions, are open to examination, and may be accepted or rejected according to the weight of the arguments for or against them. Everywhere there is the assumption that his own opinions are in complete harmony with those of the Church, and that he cannot go wrong in deciding whether those of any one else are or are not, in the same harmony with them.

If a man in such a condition of mind as this failed to

discern the great gulf which separated his theology from that of the Bishop of Natal, this can only have been the result of a lack of discernment on his own part which would be astounding but for the slowness with which such men are brought to see that others do not think like themselves.

The seeds of future strife were, indeed, lavishly sown ; but they were sown by Bishop Gray, not by the Bishop of Natal. The theology of the latter may have been wrong, but it was not aggressive. That of the Bishop of Capetown would admit of no differences, and respect no law. He must have his own way, because his own way was the Church's way ; and if he could not have it, it must be because the existing state of things involved an intolerable tyranny somewhere. The serene conviction of his own absolute orthodoxy is thus accompanied by a stern resolution to obtain the freedom which shall enable him to put down all opposition to "Catholic truth,"—that is, to his own opinions. Hence his letters and his public utterances are filled with almost incessant denunciations of the thraldom in which the Church of England is held in the mother country, and to which he is resolved for himself never to submit. This thraldom extends to the determination of matters of doctrine—in other words, of faith ; and as these decisions are put forth as decisions of the Church of England, his rejection of them commits him to rebellion against the law of that Church, to which the Bishop of Natal yielded a willing and hearty obedience.

> "I will not be bound," he says, January 1863, "by the narrow limits of the Church's faith laid down by Dr. Lushington or the Privy Council. I will not recognise them as an authority as to what are the doctrines which the Church of England allows to be taught. The Privy Council will make itself, if not checked, the *de facto* spiritual head of the Church of England and of all religious bodies in the colonies."[1]

[1] *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 32.

If the Bishop of Capetown was not bound to these admissions, the English Archbishops with their suffragans were bound, and it was out of their power to stamp as heresy teaching which does not contravene those decisions. Was there, then, to be one law for England, and another for the Cape of Good Hope? In the case of Bishop Colenso he was himself the self-styled judge; yet the judge could write, July 20, 1863:—

"If he is tolerated, the Church has no faith, is not a true witness to her Lord. I am prepared to go through anything and endure any loss in defence of the Bible as the Word of God, and of the faith once for all delivered." [1]

In short, the condemnation of the defendant was predetermined.

"The Church of England is no true branch of the Church of Christ, nor is her South African daughter, if either allows one of her Bishops to teach what Natal teaches and to ordain others to teach the same. If the faith is committed to us as a deposit, we must keep it at all hazards; and if the world and the courts of the world tell us that we have no power, we must use the power which Christ has given us, and cut off from Him and from His Church avowed heretics, and call upon the faithful to hold no communion with them." [2]

Bishop Gray was thus resolved to have his own way. If any authority crossed his path, that authority was of the world—in other words, was anti-Christian. In the Bishop of an English see this would be a defiance of the Sovereign in Council. This defiance he at Capetown, in disregard of the Apostolic warning that the powers which be are ordained of God, was quite prepared to offer.

"I fully expect to be in open collision, before it [the so-called

[1] *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 63. [2] *Ib.* ii. 64.

trial of Bishop Colenso] is done, with these civil courts, which will, if not curbed, destroy the Church." [1]

"It is through civil courts that the world in these days seeks to crush the Church. They represent the world's feelings and give judgement accordingly." [2]

The judgement, therefore, which decided the lawfulness of Mr. Gorham's position was a false and unrighteous sentence, which the Church was supposed to have rejected. Come what might, his own sentences should never be submitted to, or revised by, such a court.

"I will not go before any civil court in the matter. . . . If they send us back Colenso, I will excommunicate him. . . . Were I to spend another fortune in vindicating the discipline of the Church, I know what English lawyers' hatred of ecclesiastical courts and ecclesiastical authority would lead the Privy Council to decide. . . . If the Church does not denounce the judgement which I hear is to be delivered *in re Essays and Reviews*, she will cease to witness for Christ. She must destroy that masterpiece of Satan for the overthrow of the faith, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as her court of final appeal, or it will destroy her." [3]

"The Privy Council is the great Dagon of the English Church. All fall down before it." [4]

"The world cannot crush the Church, if she will assert her independence, and at all hazards witness for Christ. Her servility is her great curse, and will, if she does not rise up in the strength of her God, prove her ruin." [5]

"The idea is," he writes, April 4, 1864, "that Colenso will, by claiming churches, or by an action against me, get into the Natal court, and from thence to the Privy Council, which, I verily believe, would affect to reinstate him, for this awful and profane judgement [on *Essays and Reviews*] would

[1] *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 69. [2] *Ib.* ii. 108.
[3] *Ib.* ii. p. 113. [4] *Ib.* ii. 119. [5] *Ib.* ii. 125.

cover all that he has written, and probably was intended to do so." [1]

"I believe that if the Privy Council can throw the Church, it will; and I believe that the Church must defy and destroy it as a court of appeal or be destroyed by it. In that body all the enmity of the world against the Church of Christ is gathered up and embodied." [2]

The world here spoken of is the English Sovereign in Council, and the court so formed is represented as the mouthpiece of Satan—in other words, as a power which has for its object no other work than the extension of evil. But it is this power which represents the executive of England, to carry out laws against theft, violence, perjury, and other offences. Do these laws come from a source which is a fountain simply of evil? To speak of such language as ludicrously absurd is to treat it with fully sufficient lenity. The practical mischief wrought by it might be but small, so long as Bishop Gray had to deal with an absolutely subservient and unthinking clergy and laity; but the first sign of resistance to the yoke so imposed would be followed by the authoritative declaration that on these subjects the exercise of thought except in certain definite lines could not be allowed. This position cannot be maintained in England. it to be maintained elsewhere?

It was on this point that the whole controversy turned. The one question was whether the law of England was or was not to be defied with impunity. The letters of the Bishop of Natal to the Metropolitan in 1858 should have impressed upon the latter the hopelessness of any attempt to try, or to pass sentence upon, any of his suffragans except by such means as might lawfully be used for this purpose in England. They should have taught him that the theories of union and

[1] *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 137. [2] *Ib.* ii. 158.

full communion between the South African and the English Churches must go for nothing so long as the South African clergy were deprived of a single right of which they would have possession in England. Aware of the danger, but either not heeding it, or despising it, the Bishop of Capetown resolved to take his own course, and thus found himself in antagonism with English law; but nothing had happened for which he might not, had it pleased him, have been fully prepared, nor was there the smallest ground for the pretence that in no other way than that which he adopted was it possible to obtain a decision in the case on its merits. In such a controversy he could, forsooth, no more admit the supreme authority of the Crown than Thomas of Canterbury could abandon the rights of his order to the usurpation of the civil power. This was the one issue, and from first to last he met it with an uncompromising resistance. But he had known for five years that his theory found no acceptance with the Bishop of Natal, although he did not know that there had been a time when it found no acceptance with the Bishop of Grahamstown. Others could be consistent as well as himself; and therefore his assumption of jurisdiction was summarily met by a denial of the claim. The summons to appear before his tribunal at Capetown was duly served upon the Bishop of Natal in London, and when the day of trial came, the Bishop's protest was by Dr. Bleek (who acted with the utmost judiciousness as his agent) handed to the Metropolitan. This protest was conveyed in the following letter:—

"TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CAPETOWN.

"LONDON, *October* 5, 1863.

"MY LORD,

"I have received from your Lordship's registrar a citation calling upon me to appear before you at Capetown on

November 17, there to answer a certain charge of 'false teaching' preferred against me by the Very Rev. the Dean of Capetown, the Venerable the Archdeacon of Grahamstown, and the Venerable the Archdeacon of George.

"I am advised that your Lordship has no jurisdiction over me, and no legal right to take cognisance of the charge in question. I therefore protest against the proceedings instituted before you, and I request you to take notice that I do not admit their legality, and that I shall take such measures to contest the lawfulness of your proceedings, and, if necessary, to resist the execution of any judgement adverse to me which you may deliver, as I shall be advised to be proper.

"My absence from the Cape will make it impossible for me to know what view your Lordship may take of your jurisdiction till long after your decision has been announced and I have no desire to cause any unnecessary delay in the settlement of this matter, such as would be produced if I were to confine myself to a mere protest against your jurisdiction. I therefore think it better to state at once the answer which, if you have any jurisdiction in this matter, I have to make to the charge brought against me.

"I admit that I published the matter quoted in the articles annexed to the citation; but I claim that the passages extracted be read in connexion with the rest of the works from which they are taken. And I deny that the publication of these passages, or any of them, constitutes any offence against the laws of the United Church of England and Ireland.

"For further explanation of my meaning in some of the passages objected to from my *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, I beg to refer your Lordship to a letter addressed to you on or about August 1861,[1] in reply to one from yourself expressing strong disapproval of the views advanced by me in that work; and with reference to some

[1] This letter is given in Appendix A.

of those objected to from my work on the Pentateuch, I desire also to request your attention to the preface to Part III., a copy of which I forward by this mail.

"I have instructed Dr. Bleek, of Capetown, to appear before your Lordship on my behalf for the following purposes:—

"First, to protest against your Lordship's jurisdiction.

"Secondly, to read this letter (of which I have sent him a duplicate), as my defence, if your Lordship should assume to exercise jurisdiction.

"Thirdly, if you should assume jurisdiction and deliver a judgement adverse to me, to give you notice of my intention to appeal from such judgement.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

"J. W. NATAL."

In the labyrinth of controversies provoked by the publication of the Bishop's criticisms on the Pentateuch, the likeliest way of avoiding confusion is to keep as distinct as may be practicable the several strands in the discussion, which may otherwise seem inextricable. There is the so-called Capetown trial, the outcome of a plan deeply laid, not by Bishop Gray alone, but by Bishop Wilberforce and his colleagues in England; there are the remarks made upon that trial; the inquiry before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the consequences which followed from that inquiry; and apart from these is the ocean of literature, good, indifferent, and bad, called into existence by the books which roused the indignation of Bishop Gray and his adherents. None of these can be dismissed without due notice; and the point of most importance is to bring out the real position and meaning of the chief actors in the great drama.

The charges brought against the Bishop were nine in number. In the first schedule he was accused of "maintaining that our Blessed Lord did not die in man's stead, or bear the punishment or penalty of our sins, and that God is not recon-

ciled to us by the death of His Son." By the second he was charged with holding "that justification is a consciousness of being counted righteous; and that all men, even without such consciousness, are treated by God as righteous, and counted righteous; and that all men, as members of the great human family, are dead unto sin, and risen again unto righteousness." According to the third he had maintained "that all men have the new birth unto righteousness in their very birth hour, and are at all times partaking of the body and blood of Christ," thus denying "that the holy sacraments are generally necessary to salvation." The fourth asserts that he had abandoned the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments. In the fifth he was charged with denying that the Holy Scripture is the Word of God, and with asserting that it only contained the Word of God. The sixth charges him with dealing with the Bible as a common book, and as "inspired only in such a manner as other books are inspired." The seventh charges him with denying the genuineness, authenticity, and canonicity of certain books of the Old Testament. The eighth ascribes to him a denial of "the doctrine that our Blessed Lord is God and man in one person," because he maintains "that He was ignorant and in error upon the subject of the authorship and age of the different portions of the Pentateuch." And in the ninth and last schedule it is asserted that he had disparaged the Book of Common Prayer, and incited the clergy to disobey the laws which they had solemnly promised to keep.

Speaking at Pietermaritzburg[1] a few months later, Bishop Gray said that the three great questions mooted in these charges were no less than these: "Is there a written revelation from God? Is our Lord God incarnate? Is Christianity true?"

If dispassionate judges can anywhere be found, the first

[1] He had gone thither, as we have already seen, p. 86—89, to announce to the people of Natal that their Bishop "had rebelled entirely," had "gone astray and would never come back."

impression left on their minds would not improbably be that of surprise at the vast apparatus thus brought to bear upon the accused, and the immense difficulty which the latter must experience in parrying the weapons employed against him. Those weapons are—undefined or half-defined terms, and appeals to authorities which become practically co-extensive with the literature of Christendom. There are sincere believers in Christianity and in revelation; but the conceptions attached to these words are not always the same. What then is Christianity, and what is a written revelation? And so with the terms employed in every one of the schedules. These speak of vicarious punishment, of the reconciliation of God to man, and of man to God, of justification and salvation, of the body and blood of Christ, of punishment and of inspiration; but all these are words to which meanings are attached diverging from each other so far that the difference of degree becomes often a difference in kind. All that we have here to do is to note the fact, and pass on to the arguments by which the accusers established the guilt of the Bishop to their own satisfaction and to that of the judge with his assessors.

Offering something like an apology for language which was certainly vehement enough, the Dean (Douglas) of Capetown charged the Bishop with holding that "God is absolute benevolence."

> "Considering what men are," he said, "and how insulting sin is to that Supreme Governor who absolutely hates it, I am afraid that infinite benevolence, however great it sounds, is only another name for amiable weakness; but it is in this light, and in this light alone, that the Bishop will regard the Almighty. . . . Upon the plea of showing forth the love of God our Father, the Bishop has put forth a wild though mystic and alluring scheme of blind benevolence, which is subversive of all that is generally known as Christianity.

Professing to show us that God is all love, he represents Him as indifferent to evil." (46.)[1]

The Bishop meant, so the Dean insisted,

"emphatically to deny that our Lord's sufferings were vicarious, or that any act of His was needed to satisfy the Father before He could forgive the world its sin. . . . Our Lord, he teaches, died for us, on our behalf, to show His love for us, to express and display His boundless sympathy; but He did not die to bear our sins; He did not bear the weight of the curse. Man needed to be reconciled to God; but God always loved us, and was never estranged from us."

The Dean's own opinions on these subjects he held to be embodied in the second of the Thirty-nine Articles, and in other statements in our Articles and formularies; and he demanded the Bishop's condemnation not on this ground only, but because his teaching was opposed

"to the faith of the Church Catholic on the subject of sacrifice, satisfaction, and propitiation, as held in all places, and at all times." (50.)

Having thus spread a net inclosing a wide sea, the Dean held it to be the business of the accusers to take "the results at which the Church has arrived already," and to test the Bishop's opinions "by these authoritative conclusions." As to the strictly vicarious character of Christ's death there could, he asserted, be no question. The prophetic words of Caiaphas were on this point quite conclusive. The language of "the Church" was not less explicit.

"The Church has always taught that God was angry with man because of sin, and that our Lord, sent by His Father's love, and moved by His own affection for us, stepped in to

[1] The numbers in the text of this chapter refer to the pages in the record of proceedings in this so-called trial at Capetown.

satisfy His Father's honour, by bearing sin's penalty, and to appease a God who wanted to be gracious." (53.)

For this doctrine the Dean found full warrant everywhere. The Greek verbs employed in the passages of the New Testament to which he referred were sacrificial terms, denoting pacifying influences. The prayer of the publican in the temple "indicated that God was angry, and he asked that He might be appeased." This

"work of placation goes on within the Godhead, and God is not appeased by man but by Himself." (55.)

The conclusion that

"an actual transference of evil from man to man's Redeemer was actually effected by our Lord's atoning sacrifice"

is supported by the assertion of Bishop Butler that

"the legal sacrifices were allusions to the great and final atonement to be made by the blood of Christ, and not that this was an allusion to those" (57);

and by the proper preface for Easter Sunday, which speaks of Him "who by His death hath destroyed death" (59). This language must

"be taken as affirming that we owe to Him salvation, and by His stripes we are healed" (61). "I should rejoice," the Dean remarked, "if I could say for certain that he believes Him to be the Son of God."

But he could not do so by reason of the "damning flaw" which omitted the necessity for death which sin imposed. From the Bishop of Natal he would appeal to St. Bernard for the conclusion that

"mere obedience could not put away sin. Obedience must be joined to death. Death is sin's penalty; and in order that the penalty may be completely paid, the person who

pays the penalty on man's nature must also be the Son of God." (63.)

This being so, he asked if the Metropolitan could allow Bishop Colenso

"to proclaim that God is all mercy and no justice, or permit him, with all the weight of influence which his position gives him, to teach that God does not feel angry because of sin." (63.)

On the next count he charged the Bishop with maintaining that all men are justified, and that

"the whole of mankind are recipients of God's grace in the Gospel" (69),

and he asked

"What then is the use of being a Christian? What is the difference between a heathen and a Christian?" (70.) "The Bishop teaches that men, as members of the human family, belong to Christ. He says this again and again. I maintain that to teach this is to raise nature to the level of grace. I maintain that if men, as men, belong to Christ, they do not belong to Christ by faith; they do not come to Christ in baptism; they are not saved by Christ's name; they do not find safety within the Christian Church." (73.)

The Dean deprecated, indeed, the dry, matter-of-fact, business-like way in which many speak of the Divine terms and covenant, and so "bind in chains of bondage the large and unfettered love of God." Language, he holds,

"is our only instrument, and we must express in some form or other the nature of the Divine dealings with us;"

but, however this may be, further argument was rendered superfluous by the fact that

"the opinions of the Bishop amount to a complete subversion of the Gospel, as commonly understood by all Christians"

(74); "and it is on these that his teaching inflicts a cruel wrong, for virtually he tells them, 'You are no better off than Jews, Turks, and infidels. You are in no more safe condition.'" (75.)

This same test furnished by the faith of Christendom convicted the Bishop of the false teaching by which, as the third count averred, he declared that men receive, each for himself personally, in baptism

"a formal outward sign of ratification of that adoption which they had shared already, independently of that sign, with the whole race." (78.)

Such a belief, whatever be its value, was beyond the Dean's comprehension.

"We do not issue titles to gifts which all possess. We do not say, 'Air is a great blessing, and you may like to know that you have a right to use your lungs, and enjoy this valuable property.' Men do not ask for proofs of universal gifts." (84.)

As in the previous counts, so in that which related to the subject of eternal punishment, the teaching of the Bishop must be confronted with "the doctrine of the Christian Church in all ages" (87). It was true that the consensus on this point was not absolute. Some great names might be cited in favour of teaching which seemed to harmonise very much with that of the Bishop of Natal.

"Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, and other teachers adopted the substance of the Origenistic theory" (89),

which was summed up in the brief saying—Nothing is impossible with the Almighty, and there is nothing which cannot be healed by its Maker.[1] But "the Church vindicated

[1] "*Nihil impossibile Omnipotenti, et nihil insanabile Factori suo.*" See also note [1], p. 169 *supra.*

her character." Agreement with Origen in this respect was soon regarded as heretical.[1] In fact

"no doctrine is more clearly revealed in Holy Scriptures. . . . The bliss of heaven and the punishment of the lost must stand or fall as doctrines together. We have no better ground for assurance in the happiness of heaven than for belief in the eternal miseries of hell."

Of this the Dean had not a shadow of doubt.

"For persons who die in sin there is no hope. Life is their time of probation; and being proved and tried, they are found wanting. What then? As the tree falls, so it lies, and so it lies for ever. The Bishop of Natal denies this. . . . Does he think that hell is a better school than Christ's Church on earth, and that devils are more apt and kind instructors than those bright angels who minister to man's salvation? I know not what he thinks. But he tells us God is love. And so He is. But there are limits to forbearance; and patience, suffering long, ceases at the last to bear with sin. Then comes justice, ... and the sinner is driven down into a pit which has no bottom, and into the lake which burns with everlasting fire." (93.)

Before the same test of the common faith of Christians, in all ages, and in all lands, falls all that the Bishop may have said on the Pentateuch or other records of the Old Testament.

"That faith is for me law and statute. There is a common law which is inscribed upon the heart and the instincts of Christendom. There is a statute law which, derived in its principles from Holy Scripture, is written in the Creeds, decisions, and symbols of the Church." (98.)

Nay, the argument may be carried further. The Jews regarded the Old Testament

[1] This is not true. Origen was never even censured, far less was he condemned, on account of his teaching on the purpose of God's dealings with man.

"with the highest awe as a divine book," and "with well-known care and almost superstitious scrupulosity" "counted every word and letter of the whole volume and numbered even its very points."

This is for the Dean a very astonishing fact.

"Every feeling which pride suggests, every prejudice which opposition rouses, called upon the Jewish people to prove their records worthless." (101.)

On his side he had the plain teaching of Josephus, that

"'it is a principle innate in every Jew to regard these books [and not merely the spirit of these books] as oracles of God, and to cleave to them, yea, and to die gladly for them.' Is it possible to account for this conviction except by the fact that these books are indeed divine?" (102.)

The whole course is clear. St. Paul

"treats the Bible [? the Old Testament] as a divine book" (103). "He sees in its facts spiritual mysteries." "The critical Eusebius holds it presumptuous to try to show that there is error in them" (105).[1]

[1] This is one of those amazing statements in which ecclesiastical partisans are apt to indulge. The Dean of Capetown does not think it worth while to explain what Eusebius meant by the Scriptures, or to give the reference for a questionable citation. But Eusebius wrote before the summoning of the Nicene Council, and therefore his words cannot apply to a Canon which had not yet been formed; and there is abundant evidence in his pages that there were large differences of opinion in his day as to the value and authority of some of the books afterwards included in the Nicene Canon. Careful of expressing his own opinion, he prefers simply to report the judgement of others. Of the Epistle of St. James he tells us merely that it was said to have been written by the Apostle of that name, that it was considered spurious, that few earlier writers made any mention of it, or of the Epistle of St. Jude, but that, along with the other "so-called Catholic Epistles," it was published or used in many churches (*H. E.* ii. 23). The Second Epistle of St. Peter he describes as almost universally rejected (iii. 3). But a far more important example of the method applied to books some of which were afterwards included in the Canon of the New Testament and others excluded, is furnished by his remarks

Nor is the Dean at any loss to show how he himself thinks, and how every one else ought to think, on this vital matter :—

"If I say that the Bible is God's Word, I treat it as a kind of mystery. I recognise a Divine and a human element, a word of man and a word of God, so blended together, so linked in a mysterious union, that, while I cannot theorise about it and state either where the Divine ends and the human begins, I must yet allow that the Divinity runs throughout the least syllable and is never absent from any part." (107.)

To this belief he opposes the Bishop of Natal's

on the book known as the Apocalypse. This book has acquired a special value for theologians of many parties ; and the rejection of its authority would by them be as fiercely resented as the rejection of the Gospels themselves. Without committing himself on either side, Eusebius refers his readers to the Alexandrian Dionysios, the disciple of Origen, who speaks of the book as having been absolutely rejected by some previous writers, and rejected not only as published under a false name, but as being in no sense an apocalypse or revelation, being in fact covered by a veil of dense ignorance. This, Dionysios admits, is not his own opinion ; but his verdict has no solid foundation. He cannot, he says, reject the book, because many highly esteem it, and he regards himself as unable to fathom the depths of its meaning. He cannot deny that it was written by one named John, because it claims to be so written ; but he will not allow that it was the work of John the son of Zebedee. His reason for not admitting this is the belief that the Apostle John was the writer of the fourth Gospel and of the Catholic Epistle which bears his name ; and the whole tone and language make the idea of a common authorship for all the three quite inadmissible. Who or what may have been the John of the Apocalypse, he cannot say. But that the writer who composed the Catholic Epistle of John was the author also of the Apocalypse, is with him wholly out of the question. In matter, in style, in thought, in conviction, they are antagonistic from beginning to end. They have nothing in common ; and that the writer of the Catholic Epistle could fall into the barbarous jargon of the Apocalypse is more than he can believe. When from the Dean and the Bishop of Capetown we turn to the Alexandrian Dionysios, we breathe at once a fresher and purer atmosphere. He is sufficiently, we might think perhaps more than sufficiently, sensitive to the weight of authority, tradition, and usage ; but he has not prostituted his powers of judgment, nor does he venture to insist, or even to hint, that others are bound in duty to accept his conclusions.

"scandalous opinion which makes the story of the Pentateuch a chain of legends and Samuel an impostor, who *lies* in strict accordance with those new laws of critical morality which puts to shame the law of Moses" (111).

But to this, *i.e.* the Dean's, belief the Bishop of Natal is, nevertheless,

"bound by his ordination vows and his ordination of others" (112).

The Bishop of Natal may appeal to the Court of Arches and to its judge, who has ruled that the Deacon's declaration means only that the Holy Scriptures contain everything necessary to salvation (*healing*), and that to that extent they have the direct sanction of the Almighty. But if Dr. Lushington's

"dictum is law, it is not theology;"

and it cannot

"rule the faith of English Churches" (113).

"We cannot," he concludes, "afford to yield an inch in this matter: we cannot allow this Book to be despised as not the Word of God. The Bible *is* the Word of God, and to say that God's Word is contained and may be found in it is to deny that it is the Word of God." (115.)

"St. Chrysostom reverently says that even in the genealogies of Scripture there are mysteries. It would be too much to look for reverence like this in one who teaches that the Bible is a common book; but surely the Bible is beyond the reach of ridicule." (117.)

But the Bishop adopts the opinion of Mr. Maurice, who asks if there is any difference between the inspiration which we pray for in the Collect for the Communion Service and that by which the writers of the Sacred Book were moved. He contends that these writers and their books were or are fallible. The contrary to this assertion

"must be formally and definitely pronounced by the Church of England, later or sooner, if that Church is to guide her children and perform her duty as a witness for the truth" (119.)

Whatever appearance the surface of things may present, the Book is absolutely without flaw.

"Every charge of error in history or in any other matter is a libel against that Holy Book."

Nothing less than this conclusion follows from the words of Christ Himself, who

"treats the Jewish Scriptures as if the least word was full of meaning. . . . From the tense of a verb . . . he deduces the distinctive doctrine of the Christian faith. . . . He stakes His own veracity and credibility upon the truth of the Old Testament in whole or in part."[1]

There was, in fact, an inherent and eternal necessity for his so doing.

[1] The term *truth* must here mean either accuracy in matters of fact, or rightness in moral and spiritual teaching, or both. There is the further implication of an authority which is not to be impeached. But the fact stares us in the face that no teacher probably has ever assailed more directly than our Lord the authority of sacred books. He cites as the sayings of the men of old time precepts and commands which in their places in the Pentateuch are set forth under the direct sanction of God Himself; and these sayings, which profess to come with immeasurably more than Mosaic authority, He sweeps away with the summary declaration, "I say unto you that it shall not be so." We may, if we please, carry back our own belief to the interpretation of the Gospel records. We may urge that Jesus, in so speaking, was using His own divine authority: but before the multitudes he appeared simply as a new teacher, of whom they must judge according to his words. The insinuation that they looked upon Him through the light thrown upon His person by the Nicene theology is thoroughly disingenuous. But the fact of his independent teaching, teaching which utterly repudiated the position of the popular interpreters, was the fact which throughout the discourses grouped together in the Sermon on the Mount most impressed his hearers.

"If God can be untrue, then the book which is the Word of God can be untrue; but not otherwise. A book which has error mingled in it, a book which, rightly understood, and judged according to those true laws of criticism which apply to its several kinds of literature, fails to stand the test of perfection, cannot have absolute authority, cannot speak to man as if it was the Voice of God."

We are surrounded, in fact, by a tissue of marvels; but bewilderment is a reason only for a more complete submission. *Credo quia impossibile.*

"Scripture may have its human imperfections, its seeming theological inconsistencies, its difficulties which try faith, its liability to alteration and corruption at the hands of copyists and translators; but I cannot admit that error can find entrance into that which holy men wrote when they were borne along, like a ship with sails outspread, by a Divine afflatus, and spoke, not indeed without their own particular intelligence, but by the Holy Ghost." (122.)

With all its imperfections, with all its flaws, with all its interpolations, with all its corruptions, it is uncorrupt, flawless, and perfect. If any further proof were wanting for the historical accuracy of the books of the Old Testament, it is supplied by the Book of Common Prayer.

"The prayer in the Baptismal Service assumes the reality of the flood and the passage of the Red Sea. The prayer for fair weather likewise supposes that the story of the flood is true. The prayer for times of sickness is based on the historic credibility of the story of the plague in the wilderness. The Communion Service and the Catechism accept the Mosaic history as respects the giving of the Law from Sinai." (129.)

But, more particularly,

"the exhortation in the Communion Service treats those who hinder or slander God's Word as unfit to come to the Lord's table;"

and by his criticisms of the Pentateuch the Bishop of Natal has hindered and slandered God's Word as much

"as any living man, or any man in modern times."

Thus slandering God's Word, he slandered also the Divine Master, who

"took the Mosaic history under his protecting wing, and spoke of Moses as the author of those writings which were usually ascribed to him by the Jewish people" (130).

To deny this,

"if Christ be God, is to charge God with error. Either the faith of the Church in the Godhead of Christ is a delusion ; or the charge of the Bishop substantially amounts to this. . . . I pray God, with all my heart I pray it, lay not this sin to his charge." (137.)

Such is the general outline of the Dean's long harangue. It is unnecessary to follow with the same closeness the pleadings of his fellow-accusers. The agreement between them is so complete that the reader may well wonder how independent thinkers could continue to preserve such harmony in the midst of the multitude of propositions each of which they put forth as articles of saving faith. All spoke with equal vehemence, and all were equally unsparing in their denunciation. The Archdeacon of Grahamstown was greatly distressed by

"the very painful fact . . . that the other day, at one of our largest public schools, where the Bishop had been once a master, the boys, on his appearing among them on their great speech-day, hailed him with a general and public acclamation of joy.[1] No doubt these poor boys thought that the Bishop was what he tries to represent himself as being in the Third Part of his book on the Pentateuch, *i.e.* a great Reformer, like Ridley and Latimer of old. And could

[1] See p. 241.

not the united voices of the English Bishops warn them? It must then be left to the sentence pronounced by your Lordship to assure them that he whom they have confounded with those great and wise master-builders in our Zion is in truth but an arch-destroyer of the common faith." (149.)

The Archdeacon of George went over the same ground. It was his belief that, if the Bishop of Natal had been present, he would have contended

"that the structure and composition of the Bible clearly evince the presence of a human element. And to this," the Archdeacon adds, "we should, of course, assent, fully allowing that the Holy Scriptures were penned by men of like minds and passions with ourselves, and that they were not supernaturally reduced to the condition of mere machines, in order that they might be thereby qualified to write under Divine dictation. But, 'this being conceded,' the Bishop would probably argue, 'you also concede the fallibility of the work so written, for no man can have perfect knowledge upon any subject; and all men are liable to make mistakes in communicating even what they know best.' The fallacy here lies in confounding human nature, as human nature—human nature in its essentials, with what is purely accidental to it. If it be asserted that the action of the Holy Spirit, specially exerted for a special purpose, could not preserve men from error in recording facts or in delivering doctrine, that, I contend, is to beg the whole question. My argument is that, because the inspired penmen were living men like ourselves, what they wrote does not, therefore, contain errors, for that human nature, although it does imply limitedness, does not properly imply either sinfulness or actual error; and that the influence of the Holy Spirit, being specially directed to that end, might, without any interference with the proper humanity of the person influenced, preserve him effectually from error to the fullest extent to which we can claim infallibility for God's Word written. Obviously, the proof of all others which I

would prefer to adduce in support of this argument is the perfect humanity of our Redeemer. For in His Divine Person we behold human nature, in all its naturalness, in perfect union with the Godhead." (211.)

The question of earthly fact and of the accuracy of records purporting to relate those facts is thus carried into regions of the most abstruse theology; and it becomes impossible to examine the real or seeming discrepancies between the histories of the books of Kings as compared with those in the books of Chronicles without reference to the question

"how in one and the self-same person a finite or limited nature such as ours could be united with a nature that must be limitless" (223).

But because it was so united, it must have been impossible

"for our Lord to have subjected Himself to misleading and mischievous error" (225).

The ascription of the Pentateuch to any writer but Moses is a misleading and mischievous error: therefore, since our Lord affirmed Moses to be the writer of the Pentateuch, the denial of this conclusion becomes blasphemy.

So ended what was called the case for the prosecution There remained the defence (if any should be offered) and the judgement. But before we come to the latter, some facts force themselves upon our notice with glaring distinctness. The tribunal before which the Bishop of Natal was summoned to appear (whatever may have been its authority, and whencesoever derived), consisted wholly of ecclesiastics, without a single legal assessor. The accusers scarcely made profession of anything approaching to judicial impartiality. They admitted that, in dealing with many or most of the charges, their hearts were stirred with indignation. They could see in the defendant, it would seem, no redeeming points at all. He was nothing but a hinderer and slanderer of God's

Word: he was arrogant, blind, presumptuous: he was an arch-destroyer of the common faith of Christendom. But it was not the common faith of Christendom which was now in question. The real point at issue was whether certain propositions might or might not be maintained by clergymen of the Church of England, and maintained as lawfully by clergymen of that Church in South Africa as by the same or other clergymen in the mother country itself. The method to be followed in this inquiry could, lawfully, be only the method which would have to be observed in England; and this method must be based on certain well-defined and perfectly intelligible conditions. The guilt or innocence of the accused must be proved by reference not to the writings of the Old or the New Testaments, not to the utterances of early Christian Fathers or early Christian historians, not to the saints of any age or any country, not to a real or supposed consensus of Christendom on the matters in debate, not even to convictions avowed and put forth by the most learned or the most devout theologians of the English Church itself, but solely to the Articles and formularies of that Church.

But here, by a common consent, the accusers and the judge with his assessors cast all such limitations to the winds. If these were to be observed, justice, they urged, could not be done. The "Church of South Africa" was in union and full communion with the Church of England; but it was in union also with the Church Catholic, a union repudiated indeed with contempt and anathema by the vastly larger portion of Christendom, but none the less real (in their judgement) on this account. By the faith, the doctrine, the discipline, the canons of this Catholic Church must the accused be tested; and in this investigation the utterances of a Bernard and an Anselm must be held to carry a weight scarcely less than the Articles of Faith or the language of the Prayer Book of the Church of England. This wide range was claimed from first

to last; and underneath this claim lay the suppressed premiss that the true interpretation of the Catholic faith and the Catholic canons must be found in the judgement of the Metropolitan of Southern Africa. This interpretation, involving an almost infinite number of propositions, and, as it might seem to the eyes of the profane, a vast mass of mere speculation and opinion, was to be taken as the law of the Church, and was to become binding on the consciences of all English Churchmen. The assurance with which the self-styled judge, the assessors, and the accusers in this case pile opinion on opinion, inference on inference, dogma upon dogma, without the faintest misgiving that these conclusions may not in every instance commend themselves even to the whole body of the orthodox, is amazing indeed. If they had been pleading not for the condemnation of one from whom they differed, but for their right to maintain these opinions for themselves without forfeiting their position as English Churchmen, their contention would have been intelligible; but it would also have been superfluous. There was no desire on the part of any to shut them out, although in reference to every one of the subjects with which they professed to deal they had chosen to adopt the extremest and the most extravagant views. But the case was wholly altered when these views were put forward for the purpose of coercing the religious thought of England, and driving it into a channel scooped out only by themselves; and still more so, when it became plain that of these interpretations some were incorrect, some absurd, and many, if true, not to the point.

Looking at matters even from their own standing-ground, it seems strange that they could regard with so much complacency the fabric which they were so sedulously raising with so little heed to its foundations. They spoke much of the Divine character of the Scriptures and of the duty of the Church as their interpreter. The result, they insisted, must

be harmonious; but if a large number of statements seemingly not all self-consistent were to be so interpreted as to yield a general agreement, some statements must be held to be paramount. If the righteous God was to be regarded as utterly hating and waging war upon all sin, if His will is to be looked upon as unchanging, and His power as simply the result of His will, then it becomes impossible to think of Him as slackening in this war, still less to conceive of Him as leaving any portion of His wide creation as a region in which His will and His law should never be felt. Holding redemption to be, and denying salvation to be, universal, they never pause to think what may be involved in any theories of partial salvation. It is no light thing to ascribe to Him, whose hatred of sin and whose purpose of conquering and destroying it are admitted to be as eternal as Himself, a compromise with evil. Yet if any are suffered to remain with the evil in them thus unconquered, and under conditions which preclude all further purpose of conquering it, there is this compromise.

The dislike which the Dean of Capetown and his fellow-accusers felt for the critical method of the Bishop of Natal and his conclusions may be easily understood and readily forgiven; but the vehemence of their indignation is no excuse for untruth. It was false to speak of the Bishop of Natal as representing God to be indifferent to evil (46). It was false to describe him as teaching, or as desiring to teach, or as dreaming of teaching, that God does not feel anger because of sin (65). It was false to impute to him the opinion that Christians were no better off than Jews, Turks, or infidels. But, further, their accusing harangues bristle with undefined terms. Definitions are always useful; but they may perhaps be dispensed with so long as debate does not imply condemnation, loss, and ruin to one of the parties concerned. When the investigation involves the risk of penal consequences, the meaning of every term employed should be

very clearly drawn out. It may, or may not, be allowable to use language which may seem unmeaning or nonsensical: but such language must not be applied as a test of the truth or falsehood of opinions held by others. The Dean of Capetown speaks much of the satisfaction, the sufferings, and the death of Christ. But what this sacrifice, this satisfaction, this death may be, he never pauses to explain. He may appeal to Bishop Butler; but of all writers in the Church of England who have been sinners especially in the use of undefined terms, Butler is among the foremost, and is perhaps the most conspicuous. The Dean cannot disclaim the duty of definition on the ground that the terms used have the same connotation everywhere, for this is not the case. Not a few of the terms employed by him have been used by writers in the Church of England in diametrically contradictory senses. To the word *salvation*, for instance, Dr. Pusey and Mr. Maurice attached two entirely different conceptions. With the former it was a rescue from a wrath ready to devour, a deliverance from an angry Judge by One who interposes the merits of His sufferings on man's behalf. With the other it is the process of deliverance from sin wrought by the Holy Spirit, who is working always, everywhere, and in all for good. Sacrifice and satisfaction are words as much, if not even more, abused. Sacrifice is the making of a thing holy, or that thing which is made sacred or holy. But nothing can be made holy except that which has a capacity for holiness or goodness; and none who has not in himself this capacity can make anything holy. The Jewish sacrifices were thus sacrifices in name only. The body of the bull or the goat could not be sacrificed really, because it had no capacity for holiness or goodness. The beast might be killed, and that was all. The true sacrifice is the sanctification of the will; and if God be infinitely righteous, loving, and good, it follows that he cannot possibly be *satisfied* except with a righteousness, goodness, and love

corresponding absolutely with His own. The perfect and satisfying sacrifice involves death, indeed; but it is not that which we speak of as the death of the body: still less is it the death which is the penalty or wages of sin, the death of wilfulness, selfishness, and disobedience, the death from which we pray to be raised to the life of righteousness. It is (the necessity of the case compels the repetition [1]) the death *to* sin, the absolute rejection of all sin, the death which, in strictness and fulness, only One who is faultless and sinless can die. To this death and this life the whole Eucharistic terminology may be most truly and strictly applied. It is the full, perfect, sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction; and He who offers it is "Himself the Victim, and Himself the Priest." The victim denotes the absolute submission of the will to the law of truth, of righteousness, and of love: the Priest is the Eternal Son who alone has offered and offers this absolute, unwavering, unswerving obedience to the law of truth and righteousness.

It is unnecessary to carry this train of thought further; but from what has been said thus much at least is clear. We have here two, or three, or more terms—satisfaction, sacrifice, death, resurrection, life—the meaning of which has been drawn out with unmistakable clearness, and it is obvious that, if the definition here given be accepted, every other term used indefinitely, and, therefore, more or less misapprehended, by the Dean of Capetown and his fellow-accusers, may have its meaning brought out with equal clearness. As it is, we hear of redemption, atonement, justification, and many other terms, without being able to determine what precise conceptions they attach to them; and perhaps we may be tempted to think that the conceptions attached to them are not precise at all. In truth, in the Dean's expositions we find confusion and indistinctness everywhere. The analogy drawn from

[1] See p. 141 *et seq.*, and 167.

the universal gift of air[1] (84) is, like many other supposed cases of analogy, fallacious. He would allow that the promise of forgiveness of sin on true repentance is universal and unfailing, as universal in the spiritual world as the air which sustains our mortal bodies. But if so, why in the daily office of the Church of England is this announcement made from generation to generation? Repetition is not supposed to render it unnecessary; and the experience of most people will convince them that it is a lesson which we are sadly slow and long in learning. It is, therefore, no argument against the Bishop of Natal's views of the sacrament of baptism to say that, on his theory, it becomes a superfluous ceremony. The charge is altogether untrue. But had the Dean of Capetown been pleading simply for freedom for his own views, no further reply would have been needed. There is enough, perhaps, in the language of the Baptismal Office in the Prayer Book to justify his theory: there is much more to justify the view of the Bishop of Natal, which is also that of Mr. Maurice The latter declared

> "that Dr. Pusey regarded 'Baptismal Regeneration' as a change of nature, while he [Mr. Maurice] regarded it as the coming out of the infant under the first influence of a light that had always been shining for it and all the world."[2]

The condemnation of the Bishop of Natal would carry with it the condemnation of Mr. Maurice and, perhaps, of half the clergy of the Church of England; and this is a result which may be forced upon us by the recklessness of those who, if they had their way, would leave no room for any party but their own.

On the question of the punishment of sin here and

[1] See p. 286.

[2] *Life of F. D. Maurice*, i. 214. See also ii. 242.

hereafter enough has been said already.[1] We may pass on to the surprising assertions by which the Dean of Capetown and his associates thought to uphold or strengthen the authority of the Bible. It is not easy to see what the awe which the Dean describes the Jews as feeling for the letter of their Scriptures can prove beyond the existence of an abject superstition: but it must be noted that even this superstition is one of very late growth. The people at large were certainly guiltless of it in the days of Manasseh and other idolatrous kings and not much influenced by it in the time even of such kings as Hezekiah and Josiah. But, indeed, it can scarcely be supposed that the Dean of Capetown meant his views on this subject to be intelligible. The writers of the Old Testament were men, not machines; they were, therefore, liable to make mistakes, but the influence of the Divine inspiration prevented them from making any. There is in Scripture a Divine and human element; but the Divinity runs throughout the least syllable (108).[2]

This reasoning may possibly be ingenious: it is certainly not novel. There is scarcely a single argument urged here on behalf of the Jewish or Christian Bible which has not been urged on behalf of the Rig Veda and other sacred books of the East, and the aggregate of believers in the Rig Veda form a body more numerous, it may be, than the whole population of western Christendom. But the least creditable portion of these accusing arguments is that which is directed against the Bishop for slandering the Divine Word and with it his Divine Master (p. 137). There is something monstrous in the alternatives to which the Dean and his associates seek to compel the great body of English Churchmen. Either the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are absolutely free from any the least admixture of error, or God Himself is

[1] See p. 147 *et seq.* [2] See p. 289.

false. We have heard before of this "great dilemma," by which they who hesitate to use the language of the Athanasian formula are told that logically they are bound to look upon Jesus Christ as the basest and meanest and the most barefaced of all cheats and impostors.[1] But the very vehemence and extravagance of their language proves the extreme importance of the subject in their eyes. All that they say about it has the ring of genuine alarm ; but they merely work out at greater length and with greater recklessness of assertion the positions laid down by a Committee appointed in 1863 by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury to examine and report upon the Bishop of Natal's criticism on the Pentateuch.

The three charges brought by this Committee against the Bishop cover the whole ground occupied by the Dean of Capetown and his fellow-accusers, and these charges were summarily dealt with by Dr. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, in the same year with the Capetown trial. The Charge in which he demolishes the work of the Committee is a complete and unanswerable refutation of Bishop Gray and his supporters ; but his words deserve to be remembered everywhere as among the noblest and wisest ever spoken on behalf of the rightful freedom of all members, clerical or lay, of the Church of England.

Addressing himself first to the general question of Biblical research and criticism, Dr. Thirlwall determines that the field has been left open and free by the Church of England.

> "The Church," he maintains, "has not attempted to fence the study of the Scripture, either for clergy or laity, with any restriction as to the subject of inquiry, but has rather taught them to consider every kind of information which throws light on any part of the Sacred Volume as precious either

[1] *The Great Dilemma*, Rev. H. B. Ottley.

for present or possible use. . . . . If the inquiry is to be free, it is impossible consistently to prescribe its results."

Passing on to the resolution by which the Convocation of Canterbury condemned the Bishop of Natal's criticisms on the Pentateuch, he asserts that it

"assumes a paternal authority which rather suits an earlier period in the education of the world; and it presupposes a childlike docility and obedience, in those over whom it is exercised, which are now very rarely to be found. It also suggests the question, what practical purpose it was designed to answer. Two were indicated in the Committee's Report: 'the effectual vindication of the truth of God's Word before men,' and 'the warning and comfort of Christ's people.' But it is not easy to see how either of these objects could be attained by a declaration that 'the book involves errors of the grossest and most dangerous character.' Both seem to require that the censure should have pointed out the errors involved, or have stated the doctrine which the book had at least indirectly impugned, so as to make it clear that the alleged errors affected not merely prevalent opinions, but truths universally recognised as part of the Church's Creed."

The "Church" here is not the Catholic Christendom to which the Dean of Capetown appeals; it is, strictly, the society to which the writer of the book under examination immediately belongs. In Bishop Thirlwall's view, the Committee at once overstepped the proper limits of synodical action in the cognisance of books.

"They were appointed to examine the Parts which had appeared of the Bishop's work, and to report whether any, and if any what, opinions, heretical or erroneous in doctrine, were contained in it. They extracted three propositions, which they have characterised as we have seen. . . . It may seem, indeed, as if the Committee, in their

mode of dealing with the first of these propositions which they cite or extract for censure, had shown that they were aware of the precise nature of the function they had to perform, and meant to confine themselves to it. That proposition is [the one which excited such strong indignation in the Bishop of Natal's accusers at Capetown], 'The Bible is not itself God's Word.' The author himself immediately adds, 'But assuredly God's Word will be heard in the Bible by all who will humbly and devoutly listen for it.' Of this qualification the Committee, in their remarks on the proposition, take no notice whatever. But they first observe that the proposition, as they cite it, 'is contrary to the faith of the universal Church, which has always taught that Holy Scripture is given by inspiration of the Holy Ghost.' They seem to have overlooked that this statement, however true, was irrelevant; but they then proceed to refer to the Articles and formularies of our own Church, which are, indeed, the only authority binding on her ministers. But, unfortunately, not one of the passages to which they refer applies to the proposition condemned. Many, indeed, among them do clearly describe the Bible as the Word of God; but not one affirms that 'the Bible is itself God's Word.' . . . No doubt the expression indicated that the author (Bishop Colenso) made a distinction between the Bible and the Word of God, and considered the two terms as not precisely equivalent or absolutely interchangeable. . . . . And there is certainly high authority for the distinction. Among the numerous passages of the New Testament in which the phrase the '*Word of God*' occurs, there is not one in which it signifies the Bible, or in which that word could be substituted for it without manifest absurdity. But even in our Articles and formularies there are several in which the two terms do not seem to be treated as synonymous. . . . If the Word of God is to be found nowhere but in Holy Writ, not only would no other Christian literature be properly called sacred, but the Bible itself would be degraded to a dead and barren letter, and would not be a living spring of Divine Truth. On the whole, the Report

first attaches an arbitrary meaning to an ambiguous expression, and then charges it with contradicting authorities which are either wholly silent upon it or seem to countenance or warrant it. . . .

"But in their treatment of the next proposition [relating to the authorship of the Pentateuch], the Committee seem almost entirely to have lost sight of the principle which, although misapplied, appeared to guide them in their examination of the first. For, with a single insignificant exception, they confront it not with our Articles and formularies but with passages of Scripture. Quotations from Scripture may add great weight to a theological argument: they are essential for the establishment of any doctrine of a Church which professes to ground its teaching on Scripture; but they are entirely out of place, where the question is, not whether a doctrine is true or false, but whether it is the doctrine of the Church of England. . . . This is no legal refinement, but a plain dictate of common-sense; and it does not at all depend on the composition of the tribunal before which such questions are tried, so as to to be less applicable if the court consisted entirely of ecclesiastics. . . .

"When I look at the Scriptural arguments adduced in the Report against the second proposition extracted for condemnation, they do not seem to me of such a quality as to deserve to form an exception, if any could be admitted, to the rule which would exclude them from such an investigation. . . . The Committee observe that 'Moses is spoken of by our Blessed Lord in the Gospel as the writer of the Pentateuch.' I suspect that even a layman, little acquainted with the manifold aspects of the question and the almost infinite number of surmises which have been or may be formed concerning it, would be somewhat disappointed, when he found that the proof of this statement consists of three passages in which our Lord speaks of 'Moses and the prophets,' of the 'law of Moses,' and of 'writings of Moses.' It is true that it would not be a fatal objection to the argument, that the word 'Pentateuch' does not occur in

the Bible. It might have been so described as to connect every part of its contents with the hand of Moses as distinctly as if the observation of the Committee had been literally true. But, in fact, this is not the case; and still less is any such distinct appropriation to be found in any of the passages cited by the Committee in support of their assertion that 'Moses is recognised as the writer of the Pentateuch in other passages of Holy Scripture.'[1] They are neither more nor less conclusive than the language of the

[1] This comparatively sober and passionless statement becomes, as we have seen, in the mouth of the Dean of Capetown an appeal to the authority of our Lord as taking the authorship of the Pentateuch under His protecting wing, and staking His own veracity and credibility on the accuracy of this fact (see p. 293). It is strange that the Dean should have been unable to see, not the falsehood, but the astounding absurdity of his position. According to the Gospel narratives, our Lord was speaking to the common folk gathered round Him on matters relating not to questions of literary history but to their spiritual life. He was speaking to people who were accustomed to a certain division of their Scriptures, speaking of them as the Law, the Law of Moses, the Prophets; and he wished to bring home to them in each case certain moral and spiritual lessons. Let us suppose for a moment that with Him historical accuracy as to dates or place of the composition of a book or the names of the writers was a matter of even small importance (and there is not a shred of evidence that it was of the least importance). Let us suppose further, for one moment only, that on all these points the conclusions of the Bishop of Natal and other modern critics really represent the facts. What would have been the consequence if our Lord had spoken in accordance with these conclusions? He must have begun by going into an historical disquisition—in other words, by diverting their thoughts into a channel for which they were totally unprepared, and to a task for which they were hopelessly unfitted, and even helpless; or He must have assumed the truth of these conclusions, and spoken to them of the Law of Samuel, or the Second Law of Jeremiah, or the Levitical Law of Ezekiel. In the former case He would have perplexed and bewildered His hearers; He would have wasted time needed for quite other things, and made the discharge of His own mission hopeless. In the latter case He would have been altogether unintelligible, and His utterances would have been received as those of a madman. Such is the miserable folly into which good men may be hurried when they will have it that the ark of God must fall, if they do not put out their hand to save it.

Seventh Article, to which the Committee confined all the references they have made to the judgement of the *Church* on the question, though this was the only matter into which it was their business to inquire. The Article alludes to 'the law given from God by Moses,' a slender foundation for any inference as to the record of that law, much more as to the authorship of other parts of the Pentateuch, especially as the name of Moses does not occur in the enumeration of the canonical books in the Sixth Article. If the question had been as to the authority of the Book of Psalms, few persons probably would think that it had been dogmatically decided by the Church, because in the Prayer Book the Psalter is described as the 'Psalms of David.'

"The third proposition, 'variously stated in the book,' relates to the historical truth of the Pentateuch, which the author denies, not in the sense that everything in it is pure fiction, but that all is not historically true.... But it is to be regretted that the Committee should again have lost sight of the object for which they were appointed, and have omitted to refer to any doctrine of the Church which the author has contradicted. This was the more incumbent on them, since a recent judgement has formally sanctioned a very wide latitude in this respect. It is clear that in such things there cannot be two weights and measures for different persons; and also that it does not belong to any but legal authority to draw the line by which the freedom, absolutely granted in theory, is to be limited in practice.

"These are the propositions which they extract as the 'main propositions' of the book, which, though not pretending to 'pronounce definitely whether they are or are not heretical,' they denounce as involving 'errors of the gravest and most dangerous character.' But they proceed to cite a further proposition, which the author states in the form of a question, to meet an objection which had been raised against his main conclusion, as virtually rejecting our Lord's authority, by which, as the Committee state, 'the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch have been guaranteed to all men.' Whether the passages in which our

Lord quotes or alludes to the Pentateuch amount to such a guarantee, is a point which they do not discuss. They only observe that the proposition 'questions our Lord's Divine knowledge'; and with this remark they drop the subject.

"Considering that this proposition is incomparably the most important of all that they cite, ... one is surprised that it should have been dismissed with so very cursory and imperfect a notice. For it is not even clear that it correctly expresses the author's meaning. The question which he raises does not properly concern our Lord's Divine knowledge—that is, the knowledge belonging to His Divine nature. It is whether His human knowledge was co-extensive with the Divine omniscience. It is obvious, at the first glance, what a vast field of speculation, theological and metaphysical, is opened by this suggestion. . . . . Bishop Jeremy Taylor observes: 'Those that love to serve God in hard questions, use to dispute whether Christ did truly, or in appearance only, increase in wisdom. Others apprehend no inconvenience in affirming it to belong to the verity of human nature, to have degrees of understanding as well as of other perfections; and although the humanity of Christ made up the same person with His Divinity, yet they think the Divinity still to be free, even in those communications which were imparted to His inferior nature.' . . . It is clear to which side Taylor inclines. But I must own I should be sorry to see these hard questions revived. . . . Still more should I deprecate any attempt of the Church of England to promulgate a new dogma for the settlement of this controversy. But at least, as their remark indicated that the Bishop had in their judgement fallen into some grave error, it was due not only to him but to the readers of their Report, and to the Church at large, that they should have pointed out what the error was by a comparison with the doctrine of the Church, which it was supposed to contradict."[1]

Having thus demolished all the allegations of the Convo-

[1] *Charge*, 1863, pp. 103–115.

cation Committee, Bishop Thirlwall deals in conclusion a crushing blow on the whole theory of Bishop Colenso's self-styled judge and prosecutors at Capetown. That theory regards the Bible as an organic whole in the sense that every portion of it is of the like authority, that every sentence in it deserves to be treated with the same reverence, and that thus no distinction can be drawn between the Sermon on the Mount and the narrative of Samson's exploits at Ramathlehi with the thousand absurdities and impossibilities involved in it. The burden which these vehement partisans would impose on the minds and consciences of men is so huge and so utterly past all bearing, that the incisive words in which Bishop Thirlwall scatters this theory to the winds may be accepted with a feeling of the deepest thankfulness. No doubt the conclusion may have been as little welcome to Mr. Maurice as to Bishop Gray; but the fact remains, in Dr. Thirlwall's words, that

"a great part of the events related in the Old Testament has no more apparent connexion with our religion . . . . than those of Greek and Roman history. The history, so far as it is a narrative of civil and political transactions, has no essential connexion with any religious truth; and if it had been lost, though we should have been left in ignorance of much that we desired to know, our treasure of Christian doctrine would have remained whole and unimpaired. The numbers, migrations, wars, battles, conquests, and reverses of Israel, have nothing in common with the teaching of Christ, with the way of salvation, with the fruits of the Spirit. They belong to a totally different order of subjects. They are not to be confounded with the spiritual revelation contained in the Old Testament, much less with that fulness of grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ. Whatever knowledge we may obtain of them is, in a religious point of view, a matter of absolute indifference to us; and if they were placed on a level with the saving truths of the Gospel,

they would gain nothing in intrinsic dignity, but would only degrade that with which they are thus associated. Such an association may, indeed, exist in the minds of pious and even learned men ; but it is only by means of an artificial chain of reasoning, which does not carry conviction to all beside. Such questions must be left to every man's judgement and feeling, which have the fullest right to decide for each, but not to impose their decisions, as the dictate of an infallible authority, on the consciences of others. Any attempt to erect such facts into articles of faith would be fraught with danger of irreparable evil to the Church, as well as with immediate hurt to numberless souls."[1]

The remarks of Dr. Thirlwall were evoked by the censures of the Committee of Convocation ; but they make of none effect the whole of the pleadings in the so-called trial at Capetown, and they also condemn by anticipation the whole string of propositions again affirmed by Bishop Gray's assessors, and promulgated finally by Bishop Gray himself with such authority as he could impart to his judgement. Thus far the ship which Bishop Gray had been steering had gone on its course with sails full spread. The prosecutors had spoken with a unanimity astonishing in thinking men. His assessors had given their solemn approval of every point laid down by the accusers. The condemnation was complete and unqualified ; and it remained only for the judge to inforce the law of the Church by an authoritative declaration which should not only deprive the defendant of all spiritual functions, but be binding on the whole of the Anglican communion, if it would not bind all Christendom. The accused was not present. He had by his agent entered a protest against the self-assumed jurisdiction of the judge and against all his proceedings. Although not called upon either in duty or in law to do so, he had asserted in his letter of protest that he had neither

[1] *Charge*, 1863, p. 123.

written nor published anything which offended against the law of the Church of England. But to the charges contained in the several schedules exhibited in the Metropolitan's court he made no reply. Some defence, however, seemed in the eyes of Bishop Gray to be called for. He, therefore, called on his Registrar to read a letter, written two years before, August 7, 1861, which, as he said, the Bishop had put in *in his defence*, and to which he had called the special attention of the court.[1] In the heat of this miserable controversy, provoked by his own extravagant notions of Metropolitical power, Bishop Gray could scarcely touch on any topic without misrepresenting it. The letter to which reference was made was mentioned in the letter of protest. But the Bishop of Natal did not say that he put it in in defence, nor did he call to it the special attention of the court. He never named the court at all. He could not do so because he did not recognise its existence, and he was not even aware of the existence of the second court which pretended to try him. All that he did was to refer Bishop Gray to his earlier letter for an explanation of his meaning in some of the passages objected to in the *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, adding only, "I desire also to call your attention" (not that of the court) "to the preface to Part III., a copy of which I forward by this mail."[2] The letter, however, was read by way of a defence; and the Metropolitan then proceeded to deliver his judgement.

This judgement it is unnecessary to review at any length. Theologically, it is in complete agreement with the opinions of his assessors, and the pleadings of the prosecuting clergy. But something must be said about the position taken by Bishop Gray, and the method by which he justified his verdict.

He professed, in the first place, to sit as Metropolitan,

[1] *Trial*, p. 244.

[2] The earlier letter here referred to is given in Appendix A.

with full coercive and deposing powers, by virtue of the Royal letters patent to which he appealed. He did not indeed say that this claim was admitted by the defendant, but he had no doubt on the subject himself. This was a purely legal question, and it turned necessarily on the date of the patent. To judge the Bishop of Natal by virtue of powers conferred by a patent dated about a fortnight later than his own would have been an intolerable injustice. At the time of the Bishop of Natal's consecration Bishop Gray's letters patent were not in existence: and it was impossible therefore for the former to know what might be their tenor. No doubt by his own patent the Bishop of Natal admitted himself to stand in a certain relation to the Bishop of Capetown; and by the promises thus made he was bound. According to Bishop Gray, he had acknowledged that he stood in the relation of a Suffragan Bishop to the Metropolitan, who was invested with the powers and authority of that office. But not very long ago Bishop Gray had himself been in doubt as to the extent and nature of this power and authority. When in 1858 he administered a wise rebuke to the Dean of Maritzburg, he said that he could reply to him only through his Bishop.

> "I am doubtful," he added, "as to the extent of Metropolitan jurisdiction in such a matter as you have submitted to me (a point not so easy to be determined as you may, perhaps, imagine). I cannot venture to give a judicial opinion upon the case laid before me. All that I can do is to give both you and the Bishop my views upon this unfortunate dispute which has arisen."

But nothing had occurred in the interval to solve and remove these doubts; and the Bishop of Natal was firmly and most rightly resolved that he would admit no obligations which he had not taken upon himself at the time of his

consecration. He had then taken the oath of canonical obedience to the Metropolitan. But it had been ruled by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council [1] that

"the oath of canonical obedience does not mean that the clergyman will obey all the commands of the Bishop against which there is no law, but that he will obey all such commands as the Bishop by law is authorised to impose."

Having before him the principle thus laid down, it was impossible for him to recognise in Bishop Gray a power of sitting in judgement upon him, and, if need be, deposing him; but his own letters patent placed the matter well-nigh beyond reach of question. In these it was merely provided that

"the said Bishop of Natal and his successors shall be subject and subordinate to the see of Capetown, and to the Bishop thereof and his successors, in the same manner as any Bishop of any see within the Province of Canterbury, in our Kingdom of England, is under the authority of the Archiepiscopal see of that Province and of the Archbishop of the same."

This patent, it is obvious, did not convey, and could not convey, to the Metropolitan of Capetown a power not possessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and certainly the latter had no power of summoning his suffragans before himself to undergo a trial and receive a sentence. The proceedings must take the legal form, which reserves for all the orders of the clergy an appeal in the last resort to the Crown.

This appeal, as we shall see, the Bishop of Capetown was resolved to bar; and in spite of professions, at starting, to the contrary, he was not less resolved on trying the Bishop of Natal by a wider standard than the law would allow to a judge in England.

[1] In the case of Long *v.* Bishop of Capetown.

> "In forming a decision," he declared, "as to the soundness or unsoundness of the Bishop's views, I shall be guided entirely by the language of the Articles and formularies, including, of course, the whole Book of Common Prayer."[1]

But English practice confined the investigation virtually to the Articles of Religion, and to the interpretation of them in their plain, literal, and grammatical sense. In the sentence just cited, Bishop Gray does not mention the Church, and this seemingly was done of set purpose, for he at once goes on to say,

> "I do not mean thereby to imply that these are the only tests by which the Bishops of this Church should try the teaching of its ministers."

Here the word *Church* denotes not the Church of England, but the Church of South Africa; and the term is used in a third sense when he goes on to speak of "the received faith of the Church in all ages." Thus we have three senses in which the word may be taken, and the uses may be so interchanged as to make it by no means easy to ascertain the application in given instances. He was thus provided with an armoury of weapons, which, unless they should be very blunderingly used, must insure his victory. In the first place

> "the decisions of those Councils which the Church of England regards as œcumenical are the very highest authorities by which" the Bishops of the Church of South Africa "could be guided."

To these must be added "the received faith of the Church in all ages," and the three creeds, as expressing "the mind and faith, not only of the Church of England, but also of the whole Catholic Church from the beginning." In their

[1] *Trial*, p. 341.

application to a particular case, he must necessarily be the interpreter of all these authorities. But in this interpretation he would, whenever it was possible to do so, "decide by the literal and grammatical sense of the words." When the sense was not plain, he would "interpret them by a comparison of passages, . . . by the history of the controversies which gave rise to them, by the analogy of the faith," having regard always "to the *animus imponentis*, the intention of the Church in the wording of its documents."[1] It is clear that these analogies must be traced, and these intentions ascertained, by himself. Finally, when he came to the examination of certain of the schedules of accusation, Bishop Gray decided the question by a direct appeal to the Scriptures, and thus opened a still wider field, with larger opportunities for securing a conviction. So equipped, he had no difficulty in declaring that the Church of England, or, rather, the Church, held the doctrine of substitution in reference to the life and death of Christ, and affirmed that He suffered to appease and remove the Divine anger. He had no difficulty in laying it down that the Church did not regard the heathen as having before their conversion any part in Christ,[2] none in deciding that she denied that all men everywhere were accounted righteous before God,[3] none in determining that the Bishop of Natal's statements with reference to the sacrament of baptism were not covered by the final decision in the Gorham case.

"I am aware," he says, "that practically the discipline of the Church has been such that clergy have been allowed to express themselves on the subjective side of the sacraments very variously, chiefly, perhaps, because of the difficulty of defining exactly that which is in truth a mystery; and that the right to do so has been considered, so far as Holy Baptism is concerned, to be strengthened by a celebrated decision which, though not given by the Church, or by judges

[1] *Trial*, p. 343. [2] *Ib.* p. 356. [3] *Ib.* 360.

authorised by it, has not formally been set aside by it. But no such language or teaching as that which I consider the Bishop of Natal has been shown to have committed himself to, has ever, so far as I know, been sanctioned or tolerated within the Church."[1]

Even if the facts were as the Bishop of Capetown stated them, the only inference to be drawn from them would be that the new point thus raised should be referred by appeal to the same tribunal which had dealt with the Gorham case. But to this course Bishop Gray was resolved never to commit himself. It was enough that his own view of this matter was different, and it was enough too that he could not admit the ruling of the Judicial Committee in the case of Williams and Wilson. That ruling had declared that the Church of England had not pronounced authoritatively that the state of sinners after death was hopeless. Bishop Gray insisted that the Catholic Church had always maintained this hopelessness, and that the Church of South Africa was bound to maintain it also. Nay, he asserted further, that, in spite of the Williams-Wilson judgement, the Church of England maintained it likewise. Did not the Athanasian Creed say plainly that they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire? But the Bishop of Capetown had probably never paused to think what answer he would return to a questioner who might ask him whether God, the righteous Judge and loving Father, could ever make a compromise with sin; or to consider the consequences involved in the answering this question in the negative. If the idea of such a compromise was inconceivable, then all theories of partial salvation were shown to be untenable, and not only untenable but mischievous and utterly misleading,[2] and therefore

[1] *Trial*, p. 362.

[2] See the whole argument in the *Commentary on the Romans*, already given in Chap. IV.

all minor considerations become matters of no moment. But such minor considerations there were, and these, too, of no small consequence, if the conviction of St. Paul was not held to be decisive on the subject. One of the minor matters to be thus considered was the fact that the words of the Athanasian Creed could not bear the sense put upon them by Bishop Gray. This sense, in the words of a well-known clergyman still living, would be this :—

"They that at the moment of death are in a state of peace with God through faith and repentance will at the Day of Judgement enter upon a state of immeasurable and endless felicity; they that at the moment of death are in their natural state, and not reconciled to God, will at the Day of Judgement enter upon a state of fearful and endless misery.

"But the Creed makes no allusion to the state of the soul at the moment of death. Its two clauses are 'they that have done good,' and 'they that have done evil.' Is there any one so good as not to have done evil? St. John and the universal human conscience reply: 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' On the other hand, where can we point to a brother-man of whom we can say that he is so evil as never to have done good? If, then, human beings in general have done both good and evil, how are we to separate the two classes which are to inherit such different destinies? The question is no easy one. It will be answered very differently. It may be said that God's infinite wisdom is able to strike a balance between the good and the evil that a man has done, and that, according as the good or evil preponderates, he will be classed with the doers of good or the doers of evil. But who will be satisfied with such an account of God's dealings with men? Another view would be, that true faith with the forgiveness that follows it blots out previous evil works; that one who has the true faith is considered as a righteous man, and therefore as a doer of good for Christ's sake; and that when a man dies a true believer these benefits accrue to him,

however recently he may have come to the state of faith. Let us suppose this to be sound theology; but can it for a moment be said to be the literal grammatical interpretation of the Athanasian article? . . . It is common to lay down general propositions about the good man and the bad man, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor. When we come to apply them to actual persons, we must speak of the man *so far as* he is good or bad, rich or poor. Very likely the same man may be in different ways or senses *both* good *and* bad, both rich and poor. . . . . Similarly we may believe that it is the strictest possible law of God's judgement that they who have done good shall go into eternal life, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire; . . . . whilst it may well be true that the life and the fire, the praise and the wrath, may touch the same person, and that every sinner on the earth, *so far as* he has been a doer of good, shall be rewarded, and *so far as* he has been a doer of evil shall be punished." [1]

But having cited the Athanasian Creed in support of his own statements with regard to the punishment of sinners, Bishop Gray found himself called upon to deal with the fact

"that in the Articles of 1552 there was one, the 42nd, which expressly condemned those who held the opinion that all men shall be saved at last, but that that Article was omitted in the revision of the Articles in 1562."

This has been taken as evidence that the design of laying down any authoritative decision on this subject has been deliberately disclaimed by the Church of England; but this the Bishop of Capetown could by no means admit. The real reason for the omission he believes to be

"that which is assigned by Hardwicke. The doctrines of the Anabaptists, against which that and some other Articles

[1] *Forgiveness after Death;* London, Longmans, 1862.

were levelled, were no longer so menacing as they had been a few years before. There were, therefore, not the same urgent reasons for proscribing them."[1]

For Bishop Gray this inference was a matter of no small importance. It involves the principle that the Articles generally are not to be regarded as anything like a definite statement of the doctrine of the Church of England, or as exhibiting the extent of obligation imposed upon the clergy of that Church. They are simply statements put forth by way of refuting or condemning errors which in greater or less degree were current in England; but there was no warrant for the conclusion that nothing more was required from the English clergy.[2] How much more was required, the Articles did not state; and this was a question which must be determined by the decisions of the spiritual courts of the English communion. If this principle be allowed, the Metropolitan might crush any one without difficulty. But this principle has not been admitted: it has been formally disallowed by the Arches Court of Canterbury and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. For the fact itself there is presumption simply; but there is no conclusive evidence, when evidence of the most cogent kind is indispensable. That an error which destroys the foundations of at least the great Calvinistic school or party should have been so formidable in 1552 as to call for a special Article in condemnation of it, and have come to be of so little account in 1562 as to make it necessary and prudent to remove that Article, is an amazing fact indeed, if it be a fact at all. Is it conceivable that the Revisers of 1562 could have looked upon this so-called error as one which was certain to have no attraction for English minds, or that Englishmen of all schools were so thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Augustinian or Fulgentian theories as to need no sign-post to

[1] *Trial*, p. 369. [2] *Ib.* p. 378.

warn them against thoughts which might lead them in a very different direction?

On the subject of Bishop Colenso's criticisms on the Pentateuch Bishop Gray takes up precisely the position of the Committee of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury; and of this position Bishop Thirlwall, as we have seen, has demonstrated the utter futility. With the Committee, Dr Gray appeals to the language of the Prayer Book, and to the authority of Christ Himself; and he decides emphatically that

> "language must altogether lose its meaning; pledges, promises, declarations, must be regarded as so much waste paper, if the words of the Church in those formularies and Articles which speak of the Bible, and which are in accordance with, and must be interpreted by, the language of the Church on this great subject from the beginning, are not held to be violated by the Bishop in the passages which have been referred to, and which are but a specimen of the views propounded by him throughout his books."[1]

But, according to Dr. Gray, Bishop Colenso had not only impugned the authority of the Bible as being "itself the Word of God."[2] He had put forth new views on the subject of the authorship of the canonical books. Great part of the Pentateuch was written, not by Moses, but probably by Samuel; and Deuteronomy was the work of some one living in the time of Josiah, not improbably of the prophet Jeremiah. In so saying Dr. Gray held that the Bishop of Natal did "not contradict the express language of the Church of England."[3]

> "But is it therefore," he asks, "lawful for the Bishop to teach that Samuel, and not Moses, was the author of the Pentateuch? I think not. The case is widely different

[1] *Trial*, p. 382. [2] See p. 290. [3] *Trial*, p. 386.

from what it would have been had he questioned whether the Second Epistle of St. Peter, or the Epistle to the Hebrews, were written by those to whom they have been generally attributed. In this case the attributing the Pentateuch to Samuel is not only opposed to the stream of writers in all ages of the Church, and to express Canons —as the 85th of the Apostolical Canons—and to the internal evidence, and even the assertions of the Pentateuch itself. It goes beyond this. It involves the rejection of our Lord's authority, and of His words as delivered to us by the Church in the Gospels, as we have them, in which the Saviour is made to quote from each of the books of the Pentateuch; and this is one of those instances to which I have just referred, in which there may be an offence against the Church's teaching, while there is none against the express language of the Articles or formularies."[1]

Here again we have Bishop Gray ruling question after question on the authority of the Church, or, in effect, on his own interpretations of statements supposed to be made by that Church. Here again we are left in uncertainty of the meaning in which the term *Church* is employed; and here again also documents (such as the Apostolical Canons) are referred to as authoritative, of which a clergyman in England would not be presumed of necessity to have any knowledge, and by which, therefore, he could not be tested. As to the allegations of "rejecting our Lord's authority," we have seen[2] the absurdity of the dilemma into which an admission of the charge would lead us. We have seen further the emphatic declaration of Bishop Thirlwall that Bishop Colenso's language involves no such rejection, and that the words of our Lord have no bearing on the point in debate. The monstrousness of the issue becomes obvious when we find a Bishop tried, and condemned, and deposed in South Africa on charges which a

[1] *Trial*, p. 387.

[2] See p. 307, note.

Bishop in England pronounces to be groundless in fact, and wholly inadmissible.

But Bishop Gray was not to be deterred by any such considerations. Adhering obstinately to the sense put by himself upon documents and formularies, he declared that

> "if Joshua (the man) be a myth, the Flood a fiction, the Exodus not a real fact, a large part of that Book which the Church declared to be 'God's Word' cannot possibly be God's Word, and the language of the preface to the Prayer Book . . . is entirely mistaken."

Even if Joshua never lived, and the Flood never took place, the conclusion drawn by Dr. Gray about the Pentateuch generally does not necessarily follow; and with the language of the preface to the Prayer Book no clergyman perhaps is required to be familiar, and most assuredly it is nowhere said that he is bound by it. But Dr. Gray was confronted by a recent decision in England. In the case of the Bishop of Salisbury *v.* Williams, Dr. Lushington had ruled in the Arches Court,

> "that when the question in the Ordination Service for Deacons is put, 'Do you unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?' and to which the answer is given, 'I do believe them,' the pledge then given must be regarded as sufficiently fulfilled if there be a *bona fide* belief that the Holy Scriptures contain everything necessary to salvation; and that to that extent they have the direct sanction of the Almighty, even apparently though the historical portion of Scripture should be disbelieved." [1]

This last qualifying clause cannot with any strictness be applied to the Bishop of Natal. After all deductions made by his criticisms it could not be said that he disbelieved the

[1] *Trial*, p. 388.

historical portion of Scripture, because he held that there was a substantial truth in the narrative of the going down to Egypt, of the sojourn there, of the Exodus, of the conquest of Canaan, of the partial subjugation of the old inhabitants, of the influence exercised by them upon the Hebrew people, of the administration of the Judges, and the growth of the country under the early Kings. In short, Dr. Gray had not paused to consider what he meant by disbelief of Scripture history, and he at once set himself in opposition to Dr. Lushington's judgement.

> "I cannot," he said, "concur in such a decision as this. It is a wrong to the Church thus to limit the meaning and diminish the force of its plain language. It has two distinct statements,—as to what the Bible is, it is God's word written; the other, as to what it contains with regard to the faith, it contains without the aid of tradition all things necessary to everlasting salvation."[1]

We are not, indeed, told in which of its three senses the word *Church* is used in this passage. But we are made to see that in every stage of this inquiry the Bishop of Capetown insisted on appealing to the Scriptures; for when he appealed to the "teaching of our Lord Himself," he was manifestly appealing not to the Prayer Book but to the Bible, although authoritative decisions had declared in England that such a course was altogether inadmissible. Both the Court of Arches and the Privy Council had decided that they were bound to look solely to the Articles and to the formularies, and had refused to take account of passages of Scripture, even when found in the Prayer Book.

> "Were I once to be tempted," said Sir Stephen Lushington, "from the Articles and other formularies, the court could assign no limits to its investigations: it would inevitably

[1] *Trial*, p. 388.

be compelled to consider theological questions, not for the purpose of deciding whether they were conformable to a prescribed standard, but whether the positions maintained were reconcilable with the Scriptures or not. . . . I will not be tempted, in the trial of any accusation against any clergyman, to resort to Scripture as the standard by which the doctrine shall be measured."

Nor was this the only blow dealt by the judge of the Court of Arches against the principles laid down by the Metropolitan of Southern Africa. He had ruled

"that it is open for the clergy to maintain that *any* book in the Bible is the work of another author than him whose name it bears."

This ruling he proceeds to explain by asking—

"What is the true meaning of these words? I apprehend, it must mean this,—that the clergy are at liberty to reject parts of Scripture, upon their own opinion that the narrative is inherently incredible, to disregard precepts in Holy Writ, because they think them evidently wrong. Whatever I may think as to the danger of the liberty thus claimed, still, if the liberty do not extend to the impugning of the *Articles of Religion*, or the *formularies*, the matter is beyond my cognisance."

But nothing, it seems, could bring Bishop Gray to define his terms. He will not admit Sir S. Lushington's ruling, because he holds that in the Ordination Service the candidate is not asked whether the Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, but whether he believes them to be God's word,—whether he believes them to be true. The Bishop of Natal might reply that he did believe them to be God's word, that he did hold them to be true, in the sense that they taught men to seek after all things that are good, and holy, and lovely, and of good report. But this was not what Bishop Gray

meant by truth; and therefore he felt bound to decide that the Bishop of Natal had contradicted the teaching of Christ Himself (395); and in spite of the language of Jeremy Taylor,[1] he persisted in maintaining that, by speaking of our Lord as limited in His human nature by the conditions of knowledge at the time of His ministry, he was denying that He is God and Man in one Person. Thus

> "in imputing to our Blessed Lord ignorance and the possibility of error, the Bishop has committed himself to a most subtle heresy, destructive of the reality of the Incarnation, and he has departed from the Catholic faith, as held in the Church from the beginning, and as expressed in the Second Article and in the Creeds." (395.)

Lastly, he held the Bishop of Natal to be justly charged with depraving the Prayer Book, and with inviting the clergy to disown their obligations and to disobey the law of the Church. He forgot that Archbishop Longley had tried to inforce on the clergy the same lesson. No power, he stated in the House of Lords, should induce him to read certain portions of the Office for Burial over those who had died in known sin; and he advised his clergy to follow his example, promising them all the protection that he could afford them. But that which might be permitted to, and be laudable in, the Archbishop of Canterbury could not be tolerated in the Bishop of Natal. Nothing, therefore, was left but to pass sentence; and in the exercise of a jurisdiction derived from the Queen's letters patent, and from these alone, the Bishop of Capetown decreed the Bishop of Natal

> "to be deposed from the said office as such Bishop, and to be further prohibited from the exercise of any divine office within any part of the Metropolitical Province of Capetown." (404.)

[1] See p. 309

This judgement and sentence Bishop Gray consented to forward to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his revision, if the Bishop of Natal should desire to make a formal appeal to the Primate. But this appeal he allowed, not of right, but as a personal favour under the peculiar circumstances of the case; and the appeal was to be made not to the Primate acting through his judge in the Court of Arches, from which a further appeal would lie to the Crown, but only to the Archbishop in his private and personal capacity, and beyond him it was not to go. The defiance to the Crown of England could scarcely be given in language less equivocal.

The Metropolitan having thus finished his work, Dr. Bleek, as acting for the Bishop of Natal, handed to him the following protest:—

"On behalf of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Natal, I again protest against the legality of the present proceedings and the validity of this judgement; and, with all respect towards your Lordship personally, I, on the Bishop's behalf, give you formal notice that the said proceedings and judgement are and will be regarded and treated by him as a nullity, void of all force and effect.

"And I, in like manner, further give notice that the Bishop of Natal will, if the same shall be expedient or necessary, and if he shall be thereunto advised, appeal from, or otherwise contest the lawfulness of, these proceedings, and will, if need be, resist any attempt to inforce and carry out the execution of this judgement in such manner and by such lawful ways and process as he shall be advised to be proper."

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE SO-CALLED TRIAL AT CAPETOWN.

THE opinion of Mr. Maurice on the Capetown trial and the issues involved in it is of importance, not because it is seemingly unlike the opinion of any one else, but because few had a truer and deeper insight than he into the nature of the Divine Kingdom. For him the presence and the present abiding and unceasing work of the Heavenly Father of all mankind were eternal realities; and he shrunk therefore from anything which limited the good tidings of His love. If there was any one thing above another which the accusers of the Bishop of Natal denounced with unsparing vehemence, it was the conviction that the Divine purpose is to battle with and to overcome sin, in all, everywhere. They would have had nothing but an anathema for the words of Mr. Maurice when he says:—

"God cares for every man whether or not that man cares for Him, is seeking after every man whether or not that man is seeking after Him. You must also suppose that there is a Son of man who is near to every man, who is his Lord and Brother, who died for him, and who lives for him. Yes! and you must believe also that if my Christianity, or your Christianity, or any man's Christianity, stand between you

or me or him and God who is our Father, Christ who is our Brother, *He* will sweep that Christianity away."[1]

It was inevitable, therefore, that when the Bishop of Capetown professed to judge from a tribunal not responsible to any tribunal in England, and to pronounce a sentence which should be none the less valid because it came into collision with English law, Mr. Maurice should without hesitation condemn his proceedings, and protest against their consequences. His belief, Colonel Maurice tells us,

"in the appeal to justice, and to fixed laws expounded by lawyers as an appeal to the judgement of God against the tyranny of ecclesiastical public opinion,"

made him feel very strongly on the subject.

"His belief that Protestantism is for each nation the claim that God is the King of its king, that God presides over the law courts of its king; his belief that every effort to arrive at right and justice is an effort to arrive at and submit to the will of the invisible King,—made him more and more hostile to those measures which it became each year more difficult to distinguish from intrigue and plotting; of which the Bishop of Oxford was the centre; of which the effect was to set up the supremacy of what might be the current theological opinions of the day. On October 4th he wrote to the *Times* a letter on 'the Bishop of Capetown and spiritual jurisdiction,' in which he maintained that the claim of the Bishop of Capetown to set up a 'spiritual jurisdiction' contra-distinguished to the rule of right and law was the one against which the very existence of our national Church was a protest, which touched the most sacred point of our Protestant national position."[2]

Mr. Maurice was one of whom it could emphatically be said that he spoke English, and he wrote English; but in spite of

[1] *Life of Maurice*, ii. p. 478. [2] *Ib.* ii. p. 487.

this it was not always that he succeeded in making his meaning plain, and it was often most difficult to understand him when he spoke or wrote chiefly in monosyllables. A clergyman in the diocese of Grahamstown, recognizing in the Capetown Synod no authority divine or human, had put to Mr. Maurice the seemingly superfluous question how he would advise him to treat the Bishop of Natal in the contingency of his presenting himself as a communicant in his church. Mr. Maurice might have told him that, if in his eyes the Capetown Synod had no authority, any act of that Synod must for him be nothing; or he might have referred him to his own conscience; or he might have said that nothing needed to be feared from the obsolete weapon of "excommunication." In fact, his answer was:—

> "With your feeling you could not treat him as an excommunicated person. No presbyter, I suppose no Bishop in England, would dare to do so; I should think the act in a colony in which he has dwelt and ministered—though not a part of his diocese—more, not less, inexcusable."

On the point of his being allowed to preach, Mr. Maurice advised his correspondent to be guided by the judgement of the Bishop of Grahamstown. So far his meaning is clear. It is not less clear when he adds that his correspondent is not asked by English law to pay the least respect to the decrees of the South African Synod (which are declared to be null and void), and at the same time that he is not asked to recognize the Bishop of Natal in that character (*i. e.* as Bishop of Natal), being free to consider him as having no diocese at all. We can understand the words; but the answer is that Mr. Maurice is wrong in his facts, as was afterwards made plain by the judgement of Lord Romilly. Speaking in the House of Lords after the delivery of the so-called Capetown "judgement," Dr. Thirlwall declared that Dr. Colenso was as much and as really

Bishop of Natal as he himself was Bishop of St. David's. If Bishop Colenso had no longer a diocese, who had deprived him of it? To allow that Bishop Gray had done so would concede every point for which the Metropolitan of South Africa was contending. Mr. Maurice adds:—

"I should hope he would submit to one part of the decision whilst he claims the benefit of the other, and not go back to a country where he has not a *legal* status, and where his presence can breed only strife. He is safe till he raises the question in the colony. If it is raised, your experience of the feelings of the laity, and the positive expression of the feelings of the clergy, convince me that he would come off worst."

This passage is partly obscure, and where it is not obscure is altogether unworthy of Mr. Maurice. Even Bishop Gray never maintained that Dr. Colenso might not after his sentence have a *legal* status in Natal. His contention was that a legal status did not extend necessarily beyond temporalities, and that his presence in Natal would breed strife not for lack of the legal status, but because he had been deprived of all spiritual authority. Mr. Maurice was wrong also in his estimate of the feeling of the laity, and he ought to have taken pains to ascertain whether the clergy had expressed what they really felt. When after the reversal of a portion of Dr. Lushington's judgement by the Privy Council on the appeal in the Williams-Wilson case, Dr. Pusey and others sent round to every clergyman in England a declaration of faith which they were entreated to sign "for the love of God," Mr. Maurice rightly protested against the cruelty and the cowardice of the proceeding. He declared that it meant just this:—

"Young clergymen, poor curates, poor incumbents, sign, or we will turn the whole force of religious public opinion against

you. Sign, or we will starve you! Look at the Greek Professor,[1] you see we CAN take that vengeance on those whom we do not like. You see that we are willing to take it, and that no considerations of faithful and devoted services will hinder us. This," he adds indignantly, "is what is called signing for the love of God. I accept Dr. Pusey's own statement, tremendous as it is. I say that the God whom we are adjured to love under these penalties is not the God of whom I have read in 'the Canonical Scriptures,' not the God who declares that He abhors robbery for burnt-offering." [2]

But the clergy of Natal were even poorer and more helpless than the poorest curates and incumbents of the mother country. For the pittance on which they lived they depended absolutely on the good-will of the Society familiarly known as the S.P.G. Some, and even the majority, may have been as sacerdotally minded as the Metropolitan of South Africa, although this has not been proved, and is not likely; but if the pressure was exercised even in a single case, where the total number was so small, then there was a cruel exercise of power, with which the pressure put upon the English clergy could hardly be compared. It was proved afterwards, as it might have been suspected at the first, that the Natal clergy were not free agents in this matter. Colonel Maurice gives the particulars which show that the English declaration, which was designed to uphold faith in the endless and useless torturing of sinners, was for all practical purposes worthless.[3] The result of the methods applied in Natal was not a jot more creditable to Bishop Gray and his followers.

But the case becomes more perplexing when we find Mr. Maurice insisting, it would seem, that a truth which, if it be a

[1] Mr. Jowett, now Master of Balliol College, and lately Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

[2] *Life of Maurice*, ii. p. 469.

[3] *Ib.* ii. p. 470.

truth at all, must be an eternal verity, falls to the ground if the authority of some particular book is questioned or rejected. He had clung to what he called the Old Testament maxim that God Himself is the Deliverer, that His name is the ground of national liberty. But why this maxim should be convicted of falsehood if it should be shown that the Levitical legislation is the growth of an age subsequent to the Babylonish captivity, Mr. Maurice has not clearly shown; and, in the absence of some explanation, disinterested men may be pardoned if they confess their inability to follow him. Why should this truth have been any the more doubtful, if the books of the Old Testament had never been gathered into one collection, or if they had never been written? For some mysterious reason, however, he had convinced himself that no foundation was left for this spiritual belief if even the details of the narrative were proved to be inaccurate or wrong.

> "To have a quantity of criticism about the dung in the Jewish camp, and the division of a hare's foot, thrown in my face, when I was satisfied that the Jewish history had been the mightiest witness to the people for a living God against the dead dogmas of priests, was more shocking to me than I can describe." [1]

Mr. Maurice continually repeated himself. It becomes necessary, therefore, to go over again and again ground already traversed. There can be no reason for disputing his dictum that the Old Testament is a witness for liberty. Yet we might know something of liberty even if we had never heard of the Old Testament; nor need we dispute his conclusion that

> "the Bishop of Capetown was waging a fiercer war against the *principle* of the Old Testament than Bishop Colenso has

[1] *Life of Maurice*, ii. p. 490.

done. A thing called a Church, consisting of a Metropolitan and a Synod, a poor imitation of a Popedom, is to set aside the glorious traditions of the *English nation*, which were grounded upon the Old Testament, which were the deliverance from priestly tribunals and a king-bishop."

The traditions may be thoroughly sound and wholesome, and the Old Testament may set forth with all clearness the Divine justice and righteousness; but in spite of this it is conceivably possible that the former may not have been grounded upon the latter. This possibility, even as a conception, lay beyond Mr. Maurice's ken.

But when Mr. Maurice professed to be grieved and shocked by all and by anything that the Bishop had said about the Pentateuch, he forgot that there were others who might be pained and shocked by his own attitude; and for some who were thus distressed it might have been supposed that he would wish to take some thought. It may be no breach of confidence to cite the following sentences from a letter written by Mrs. Colenso, February 1885:—

"I have been reading with intensest interest the life of Mr. Maurice, which Mrs. Lyell sent me. I have no fault at all to find with the editor's account of his father's treatment of us; and I suppose nothing else was to be expected; but I did hope that one whom I had looked on as a prophet would have found us a standing-point for our faith quite distinct from historical beliefs. But no, I was present, and my blood ran cold when he whom I had always regarded as a saint, as nearer to God than any other, actually said that if he could not believe that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, he could not believe in God at all or in 'the powers of the world to come.' I was present, you know, almost all the time of that conference. . . . . I was driven at last to exclaim in despair, 'O Mr. Maurice, it is too dreadful to hear such words from your lips.' For all the bitterness of

that time, the suffering of it, which we kept very much to ourselves, I still remember F. D. Maurice with reverence and affection. . . . . I think he might have taken a little more pains with us, instead of casting us off at once with something like contempt. But I found, when not long afterwards we visited the Scotts at Manchester, who had been very intimate with him, that difference of opinion did sometimes meet with something like violence, and issue in estrangement."

In delivering judgement, the Bishop of Capetown had openly declared his refusal to acquiesce in decisions recently delivered by the judge of the Court of Arches, and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. If no explanation of the fact were offered, the course taken by the Metropolitan of South Africa might be regarded as open defiance of the law of the Church of England. It became necessary, therefore, to take ground which would account for the use of this language. With the principles avowed by Bishop Gray, there was no alternative. On the day, therefore, before the delivery of the sentence, the Bishop of Capetown and his two episcopal assessors formed themselves into a "Synod," and laid down a number of resolutions, intended to bind all the members of the Church of England, lay and clerical, within the Province of Capetown, so including the clergy and laity of the diocese of Natal. In these resolutions they declared that the Church of the Province of Capetown receives the standards and formularies of the Church of England, but

"inasmuch as this Church is not, as the Church of England, 'by law established,' and inasmuch as the laws of England have by treaty no force in this colony, those laws which have been enacted by statute for the English Church as an Establishment, do not apply to, and are not binding upon, the Church in South Africa;"

and again,

"This Synod considers that the final court of appeal, constituted by Act of Parliament for the Established Church of England, is not a court of appeal in ecclesiastical causes for the un-established Church in this colony; and therefore this Synod declares that, while the Church in this Province is bound by, and claims as its inheritance, the standards and formularies of the Church of England, it is not bound by any interpretation put upon those standards by existing ecclesiastical courts in England, or by the decisions of such courts in matters of faith."

In other words, whether rightly or wrongly, whether the change was necessary, or justifiable, or not, there was to be one law for England, and another for South Africa. A clergyman, upheld by the law in the former, might find himself an excommunicated heretic in the latter. The power of interpretation might furnish an indefinitely elastic line; and a man might pass from one legal status to another, while he deluded himself with the idea that his condition remained unchanged. One question remained unanswered. Was this a keeping of faith with all who went out to the colony as members of the Church of England, and not of any other body? The state of things brought about by Bishop Gray was a state of war, affecting the interests of generations yet unborn. In the Bishop of Natal's words, the issue was

"no less than this—whether you and your children shall enjoy hereafter the laws and liberties, and with these the light of life, of the Church of England, to which you belong; or whether, among the clergy and laity of this diocese, all inquiry shall be checked and crushed, all thought repressed, and the aspirations of the age for a wider, more comprehensive, more enlightened Christianity exchanged for a return to Patristic theology and practice, the decrees of the 'Council of Antioch, as confirmed by the Council of Chalcedon,' and 'what the Church held in the first thousand years of her history.'"

Into the purely legal questions connected with this Synod it is unnecessary to enter; but there can be little doubt, or none, that by holding this Synod between the so-called trial and the so-called judgement Dr. Gray was multiplying difficulties for himself. The two proceedings were entirely distinct. They were also not judicial. They were, in short, independent trials, and the proceedings in the Synod appear to have lacked the most elementary and essential characteristics of a trial. There was no citation of the accused, no accusers, no pleading, no evidence. There could therefore be no judgement and no sentence. It is not true, therefore, to say, as was often said subsequently, that the Bishop of Natal was *tried* by a Provincial Synod.[1] He was not summoned to it. The Synod was beyond doubt an afterthought. It professed, indeed, to go through certain forms of trial; but these forms were a mere mockery of justice. The so-called Synod chose to say that it had tried the Bishop. Its assertions could not convert assumption into right, or farce into sober fact.

Between the years 1858 and 1866 nothing had occurred to alter the complexion or significance of the theory of ecclesiastical ascendency propounded by Bishop Gray as Metropolitan of South Africa. All that can be said is that before the latter year an occasion had arisen for the exercise of the powers claimed under this theory, which in 1858 the Bishop of Grahamstown had not looked for. Whatever danger for the rights and freedom of the clergy and laity had been involved in those claims in 1858, those dangers were neither lessened nor increased when the Metropolitan proceeded to judge, condemn, and depose his brother of Natal in 1863. But in the view taken of these claims by Bishop Cotterill change of circumstances had wrought a marvellous revolution. It is necessary here to note only how he had regarded the matter,

[1] J. Brunel, *Remarks on the Proceedings at Capetown in the Matter of the Bishop of Natal*, 1868.

while yet there was nothing to blind his eyes to dangers which might possibly affect himself. In 1858, Bishop Cotterill, writing to the Bishop of Natal, spoke of the patent of the Metropolitan as one reason which had made him hesitate in his acceptance of the see which he held.

"It shows," he said, "how loosely these matters are managed, that both the Archbishop, and the Government, I mean the officials at the Colonial Office, knew nothing about that formidable visitation clause, until I called their attention to it. The Archbishop said that there was no court in which this Metropolitical jurisdiction could be inforced, and Mr. Labouchere and others at the Colonial Office told me that if the Metropolitan interfered I could simply upset all he had done, as soon as he left my diocese.

"But there is another important point connected with this question, and on which I confess it seems to me you have rather conceded too much, by your circulating the Metropolitan's opinion on your doctrine. . . . . It seems to me of the utmost consequence that we should not in any way admit the principle that the Metropolitan is *episcopus episcoporum*. If one of my clergy presented me to the Metropolitan, I should decline submitting to any irregular semi-official proceeding, and I should respectfully inform the Metropolitan that his opinion of my sermons or acts was no concern of mine unless he should proceed by a regular process, and issue a final sentence such as would form the ground for appeal to an ecclesiastical court at home. If our clergy are to be presenting us to the Metropolitan whenever we offend them, or they differ from our views and acts, and we admit the right of another Bishop, because he is the Metropolitan of the Province, to censure us according to the standard of his own private opinion, we are placed wholly in a false position. If he has not a legally constituted court to try us in, that is his business, not ours; but that we should be placed at the mercy of the individual opinion of a Metropolitan is contrary to all ecclesiastical law.

"It is difficult, perhaps, to say what a Metropolitan ought to do. Still, we must make him understand that, unless we ourselves break the ecclesiastical laws of England, and commit deeds or maintain doctrines that would be *legal offences* in England, he has no more right to give us his personal opinions as a judicial sentence upon us than we have to pass a sentence upon him. I wonder how the Bishops of Exeter and Oxford would treat an extra-judicial opinion of the Primate on their doctrine. I speak my mind to you freely, because I do not see where this interference is to end, if we admit it. . . . Closely connected with all these questions is that to which you refer—what is our proper title as a Church here? As you will observe, in our conference the description taken from the Capetown proceedings was proposed; but I objected to it, and it was altered. Most certainly we are here as Bishops of the Church of England; our clergy are clergymen of the United Church of England and Ireland, and take oaths both of allegiance and supremacy. If we were merely Bishops of the 'Catholic Church,' our ordination would (as in the case of the American and Scotch Bishops) not make men presbyters of the English Church. We are bound by ordination vows (as are all our clergy) to observe the laws and use the Liturgy of the Church of England.

"It is curious how some of these men, on points which fall in with their views, will insist on the most rigid adherence to Anglican customs; but in reality they are longing for *developement.* A South African Church Catholic might (especially with the aid of three more Bishops who should be free from the fetters of the Queen's supremacy, &c.) set an example to the whole Church of *restoration.* Who knows what ancient customs, vestments, and other Catholic practices (confession, *e.g.*, to which I hear there is a strong tendency in a neighbouring diocese) might not be revived, if only we could forget that we are an integral part of the Church of England? I have no doubt that the Tractarian party, feeling that in England the battle cannot be fought with success, have been for some time looking to the

colonies as the field where they might establish practices which would ultimately react on England. This has been my conviction for some years; and it was this that made me feel so strongly the importance of a colonial bishopric at the present crisis, that I felt it would be a dereliction of duty to decline the office.

"Though I consider the influence of the Christian λαὸς should be co-extensive with the Church, I prefer, myself, voting by orders. But to say, as the Metropolitan does, that there is no representation of the Church because it is not as he thinks right, is merely to say that, if your Council assumes the powers which he does for his Capetown Synod, he will object. But the Church is represented in such manner as you think best suited for your guidance in the exercise of those functions which belong to you, and with which the Bishop of Capetown has no right to interfere, unless you overstep the bounds of English ecclesiastical law; and this is all that concerns you. The obedience we owe to the Metropolitan is simply *canonical* obedience—'all *due* obedience.' It is so in the case of a clergyman and his Bishop, much more in that of a Bishop and his Metropolitan."

It would not be possible to put into clearer words than these the indispensable need of maintaining the right of appeal from any ecclesiastical tribunal in Southern Africa to the Archbishop of Canterbury (not, as Bishop Gray afterwards professed to grant as a favour, in his private capacity, but) as presiding by his judge in the Court of Arches, from which an appeal lies directly to the Crown. The idea of a South African Church in which an appeal to the Sovereign in Council should be barred by any Bishop or priest is summarily and even indignantly cast aside. In the same spirit Bishop Cotterill writes, some months later:—

"With respect to the Bishop of Capetown's jurisdiction over your outlying parts, I feel certain (as far as I can feel

certain about a body so heterogeneous as the S.P.G.) that, if you protest, they must place the mission under you. They acknowledge—speaking in an under-whisper—the monstrous insolence (I cannot call it by a milder term) of the claims of the Bishop of Capetown. He has tried the same thing with myself and the Orange Free State, declaring it was on his *conscience* and I know not what besides. The S.P.G. have, however, put in my hands the appointment of a clergyman there, pending the question as to the appointment of a Bishop.

"His claim is most preposterous and absurd. On the ground of a patent derived from the Queen, he assumes a right over no one knows what amount of territory beyond the British dominions. We must, in a spirit of love and meekness, but with much firmness, resist his claims. He is Bishop of Capetown, and, as the Metropolitan, has certain precedence and due reverence and obedience according to law. But we must stand on the position that our episcopal rights and authority are as good as his. The new Bishop of St. Helena is not, I hope, any more disposed than we are to co-operate in such claims on his part. At all events, let us be firm, and we shall prevent evils of a most serious character."

In spite of all this, at the time of the so-called trial of the Bishop of Natal, Dr. Cotterill had no hesitation in sitting as an assessor to the Bishop of Capetown along with the Bishop of the Orange Free State—in other words, with a Bishop who, if he had any see at all, had one which lay beyond the borders of British territory. On December 18, 1860, he had been of a very different mind, for on that day he thus writes :—

"That it is our duty to aid in the consecration of the new Bishop of the Zambesi Mission, I certainly think. . . . But the question as to his seat in a Provincial Synod is quite a different one. As at present advised, I am strongly of opinion that it is contrary to the most fundamental principles

of our Church system to recognise any right to form a province consisting of dioceses in different dominions."

We have seen that it was the deep longing to take part in missionary work, if he might be permitted to do so, which determined Dr. Colenso to accept the offer of the see of Natal. The same desire led him, as we have seen,[1] to think seriously of devoting himself to the same work in regions where the ground was still altogether unbroken. To carry out this plan he had already taken the preliminary steps, when Bishop Cotterill, then in England, wrote the following letter, urging upon him the very consideration, for acting upon which, later on, the Bishop of Natal incurred his strong reprobation :—

"The Bishop of London informs me that you have sent to the Colonial Bishops' trustees a proposal that you should resign your present see, and become a missionary Bishop. He tells me that you have been informed in reply that nothing is settled respecting the missionary Bishops. He, with many others of the English Bishops, feels very strongly the importance of more consideration of the question before the English Church is committed to a course of action.

"But, independently of this, I sincerely trust that you will yourself consider well whether it is desirable for you to leave your present post. My own feeling is very strongly that the position you there occupy is one of great importance to the interests of the colonial Church ; and the fact that you have met with difficulties from your Tractarian clergy makes it all the more necessary that you should remain at your post. Besides this, you have, I trust, gained, after many struggles, the confidence of your laity ; and I have no doubt that, by God's blessing, all the difficulties you have to contend with will confirm their affection for you, and their reliance upon you.

"To leave them to such a Bishop as might be appointed your successor (especially by the present Colonial Minister)

[1] See p. 117.

would be a serious injury to your diocese; and the results might be most serious. Suppose, for example, that your present Archdeacon should be appointed (and I suppose great exertions would be made by the Bishop of Oxford and others to obtain the appointment of him,—no doubt heaven and earth would be moved to have one like-minded with him appointed), consider what a discouragement it would be to the sound-minded laity. Do, my dear brother, consider this, and do not think of forsaking your post. As regards myself also I feel, so long as you are at Natal, we two can prevent any serious amount of mischief that might proceed from other sources. But if you go to native work, and are no longer at your present post, I may stand quite alone in all questions that affect the colonial part of our Church work, and with a strong body of clergy in my own diocese not sympathising with me I should have a harder battle than ever to fight. I can assure you that on more than one point your action (*e.g.* in your Conference and Council) has helped me.

"I earnestly trust that even since you sent in your proposal to the Colonial Bishops' trustees you may have considered these things, and felt the importance of remaining."

In another letter he expresses himself even more strongly on the pretensions of Bishop Gray to the possession of something like autocratic power.

"He declares that his conscience is burdened with those parts which formerly belonged to his diocese, and authority over which he received from the Church, not from the Crown. He forgets (1) that he resigned the see for subdivision; (2) that if the Orange Free State, *e.g.*, had still been British dominion, it most assuredly would not have been in the diocese of Capetown; (3) that from the Church he received consecration to the episcopal office of the see of Capetown, but that the territorial limits are fixed by the Crown.

"I acknowledge to you that his ambition (I can call it nothing else), and the very slight disguise with which he now thinks it necessary to conceal it, amazes me and makes me more

resolved than ever to withstand his assumptions. He has evidently a gigantic scheme for extending *his* province up to the equator, and creating a host of Bishops dependent on himself. He relies on you, I can see, to act with him. If you do so, he will be independent of me, as I imagine the Bishop of St. Helena has not strength of character enough to resist him."

In a later letter he again recurs to the same subject:—

"I think you will be quite right in insisting on independence of Capetown as soon as you are out of British dominions. The claims which some put forth of having a number of native Churches in other nations subordinate to a Metropolitan in British dominions, seems to me a most serious invasion of the liberties of particular and national Churches."

Lastly, he asserts that the metropolitical claims of the Bishop of Capetown are altogether unsubstantial (1861).

"The metropolitical power of the Bishop of Capetown, or of any Bishop on whom the title is conferred by the Queen's patent, may seem something on paper; but in reality it is nothing. Such is the opinion of the best Church lawyers whom I consulted in England. . . . The supposition that he is under the Archbishop of Canterbury as Bishop, and not as Metropolitan, is ridiculous; for what is the meaning of our having an appeal from Capetown to Canterbury, in case of his sitting in judgement upon us? Would not his judgement on one of the Bishops of his so-called province be his act as Metropolitan? . . . It is amusing enough. These High Churchmen are hot against Erastianism and the Queen's supremacy, when it is against them; but when it makes a Metropolitan to their taste, it is a good card to play, for this metropolitical power in the colonial Church rests on nothing but the Queen's patent. It is not like episcopal powers which come from the Church. Consistent High Churchmen in England do not like it. They had much rather that provincial synodical action should

regulate all these questions. As regards the oath, on which those lawyers, R. Palmer and Phillimore, with the Bishop of Capetown rely, you will see what O'Malley says; and *in foro conscientiæ*, in which alone, of course, such an oath is of any force, it is the very question at issue, what is *due* reverence and obedience.

"The Bishop of Capetown and his party are very fond of decrying the exercise of the Archbishop's authority, as a quasi-papal interference with the rights of Metropolitans. They forget that the real question is between arbitrary power, such as a colonial Metropolitan might think fit to exercise, and power limited and directed by English law, such as an English Archbishop's would be. We know that in going to Canterbury we go to England, and to the liberty of thought and of conscience which England represents and protects. We have no such assurance in going to Capetown. I do not speak of the individual Bishop, so much as of the fact that his court has no legal existence, and no law to guide it or control it."

Yet, three years later, Bishop Cotterill took his seat in such an unsubstantial court; and then, in a tribunal which had no legal existence and no law to guide and control it, he took it on himself to pass sentence of condemnation on the Bishop of Natal, and to declare him, not merely deprived of spiritual authority, but deposed from the see of Natal. It is a melancholy history; but it shows us how differences in the point of view may modify or change the thoughts and conclusions of any man. If we think we stand, it will be well to take heed lest we fall.

It is thus plain that the working and the possible results of Bishop Gray's theory of the South African Church had not in 1858 much to commend them in the eyes of Bishop Cotterill. To him the claims of the Metropolitan seemed fraught with a danger, which would only increase as the limits of the Church of South Africa were gradually pushed forward to the

equator. To these fears he had given expression after the appearance of the Bishop of Natal's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans;* and he had regretted what seemed to him an ill-judged concession, when Bishop Colenso allowed his work to be examined by Bishop Gray.

But subsequent events led him to change his tone and shift his ground altogether; and these events, it is unnecessary to say, arose solely out of the publication of the Bishop's criticisms on the Pentateuch. It is true that in his Charge delivered in the cathedral church of Grahamstown, in 1864, Bishop Cotterill speaks of his once honoured and loved brother as one who had "denied the Lord" (page 30); but these words manifestly resolve themselves into the statement made a few lines lower down, that the publication of his work on the Pentateuch was "the most daring attack on the authority of God's Word, and of our Divine Master, that has ever been made in ancient or modern times by one invested with the responsibilities of the episcopal office." If then Bishop Colenso had "denied the Lord" and "attacked His authority," it was only by questioning whether references to "Moses" or to "David" from the lips of our Lord implied and guaranteed the authenticity of the Pentateuch, or the Books of Kings, or the Psalms. Certainly he had done so in no other way; and the question thus raised was one which should have been referred on its merits in the usual course to the Sovereign in Council. But the Churchmanship of South Africa had, it seems, taken alarm; and from the judgement in the Williams-Wilson case the inference had been drawn that the Court of Final Appeal was prepared to strain every nerve so to interpret or to wrest the law as to insure impunity for doubters and heretics of every sort, to the confusion of all who remained true to the faith of what they spoke of as the Church. The issue was a plain one. The Bishop of Natal had beyond doubt declared his opinion that many of the narratives in the Pentateuch were

not records of historical facts; that some, at least, of the laws bearing the name of Moses, and claiming to be imposed by Divine authority, were unjust; that the Levitical system set forth in these books was of very much later growth, much of it belonging to the age of the Babylonian Captivity; and therefore that the Pentateuch was an agglomerate of records, put together at various times by different annalists, and thus could not as a whole be regarded as a genuine contemporary history.

The only question calling for consideration was whether the avowal of these opinions contravened the declarations of the Church of England. These declarations could be found only in the sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles; and of the *authority* of the Holy Scriptures it must be noted that this Article says nothing. It speaks only of their *sufficiency*, and this sufficiency is declared to rest on the fact that they contain all things necessary to salvation; the only one inference drawn from this fact being that anything not found in those books, or capable of being proved (in what degree, or to whose satisfaction, it does not say) by them, is not to be imposed upon any one as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation (this last term also being left undefined). But if salvation be, as undoubtedly it must be, taken to denote the process of healing from the wounds, and deliverance from the power, of sin, then this Article asserts nothing more and nothing less than that the Holy Scriptures (and by this term are meant the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments) contain all that is needful for the perfecting of this healing, strengthening, life-establishing process, and that no burden of propositions not found in them is to be imposed on the consciences of any, whether clergy or laymen. It may be most safely said that not only had the Bishop of Natal not impugned either of these declarations, but that he had not uttered a single word that implied even the remotest fancy of questioning either.

Nor would it have been possible for his opponents to take refuge in the plea that he had denied or doubted the canonicity of any of these books.

In truth this controversy on the subject of canonicity is now, and has been ever since the Canon was closed, a mere waste of breath and beating of the air. The term canonicity or canonical states nothing more than an historical fact. It states nothing more than that at a certain date the societies of Eastern and Western Christendom agreed to look upon certain books as "containing all things necessary to salvation," and on certain others as furnishing examples of life, and instruction of manners, but as not to be cited in support of propositions not found in the other books. The fact that certain other books had for a long or short time previously been regarded with grave doubts, and in many quarters rejected, ceased after the closing of the Canon to have any significance. It was strictly within the functions of Greek and Latin Christendom to set its seal on any set of writings as containing whatever might be most useful for the spiritual instruction, growth, and strength of Christian men; and most assuredly it never entered into the Bishop of Natal's thoughts to call this right into question. The one point was whether books containing, admittedly, all things necessary to salvation might not also contain much unhistorical matter, and much that might be of dubious character as ethical or spiritual philosophy, many expressions falling from the lips of men whose moral perceptions were more or less weak. The case might be drawn even more strongly; but it is, and was, absolutely certain that the Judicial Committee would refuse to listen to charges brought against any clergyman for doubting whether Jael was blessed in her murder of Sisera merely because in the excitement of victory Deborah is represented as declaring her so to be. It is not less certain that every one of the Bishop's criticisms falls under the same

category, and that for none of them could his opponents have obtained his condemnation. In fact from no part of his writings, probably, could a summary so trenchant and complete of the unnecessary and unimportant matter in the Pentateuch be drawn as that which has been already cited from the Charge of Bishop Thirlwall, of St. David's.[1]

This issue, the only one involved in his volumes on the Pentateuch, the Bishop would most gladly and thankfully have seen tried on its merits; and there is not the least doubt that he would have consented to its being submitted in the first instance to the Bishop of Capetown as Metropolitan, if Bishop Gray had told him at the outset that the trial should follow precisely the course which it would take if the suit had been instituted against any clergyman of the Church of England in England. But it was indispensable for the maintenance of the South African Church that the decision of the Metropolitan of Capetown should be final; and final he insisted that it must be, although he proposed to allow to the defendant, or even to encourage, a reference to the Archbishop of Canterbury personally, granting this strictly as of grace or favour under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and in no way as of right. In taking this course Bishop Gray was actuated by two motives; the one being the resolution not to accept, in cases which he deemed spiritual, the intervention of a non-ecclesiastical court; the other the fear, amounting morally to conviction, that the Sovereign in Council would give no judgement but one of acquittal. His position, therefore, could, it is obvious, be maintained only by insisting that the Church of South Africa must in South Africa hear and decide its own causes, whatever troubles might arise in consequence in reference to temporalities. The alarm felt for what was regarded as the merely negative and destructive criticism of the Bishop of Natal was, no

[1] See p. 310.

doubt, genuine; and we may give Bishop Gray and his colleagues credit for thinking that the danger was not wholly confined to the side of the so-called rationalistic school. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had acquired, in greater or less degree, the reputation of dealing out even-handed justice, without respect of parties; and the Synod of Capetown had no special wish to invite, or to submit to, judgements which might not square with their own convictions. Archdeacon Denison, it is true, had defeated his assailants by virtue of merely technical objections; but this imperfect victory was a poor set-off against the decided success achieved by Mr. Long in his appeal from the Bishop of Capetown, and still more against the judgements which closed the case of *Essays and Reviews*, and allowed to Mr. Gorham's teaching a place as definite as that which was conceded to the teaching of Dr. Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter.

Unless, then, Bishop Cotterill could make up his mind to submit to the Queen in Council, as the ultimate court of appeal in all ecclesiastical causes, a change of front had become imperatively necessary, and this change was made with sufficient completeness in his Charge of 1864. His examination of the whole subject is, it must be admitted, marked by great ability; but his perceptions had been not less clear and vivid in 1858 on the other side. All this, however, was now a thing of the past. The matter for present consideration was the actual condition of the Church of South Africa. Had it been, or was it now, "a society lawfully established by the authority of the Sovereign, governed by rules which are the laws of the Sovereign, and with ecclesiastical tribunals which are the courts of the Sovereign"? The Sovereign in Council had decided that

> "whatever other value the letters patent [of the Bishops] possess, in this very point of forming the Bishops and

clergy of the Church of England here into an organized body they have no legal force. It followed that 'the supremacy of the Sovereign in legislating for the Church is not in exercise here,' and again, 'that the tribunals for determining whether these rules are violated are not here courts of the Sovereign'; in other words, that the judicial supremacy of the Sovereign in the Church has no force in our communion."

But what should be the extent of the organic disconnexion, since disconnexion there must be?

"We must not," said Bishop Cotterill, "allow our freedom from external restraints to lead us into paths of our own. We must not suffer those who come to us from England, attached to the Church of their fathers, to feel that in South Africa they are brought into a different atmosphere, and that we avail ourselves of our disconnexion from the State to imprint some new features upon the Church according to our own particular views of that which is expedient for its welfare. The Englishman who leaves his native land does not carry with him the exact form of its civil polity; . . . . but he may justly expect to find here the same constitutional principles, the same civil liberty, and, though under different laws, the same substantial rights of a British subject."

But, he says, the question has arisen, how in things ecclesiastical the substantial rights of the English clergy could be maintained in South Africa. At present, apart from the "unhappy exception" of Bishop Colenso, there might be much harmony, or practical unanimity, in the province which might some day become a patriarchate. But men who agreed with Mr. Long, or with Mr. Gorham, might, if they came within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Capetown, fear, and have just cause to fear, that they might find themselves sooner or later under sentence of condemnation for offences which in England would not be offences at all. The tendency of the

Judicial Committee seemed to be to cast a shield over unsound theology generally. The deprivation of Mr. Voysey was, indeed, still a thing of the future; but without this Bishop Cotterill felt it

> "impossible to conceal from our minds the unwelcome fact that the relation of the State to the Church in England, to which, undoubtedly, in past generations we owe so much, and which we are still fully convinced is in itself the ordinance of God, is yet now, through the peculiar nature of its exercise in the present day, threatening to enfeeble the testimony borne by the Established Church to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ."[1]

This confession was no doubt sincere, as no doubt also the expressions of his letters to the Bishop of Natal six years before had also been sincere. But his argument was vitiated by the common blot of undefined terms. For him the teaching of Mr. Gorham or Mr. Long would be opposed only in a less degree than that of the Bishop of Natal "to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ."

In short, what is this faith? Is it a living principle, or is it a multitude of propositions for which any one or every one may assume the sanction of this august title? Is it that vast body of conceptions, always fluctuating, always undergoing modifications amounting in the end to changes in kind, which cluster around the undefined terms, *salvation, redemption, inspiration, atonement, election, propitiation, justification, sacrifice*, and the rest, terms which too often serve as weapons in the ecclesiastical armoury for carrying on warfare not sanctioned seemingly by Him for whose cause they profess to be fighting? The Church of South Africa would have done well to define these terms at starting; and then the followers of Calvin or Melanchthon, of Jeremy Taylor or Hugh Peters, might

[1] P. 17.

have satisfied themselves as to the sort of treatment which they might expect to receive in that Church. But the definition of terms had become a task not very congenial to Bishop Cotterill. He had no longer any liking for the system which so construed the letter of doctrinal standards "as to give every possible advantage to the accused" (p. 18). He had discovered in the interval since 1858 that

> "it needs no argument to show that, although such a use of the standards of the Church may be good in law, its effect must be that the sanction of these standards will be given to very unsound theology."

The language of Bishop Cotterill is here not quite ingenuous. His sentence might seem at first sight to imply a desire for what he would have called orthodox judgement given at the cost of a little, or a good deal of, injustice; that in short, it might be well for the Church if the practice of the Court of Appeal deflected slightly in the direction favoured by Dominic or Torquemada. But while we acquit Bishop Cotterill of entertaining such thoughts as these, we may fairly charge him with one-sidedness in this statement. The question is one not of the unsound theology of any given writer, but of the expressions in a given Article, and of their general meaning. It may be true, or not true, to say that every narrative in the Old and New Testaments is throughout historical, that every precept contained in those books is right and wholesome, that the descriptions of physical facts are always correct, and that the philosophy and theology found in them is always self-consistent as well as in harmony with the first principles of morality. But on every one of these points the Sixth Article is absolutely silent; and the questions put to deacons at the time of their ordering throw no further light upon them.

In short, the contention is for narrowing the limits of freedom.

"It is the necessary connexion by law, in England, of the spiritual office with the temporalities, that renders such principles as are adopted in these judgements peculiarly oppressive to the Church there. That the Church should be constrained, through its union with the State, to recognize as its own ministers those who retain their offices only through the extreme leniency of such proceedings as are adopted . . . . is a result which would not only justify the Church in taking measures, out of its ordinary course, to protect and vindicate itself, but which imperatively demands that it should do so, unless it would receive the sentence from its Divine Head, 'Because thou art lukewarm, and neither hot nor cold, I will spue thee out of my mouth.'"

The citation from the Apocalypse is ominous indeed. Here are words from a book as to which the opinions or judgement of theologians of every age and every school exhibit contradictions as astounding as they are innumerable;[1] and here is Bishop Cotterill applying these words, seemingly on his own sole authority, for the repression of inquiry into the date of the prophecies of Balaam, or of the directions for the planning and decorating of the Tabernacle. No declaration could be less ambiguous; and it is the declaration of a claim to inforce on every clergyman (however it may be with the laity) the general mass of propositions which are supposed to formulate the opinions or the belief or faith of the Church of South Africa. It is enough to say here that such men as Mr. Gorham and Mr. Long, Dean Stanley and Mr. Bennett, Bishop Wilberforce and Bishop Ryle, Mr. Maurice and Dr. Pusey, have all been or are priests and incumbents in the Church of England, bound to tolerate each other, and no one of them regarded as having a better title to his position than

[1] See p. 289.

the rest,—the only point of vast moment being this, that the conceptions of Christian truth entertained by these men are in almost every particular radically divergent. The notions set forth by Dr. Pusey and Mr. Maurice on the subjects of sacrifice, mediation, redemption, punishment, baptism, and many others, were, it must again be said, contradictory. If, then, the difference is to be measured by considerations of technical theology, these two men would be professors of two wholly different religions. But both called themselves Christians. It is hard to see how the title can be conceded to both except by virtue of that "class of principles," which, in the words of Dean Stanley, underlie

> "the sentiments and usages which have accumulated round the forms of Christianity,—a religion, as it were, behind the religion—which, however dimly expressed, has given them whatever vitality they possess."[1]

Further, they were both clergymen holding office in the Church of England, and holding it by the same undoubted right. One or other of them the Church of South Africa would most assuredly have cast out.

But Bishop Cotterill could not, it seems, shake off altogether the old misgivings.

> "That theologians should be disposed at times to over-value the importance of traditional interpretations of Divine Truth; that sometimes the additional bulwarks which human wisdom or, it may be, human ignorance, has thrown up, should be held by them with as much tenacity as if they formed a part of the Divine original, is no more than the analogy of human science and its students would lead us to expect."

Is there, then, no danger in this short-sighted and irrational zeal? Was not Bishop Cotterill, at the moment when he

[1] *Christian Institutions*, 5.

wrote, full of indignation at what he termed the apostasy of his brother of Natal, who had actually "denied the Lord"? and did not the denial consist merely in this that he questioned or denied the accuracy or truthfulness of the story which recounts the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness, or their settlement in the land of Canaan? Further, is not the idea of the value of these narratives a bulwark thrown up rather by human ignorance than by human wisdom, and indeed not worth the fighting about? Was not then Bishop Cotterill doing, even as he spoke, the very thing which he deprecated in others? He speaks indeed of Bishop Colenso as having "flagrantly and avowedly contradicted the formularies of the Church;" but if by the Church he meant the Church of England, there is not one of her formularies which bears in the remotest degree upon the subject; and not one single word in the Bishop of Natal's work goes counter to the language of the Sixth Article, which alone deals with it. Dr. Cotterill professes to regard it as impossible that Bishop Colenso could escape condemnation, "even by the lenient construction of 'temporal courts';" but the true nature of the contention is betrayed by the proposition (here suppressed, but indispensable for the right understanding of Bishop Cotterill's position) that the Metropolitan of Capetown and his suffragans were debarred from seeking his condemnation at the hands of a tribunal where they could not fail, with adequate evidence, to secure it, by the fact that they could not resort to this court without compromising or betraying the spiritual rights of the Church of South Africa. Bishop Cotterill was pronouncing judgement on himself and his fellow suffragans as maintaining a society or a Church separated root and branch from the Church of England.

It thus becomes plain that the so-called trial of the Bishop of Natal was a matter of importance, in reference not only to the defendant in the case, but to the interests of all English-

men taking up their abode in the colonies. It cannot be insisted on too strongly that the characteristics peculiar to this prosecution were the result of accident. The Bishop of Natal's books were thrown into a form which would render them singularly galling to a mind like that of Bishop Gray. Even where they did not set forth convictions which the latter regarded as subversive of Christianity, they treated the question of ecclesiastical order and government as of an interest altogether subordinate to the abiding and present work of the Divine Spirit. By the publication of the volumes on the Pentateuch the whole aspect of the discussion had been changed not so much by the gravity of any of the results attained as by the laying down the principle that the date, the authorship, the composition of any given book (as of all books) are simply subjects for inquiry. There was enough in the position so taken up to account for the outburst of indignation and wrath in those who believed themselves to be members of a practically infallible society, and the possessors of an absolutely infallible book. But all this was merely accidental. Not many years before, utterances of a very different kind had given rise to fierce controversy in England, and Dr. Phillpots, Bishop of Exeter, had used in reference to the heresies of Mr. Gorham language scarcely less vehement than that in which Bishop Gray denounced the method and conclusions of the Bishop of Natal. There was, and there is, no reason for supposing that Mr. Gorham would be dealt with more leniently in Capetown than in England; but condemnation at Capetown would most assuredly, according to the theory of Bishop Gray, have deprived Mr. Gorham of the appeal which ended in his victory. For the present, a clergyman who might be charged, as Mr. Bennett was charged, with setting forth the Tridentine doctrine of the Eucharist, might look with more or less confidence either to acquittal or to some condonation

of his offence by the Metropolitan of Southern Africa; but times might come when such a man could look for no mercy, or even to any fairness in his trial; and for him also there would not be that appeal to which every clergyman in England is entitled. In short, Bishop Gray had rejected the *fundamental* principle of the Church of England, and he was resolved that no one should have the benefit of it. Thus determined, he could not bring himself to see that the firmest opposition to his procedure might come from those who had no sympathy whatever with what was, or what was supposed to be, the theology of the Bishop of Natal. All who felt called upon to fight the battle for the rights of Englishmen everywhere were regarded and spoken of as aiders and abettors of Dr. Colenso in the dissemination of an infidel theology and philosophy.

In the discussion which followed the so-called Capetown trial, Bishop Gray strove always to show that his procedure insured full justice to every one who might be brought before his tribunal. He never failed to maintain that he had granted to Bishop Colenso whatever appeal he had a right to claim. In *A Statement relating to Facts which have been Misunderstood*,[1] in connexion with the trial, Bishop Gray declares that he had given the defendant the option of submitting the case either to the Archbishop in person, or to the Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, or to a national Synod, including colonial Bishops. The offer, he adds, was declined, and the proposed alternative he pronounces to be an impossibility. From his own point of view it was so. But there is just this to be said, and we need say nothing more. The appeal to the Archbishop in person, to the Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, to a national Synod including colonial Bishops, is not an appeal to the Sovereign in Council, and it is to this appeal that every clergyman

[1] London, Rivingtons, 1867, p. 67.

holding office in England is entitled. If it was "impossible" for Dr. Gray to allow this appeal, it was not less impossible for Dr. Colenso to dispense with it.

If, therefore, the case was never tried upon its merits, the responsibility for this, and for the proceedings involved in the attempt to carry out a sentence pronounced to be null and void in law, rests with the Metropolitan of the Church of South Africa, and his advisers. The plain issue is that Dr. Gray did not like this appeal, and that in hindering it he withstood the law of the Church of England. It becomes idle, therefore, to speak of any other appeals which he proposed to allow in its place.

To Dr. Gray it was thus a matter for amazement that any should presume to call the legitimacy of his acts into question and still more that they should do so while they disclaimed sympathy or agreement with the views of Dr. Colenso. Such a position as this was to him unintelligible; and as he could not imagine it to be sincere, he resolved to put the subscribers to the Durban Protest to what Bishop Colenso charitably describes as "undue pressure." These memorialists had expressed no more than the wish to await the decision of the Queen in Council; and for so saying they were warned that if they did not openly disclaim the imputation of sympathising with Bishop Colenso's views, they would be "generally and fairly considered as having adopted them."

A more striking instance of extra-judicial tyranny and oppressiveness it would be impossible to find in the ecclesiastical history of the present century. Bishop Gray was, however, speaking the strict truth when he declared that he could not regard their protest without stultifying his whole proceedings and acknowledging the right of appeal to the Privy Council, "which," he said, "I had formally repudiated." We need no further confession. It was unfortunate for the Bishop of Capetown that he had not been able by this device

to arrest the interference of the Crown in the case of Mr. Long.

But for those who regarded the proceedings of Bishop Gray as sheer usurpation the way was perfectly clear; and the Bishop of Natal had not a moment's hesitation in taking it. Dr. Gray had declared that if the Metropolitan could not remove an unfaithful officer from his office, no power on earth could. The Archbishop of Canterbury could not. The Crown could not. The Bishop of Natal at once rejoins, and his words dispose of the whole matter:—

"Let us stop here for a moment and consider the statement, ... in which lies the Bishop's whole misapprehension of his position. He asserts that the Crown cannot remove a Bishop; I am advised that the Crown can remove a Bishop, and that no other power in the Church of England can. Here, then, is the true remedy for the present supposed grievance. . . . . If, then, as it is asserted, I have transgressed so grievously—nay, if I have transgressed at all—the laws of the Church of England, it is perfectly competent for the Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown, or any Bishops of England, my accusers, to make their complaint to Her Majesty, and seek redress at her hands. They may present, as I myself have done, a petition to be heard before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or any other court which Her Majesty may see good to appoint. . . . . *I call upon them solemnly to do this*, and not to persist in the unjustifiable practice of uttering abusive and, in fact, libellous invectives against me. I will put no obstacles in the way of such an inquiry: I will raise no technical objections, nor interpose unnecessary delays. But, if they refuse to do this, then let them hold their peace as to my having broken faith with the Church of England and violated her laws. Or, if they reject Her Majesty's supremacy, and desire to shake off the control of these wholesome laws, which protect the clergy of the Church of England from the grinding oppression of mere

ecclesiastical domination, then let this purpose be distinctly avowed, and so we shall understand more clearly the end which is aimed at, and the nature of the conflict in which we are engaged."[1]

Nor can the distinction drawn by Bishop Gray between temporal and spiritual jurisdiction be described as anything but a groundless and mischievous fallacy. The Crown unquestionably claims and exercises the power of allowing or disallowing the judgements which may have been passed by Bishops upon their clergy, and knows nothing of the distinction on which Bishop Gray lays stress. Dr. Gray had himself seen Dr. Rowland Williams restored to his spiritual functions by the decree of the Privy Council, in direct opposition to the wishes of the Bishop of Salisbury. It was, therefore, open to Bishop Hamilton to declare that if Dr. Williams should presume to exercise priestly functions in the diocese of Salisbury after the spiritual sentence of the Bishop had been notified to him, without an appeal to Canterbury, and without being restored to his office by the Bishop, he should be *ipso facto* excommunicate, and it would become the Bishop's duty to pronounce sentence accordingly. Bishop Colenso adds:—

"Of course, the Bishop of Salisbury, though feeling so deeply on this question, has never attempted to carry out such a measure. The notion of such a proceeding would not now be tolerated for a moment in England."[2]

It is a mistake to suppose that the theory of the Royal supremacy is confined to Great Britain and Ireland. The King's power is declared in the first Canon of the Church of England to be the highest power under God within his realms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and all his other dominions and countries; but if a distinction not known to English law

[1] *Remarks on the Proceedings of the Bishop of Capetown*, 1864, p. 23.
[2] *Ib.* p. 25.

can be drawn in South Africa or elsewhere, the experiment, as the Bishop of Natal has warned us, will be tried at no distant day at home. It must be so, if a mass of literature or volumes of dogmatic declarations are to be forced as being *de fide* on the clergy of the Church of England or any other Church. According to Bishop Gray,

"What the Catholic Church, while yet one, during the first thousand years of her history, under the Spirit's guidance in her great Councils, declared to be, or received as, the true faith, *that* is the true faith, and that we receive as such. More than this we are not bound to acknowledge. Less we may not."

Such is the doctrine of Bishop Gray. By means of it any one may be crushed. Why are the Councils held before A.D. 1000 to be held infallible, and later Councils to be unanimously rejected? How are the decrees of any of these Councils, whether of the first or the second Christian millennium, to be imposed on the clergy of a Church which emphatically declares the fallibility of all these Councils and the actual blunderings or errors of some of them even in things pertaining to God? But it is not on the authority of the Church or of general Councils alone that Bishop Gray imposes his yoke upon us.

"It is the office of reason to examine the grounds, to weigh the evidence, of there being a revelation from God. Prophecy and miracles are the grounds upon which revelation rests its claims. Through them an appeal is made to the reason of man, in support of the truth of God's Word and the Divine mission of our Lord. . . . When the understanding is convinced that the Bible is the record of God's revelation . . . the functions of reason end."

It is at least conceivable that the reason may declare emphatically that there is, and there must always be, a

revelation (an *Apokalypsis*), but that this revelation does not rest its claims on either prophecy or miracles. The sentence just cited is, indeed, one of those wonderful utterances of Bishop Gray, of which we can only say, as we have said already, that they bristle with assumptions and undefined terms. Like Bishop Butler, in his melancholy and fallacious chapter on miracles as an evidence of the truth of Christianity, Bishop Gray has forgotten that diabolical miracles are denounced as a snare in the Old Testament and in the New. It was not of Bishop Gray that Mr. Goldwin Smith was speaking in the following sentences; but his words apply strictly to his whole argument and position:—

"You go to a heathen whom you wish to convert, and say, 'You must not judge of my religion by its contents, for they are beyond your judgement, but by its evidences, which are the miracles.' May not he answer, 'My religion is said to be attested by miracles as well as yours, and the questions of historical criticism, on the one side and on the other, are such as I have neither time, learning, nor capacity to solve. Besides, according to your own Scriptures, Egyptian sorcerers and false prophets can perform miracles, so that I do not see how miracles by themselves can establish the truth of a religion'? Or, rather, supposing him to have any notion of religion, would he not say, 'If your religion is to be judged, not by its contents, but by its evidences, it must be the lowest and vilest religion in the world'?"[1]

It was, then, for the sake of such a position as this that Bishop Gray was prepared to set aside the law of the Church of England, and to place an intolerable yoke on the necks of its members. Carrying out this purpose, he had ruled that the Church of England holds, and requires its clergy to hold, two doctrines (on the subjects of inspiration and punishment)

[1] *The Study of History*, p. 86.

which the judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has declared that the Church of England does not maintain; and, if fresh hindrances should be placed in his way by later decisions, he was ready to go still further. It was for the sake of this position that he deliberately and repeatedly charged Bishop Colenso with dishonesty in the course which he was pursuing, as

> "teaching directly contrary to what she [the Church of England] holds on fundamental points, and directly opposite to what he undertook to teach when she gave him his commission, and for the teaching of which her faithful children have provided for him a maintenance."

To this charge the Bishop replied calmly and patiently. He had, he said, resigned his preferment in England, and accepted from the Crown the appointment to the see of Natal, knowing that he would be a Bishop of the Church of England, and, as such, would still be under the protection of her laws, whatever those laws might be. For the sake, however, of what he believed to be the truth, he had been prepared to resign his see, if he had found that the laws of the Church of England forbade the publication of his views on the Pentateuch. He now challenged his adversaries to point out a single passage in his works which is condemned by the existing laws of the Church; or else, if they are in doubt on any points, to bring them at once to an issue before the only lawful authority. He was ready, also, even now to resign his see, whenever he should be satisfied that he cannot hold it conscientiously; or that it would be better for his fellow men and for the truth itself, that he should resign it, —which he does not feel to be the case at present.[1]

But, although the Bishop of Natal would not avail himself of the retort open to him, it was impossible for him to shut

[1] *Remarks*, &c., 1864, p. 58.

his eyes to the fact that the retort might be made, and he candidly said so. In the following sentences, written by Bishop Gray in condemnation of Bishop Colenso, only those words have been changed which make the charge applicable to the former. These words are italicised.

"What we have to consider is, whether one, who undertook an office of great honour and dignity, *at the hands of the Crown, as Bishop and Metropolitan of the Church of England,* and received the emoluments *and honours* thereof, upon a distinct understanding that he would *acknowledge the Royal supremacy in the Church of England, and act according to the laws and constitution of that Church, which the Queen of this Protestant nation, who appointed him,* deemed to be of the very deepest importance *for the repression of ecclesiastical domination and the promotion of true religion among her people,* is to be allowed, now that he has changed his mind, and holds and teaches *independence of State control*—a *principle* the very opposite to that which he undertook to teach, and at first did teach—to retain his position in the Church *of England,* and to enjoy the emoluments of his abused office and violated trust." [1]

And again :—

"She (*Her Majesty the Queen*) has no wish unduly to interfere with *Dr. Gray's* liberty of thought or teaching, but she says that, if he teaches directly contrary to what she, *in her constitutional office as head of the Church of England,* holds on fundamental points, *inforcing, as doctrines of the Church of England, dogmas, as to the Bible and endless punishment, which she has authoritatively forbidden to be inforced within the Church of England,* and directly opposite to what he undertook to teach, *in respect of the Royal supremacy,* when she gave him his *appointment,* he shall not do so in *her* name, or as a Bishop of the *Church of England.* He must do it outside the Church of England."

[1] *Remarks,* &c., 1864, p. 59.

Bishop Gray had in like manner spoken of Bishop Colenso as a fanatic. But the latter asks whether any fanaticism can exceed that with which, shutting his eyes to the realities around him, Bishop Gray

> "appears to surrender his whole being to the worship of his own ideal of a Catholic Church, which in defiance of the known facts of history, he assumes to have continued one and undivided 'during the first thousand years of her history,' and of which he seems to consider himself, by virtue of his 'Apostolical succession,' the infallible representative and exponent in South Africa."

But for Dr. Gray the yoke of the Catholic Church was perfect freedom, so long as he was the interpreter of her will; and his whole attitude of mind involved a danger which must excite alarm in all who could not share his faith. It was this alarm to which Dean Stanley gave emphatic utterance in a speech before the Lower House of Convocation, June 29, 1866, when without previous warning an attempt was made to commit the House to an approval of the course of action for the intrusion of a strange Bishop into Natal, then contemplated by Dr. Gray.

It is hard to see how the tactics thus employed can be regarded in any other light than that of indecent stratagem. Anything, it would seem, was thought fair in the fight against the Bishop of Natal. In the previous year (1865), without any specification of the object aimed at, an address had been brought from the Upper to the Lower House of Convocation, and in an assembly in which only 17 out of 140 members were present, was carried by a majority of 11 to 5, and then sent out to the Cape of Good Hope as representing the sentiments of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury on Bishop Colenso's heresies. The resolution which the Lower House was now (1866) asked to approve was that

the Church of England held communion with the Bishop of Capetown and the other Bishops who had excommunicated Bishop Colenso. With quiet sarcasm Dean Stanley expressed his agreement with the motion, adding that, much as he disapproved of Bishop Gray's proceedings, they did not appear to him to be offences of so grave a character as to justify a refusal to hold communion with him. But the case was altered by the proposal pledging the House to hold communion with any Bishop whom Dr. Gray might put in Dr. Colenso's place, and against this proposal Dean Stanley entered his emphatic protest.

The issue of the theological controversy between the two prelates in South Africa, and even the personal fate of either of them, is of little moment compared with the importance of preserving intact the existing liberties of the English clergy throughout the British Empire, and of maintaining inviolate, for all branches of the Church of England, a right to the protection of the same laws and standards of appeal which guard the freedom and regulate the teaching of the Church at home.

It was precisely this freedom which was endangered by the action of Bishop Gray. He had sentenced, and proposed to deprive a Bishop, in a Synod composed entirely of Bishops, without presbyters, without laymen, without legal assessors,—a Synod called together without the consent of the civil power, either of the colony or of the mother country; and from this sentence he had offered an appeal which no Bishop and no clergyman could accept. This course, if not hindered, must involve the entire ruin of our whole ecclesiastical system, for it could not fail to establish an arbitrary tyranny. Bishop Gray had, indeed, spoken of certain principles as guiding him to his decision; but this could not do away with "the fundamental injustice of his proceedings because he chose those principles for himself. He might just as well have chosen

either the principles of the Puritans or those of the Continental Reformers."[1]

His course was, indeed, one of plain defiance of the law.

"The Supreme Court of Appeal in this country has determined that it is legal for every Bishop and every clergyman to hold the hope that there may be found some means in the infinite mercy of God to restore His erring creatures. This is the proposition which the Bishop of Capetown has declared to be intolerable in South Africa, and which the Supreme Court of Appeal in this country has declared to be tolerable in the Bishops and clergy of the Church of England. Therefore, by accepting this ground of the Bishop of Capetown's judgement, you place yourselves in direct antagonism to the law of this country."

For the other counts on which the Bishop of Natal had been 'tried and sentenced,' Dean Stanley showed that in Bishop Gray's decision there was the same direct antagonism to the rulings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and that his procedure had been throughout reckless. He had been playing with edged tools. The Bishop of Natal might have spoken now and then in a somewhat disparaging manner of parts of the Prayer Book and of parts of the Articles; but if he was to be deposed for this, the principle must be extended to the excommunication and deposition of many persons both in high and low station within the Church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury had declared in the House of Lords

"that in consequence of the charitable and universal hope of mercy which the Burial Service pronounces on the departed there were circumstances under which nothing could induce him to read it."[2]

[1] *Speech before the Lower House of Convocation*, 1867, p. 28.
[2] *Ib.* p. 55.

If it was competent for the Primate to speak thus, the language of the Bishop of Natal in reference to the Baptismal Service was not less excusable. If the Convocation should approve the judgement of Bishop Gray, they would condemn large numbers of clergy who hold the same principles as those which had been denounced by the Metropolitan of South Africa,—numbers against whom they had not proposed, and dared not to propose, to institute proceedings.

"I might mention one," the Dean added, "who . . . . has ventured to say that the Pentateuch is not the work of Moses; who has ventured to say that there are parts of the Sacred Scriptures which are poetical and not historical; who has ventured to say that the Holy Scriptures themselves rise infinitely by our being able to acknowledge both the poetical character and also the historical incidents in their true historical reality; who has ventured to say that the narratives of those historical incidents are coloured not unfrequently by the necessary infirmities which belong to the human instruments by which they were conveyed,—and that individual is the one who now addresses you. . . . I am not unwilling to take my place with Gregory of Nyssa, with Jerome, and with Athanasius. But in that same goodly company I shall find the despised and rejected Bishop of Natal. At least deal out the same measure to me that you deal to him; at least judge for all a righteous judgement. Deal out the same measure to those who are well befriended and who are present, as to those who are unbefriended and absent."

Many years later Dean Stanley addressed with equal fearlessness an assembly of Bishops and clergy gathered together in the Jerusalem Chamber (January 16, 1880) at a meeting of the S.P.G.:—

"Speaking to you as a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel I am ashamed that these questions should occupy

your attention, relating as they do to one who, as a propagator of the Gospel, will be remembered long after you are all dead and buried. I know that everything I say will be received with ridicule and contumely. Nevertheless, I say that, long after we are dead and buried, his memory will be treasured as that of the one missionary Bishop in South Africa who translated the Scriptures into the language of the tribes to which he was sent to minister; the one Bishop who, by his researches and by his long and patient investigations, however much you may disapprove of them, has left a permanent mark upon English theology,—yes, though you may ridicule, I say the one Bishop who, assailed by scurrilous and unscrupulous invective unexampled in the controversy of this country, and almost in the history, miserable as it is, of religious controversy itself, continued his researches in a manner in which he stood quite alone, and never returned one word of harshness to his accusers; the one Bishop who was revered by the natives who asked him to intercede for them with the Government, and that without reference to any other Bishop in South Africa; the one Bishop to whom the natives came long distances to place themselves under his protection, or even to have the pleasure of looking upon his countenance. I say there will be one Bishop who, by his bold theology—(interruption)—there will be one Bishop who, when his own interests were on one side and the interests of a poor savage chief on the other, did not hesitate to sacrifice his own; and with a manly generosity, for which this Society has not a word of sympathy, did his best to protect the suppliant, did not hesitate to come over from Africa to England to plead the cause of the poor and unfriended savage, and when he had secured the support of the Colonial Office, (unlike other colonial Bishops) immediately went back to his diocese. For all these things the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel appears to have no sympathy; but, you may depend upon it, in the world at large, wherever Natal is mentioned, they will win admiration; and posterity will say that, among the propagators of the Gospel in the

nineteenth century, the Bishop of Natal was not the least efficient."

The Charge of Bishop Gray delivered to the diocese of Natal in his primary Metropolitical visitation in 1864 calls for no further criticism. There are classes of minds which seem to have no affinity with each other, and intellects to which everything seems to present itself through a different medium. It is not so much that they differ on leading principles as that there are no two points even of detail in which they seem to be agreed. Whatever be the subject with which they deal, their methods of approaching it seem hopelessly antagonistic, and their conclusions express themselves in diametrically contradictory propositions. Such a contrast will be forced on all who compare, it matters little on what topic, the utterances of Mr. Maurice and of Dr. Pusey. A gulf not less vast seems to intervene between the mind of Bishop Gray and that of the Bishop of Natal. We need not doubt that in this Charge the former expressed his real convictions ; but we may be very sure that he never analysed them or sought to test them by the realities of the world in which he lived. We may be tempted to think that for himself it was happier thus. Into such a mind the entrance of a single doubt would, in the words of Bishop Wilberforce, have been like a loaded shell shot into the fortress of his soul ; and it must have been so, because with him honest doubt was a thing which had no existence. But in those who, whether by training or by self-formed habit, have learnt to try the spirits and to test facts, or rather statements of facts, the utterances of Bishop Gray cannot fail to excite a feeling of profound astonishment. They build on different foundations ; and their methods are therefore mutually repulsive. But except for such as share his faith in the "Catholic Church," the productions of Bishop Gray will be monuments chiefly of a wonderful intellectual

perversity. For all others this Charge, written with the purpose of branding the Bishop of Natal as one who had deliberately fouled the very fountains of morality and religion, will be a sickening document indeed.

The methods of procedure adopted by the opponents of the Bishop are not rendered more attractive by lapse of time. Further thought only makes it more clear that the question might without difficulty have been settled on its merits, if the Bishop of Capetown had submitted himself frankly to the decision which might follow the appeal of the defendant to the Crown. To this necessity Bishop Gray declared that no consideration would ever induce him to yield; and although his influence might carry a certain amount of weight in South Africa, he was only giving strength to influence of a very different kind in England. An address drawn up and signed by laymen affirmed it

> "to be of the utmost importance to the Established Church, and to the nation at large, that there should be within the Church itself men of mark and influence who desire to bring its working into conformity with the highest knowledge and the best aspirations of modern times."

But in using the words "within the Church" they declared that, as they were well aware, the clergy, though an important, are still but a very small portion of the Church, and they added:—

> "We certainly have as deep an interest in the full and free examination of theological dogmas, and the exposure of theological errors, as we have in the discussion of dogmas and the exposure of errors in political science. And it is of the utmost importance to all of us who desire to find the truth, that the Bishops and clergy of our Church should, with honest boldness, use the freedom of opinion and freedom of expression which the highest ecclesiastical

tribunal has decided that they may lawfully use. . . . Much as we should admire the sincerity and self-sacrifice of any clergyman who might abandon his preferment in the Church from difficulties arising from scientific and critical investigations and conclusions, we venture to think that those take a more enlarged view of their position as ministers of the national Establishment, who feel able to retain it with a good conscience, and that they aid the cause of religious truth by so remaining at their post."

Nor were the laymen of Natal less explicit in the utterance of their opinions. In an address to the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury they referred to the letter addressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Longley) to Dean Green, urging the clergy to withhold their obedience from the Bishop of the diocese, as a letter inciting the clergy to the offences of schism and perjury (February 24, 1866). They also complained that the rights of members of the Church of England in the colony were systematically encroached upon by the Bishop of Capetown's assertion of a jurisdiction which, as loyal subjects, they could not in any way recognise. They protested, further, against the action of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in departing from its rules on the plea of proceedings all of which the highest legal tribunal had pronounced to be null and void; and also against the assumption that those clergymen in Natal who gave allegiance to Bishop Gray, and who, from the fact of his having the disbursement of the Society's funds, are necessarily exposed to an unscrupulous exercise of power, might yet be held to represent fairly the general feelings of members of the Church of England in the colony. They asked, in short, for justice. They knew that this justice could be attained only by a settlement of the question on its merits; and this demand for justice implied a further protest against the assumption of Archbishop Longley and Bishop Gray that the paying of due

obedience to the Bishop of Natal involved either approval or disapproval of certain opinions. You cannot, the Archbishop said to Dean Green, submit yourself to Bishop Colenso without identifying yourself with his errors. These errors had not been formulated in any legal court, still less had they been condemned. But the doctrine of the Archbishop was one which could not be maintained in England; and the idea that the clergy or laity of an English diocese would make themselves responsible for, or partakers in, the real or supposed errors of the Bishop of the see before his legal trial or condemnation, would be scouted as an egregious and monstrous absurdity. From the Bishop of Natal they would, of course, receive only a clear exposure of this false insinuation. In his reply to the Durban address (November, 1865) he spoke of their recognising as the

"grand foundation-*principle* of the Church of England, that the Queen, not, of course, in her personal capacity, but as representing the whole nation—the State, and not the clerical body—is the one only legislator and supreme arbiter of all causes which may arise within her pale, spiritual as well as temporal; that the Archbishops and Bishops in England itself exercise jurisdiction in the Church, as it is delegated to them from the Crown, and hold their courts in the Queen's name; that all their authority, except only what comes by force of moral persuasion and convincing argument, by the power of the holy life, and the influence of the truth spoken in love, emanates from the common Head of the Church and State. This principle seems, no doubt, to many most excellent persons, very objectionable; it is styled 'Erastian,' and condemned as ungodly. I am not now called upon to justify or maintain it. I merely assert that it is the fundamental principle of the Church of England."

With this decisive statement the language used at the time by Dean Green stands out in ludicrous contrast. He took

credit to himself for disregarding the charge of speaking against Cæsar as one which "was brought against our Saviour, who fulfilled all righteousness." He was thankful that there remained still enough of the Divine love "to make him shrink with horror from the teaching of Dr. Colenso" whose words "make light of the unutterable sufferings of Christ upon the Cross." "Fallen spirits," he added in his letter to Mr. Tönnesen (February 9, 1866), "may use their subtle intellect to cavil and condemn the Bible, whilst in heaven we believe it is read with ineffable and deepest adoration." We need not cite more of this gross mixture of nonsense and falsehood.

It is impossible to understand fully the significance of the great conflict provoked by the publication of the Bishop's work on the Pentateuch, unless we mark every step taken by the prelate who undertook to beat him down, or to get rid of him. It is necessary to see how at every stage of the combat the weapons employed are undefined terms, or terms which Bishop Gray well knew that he was using in one sense while the Bishop of Natal was *openly and confessedly* using them in another. This is in a marked degree the characteristic of a letter written by Bishop Gray when the time which he had fixed as the limit for recantation drew nigh. It could not be known except from the subscription at the end that it was addressed to the Bishop of Natal, for there were no words of greeting or naming at the outset. The letter, it is said, was meant to be informal; and this was Bishop Gray's notion of friendly informality:—

"As the time draws near," so the letter began, "in which I feel that I must take the most painful step I have ever taken in my life, my heart yearns over you; and I make this last, I fear ineffectual, attempt, to lead you to adopt one or other of the two only courses which can spare us

both the pain and distress of a formal severance. My own feeling, since you entered upon the course which you have of late followed—and, I think, at first, your own also—has been, that having consciously departed from the faith of the Church of England, the true line for you, as a religious-minded man, was openly to admit this, and retire from a post which not only implied that you held that faith, but required you to see that others under you taught it. I think you must be conscious that you do not believe what the Church teaches. If you really held what it holds, you would, I am persuaded, have been shocked, and deeply pained, at what has been said of your supposed views, and at your having given any real grounds for the imputations cast upon you ; and you would at once have eagerly pointed out that you had been misunderstood—misrepresented—and have declared what your real convictions were, and given to the world a full confession of your faith. You have not done this, and it leaves the impression on my mind, that you know and feel that, on the very gravest subjects and doctrines, you differ from the Church. If so, surely you ought, as a true man, to say so, and save us all the pain, anxiety, and many troubles, which your not saying so is entailing. Unless you are very much changed from what you were when we had free, confidential, and loving intercourse with each other, you will not be content to hold on to your position and endowments upon the miserable plea that the measure of the legal is the measure of the moral obligation.

"But if your own judgement leads you to think that you have not departed from the truths which you have undertaken to teach, ought not the general voice of the Church on this matter to convince you? That voice has been, I need scarce tell you, clearly expressed—not in England only, but by the Synods of many colonial Churches, and of Churches in Scotland ; and, as you will learn by this mail, by the unanimous vote of the first Provincial Synod of Canada, and the equally unanimous vote of the General Convocation of the Church in America, which is one in

faith with ourselves. These conclusions are, in each place, the act of the whole Church, consisting of Bishops, clergy, and laity. As, then, through a great many constitutional organs, the Churches of our communion throughout the world have spoken with one voice, ought you not to 'hear the Church,' and cease to trouble and disturb its peace, by withdrawing of your own accord to lay communion?

"But if you are not prepared for this, and think that it is through misapprehension that the Church has denounced your teaching, a door is still open to you. You can plead your opinions, or explain your views, if you so will, before the nearest approach to a national Synod which we can obtain, and, after striving to show their conformity with its faith, leave yourself in its hands. Such a Synod has been asked for by the Province of Canada, and by myself very earnestly. To the decision of such a body I shall cheerfully refer everything. To civil judges you know that I could not, as a matter of conscience, refer the decision of a spiritual question.

"Consider, I pray you, what the result must be of your refusing this, and forcing yourself upon the Church."

This result, Bishop Gray added, would be his excommunication, and the consecration of another Bishop in his place.

"I think that your heart must recoil from the strife and confusion you have already occasioned. Build up the Church in Natal in one communion you never can. Another may do this. You only can weaken and disturb. . . . . With very deep sorrow that we should ever have been brought into the relationship in which we now stand to each other,

"I am truly yours,

"R. CAPETOWN."

To this letter the Bishop sent the following reply. No one who reads it with unprejudiced mind will deny its singular calmness, dignity, and beauty.

TO THE BISHOP OF CAPETOWN.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 1, 1866.

"MY BROTHER,

"Your letter reached me on Christmas Day, just after I had come in from publishing to a crowded mass of native Christians and heathens the 'glad tidings of great joy,' and from commemorating with some of them at the Holy Table the dying love of our Lord. Though not properly addressed to myself—for it begins without even a common formula of courtesy—I read it at once and considered it; and I need not say how painfully its contents contrasted with the tenor of the Christmas song, 'Peace on earth, good will to man,'—and how soon it recalled to me the truth of our Lord's own words, 'Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I come not to send peace but a sword.'

"It must be so, then. I give you credit for doing what you believe to be your duty before God and man. I claim, in the name of Christian charity, that you shall think the same of me; that differing wholly, as we do, from one another—doing each what we think to be right—pointing out what appear to be the grave defects in each other's conduct—taking action, if need be, against each other, as we seem driven to do—we shall yet refrain, as far as possible, from judging one another with harsh and angry judgement, remembering that to one common Master we must each of us stand or fall.

"As this is probably the last time that we shall communicate before what you call a 'formal severance,' I feel it to be my duty to reply to your letter—not to your official one, which you say I shall receive, as you have 'given conditional instructions,' upon the subject of my 'being separated by open sentence from the communion of the Church,' for I cannot recognise your right to address to me any 'official' letter on such a subject; but I shall reply to this communication, which, though intended to be private, I feel justified under the circumstances in publishing. . . .

"I cannot doubt that, as a *man*, you must feel pain, as you

say, while about to take a step which, if it had the result which you anticipate—of severing me from the whole English Church and 'all the Churches of our communion throughout the world,'—would affect so seriously me and mine, after many years of hard labour in the Church at home, and in the missionary work of this diocese. That pain, I think, must be deepened by the consciousness that you have judged and condemned me *unheard;* that, when I refused to defend myself before you, believing that the jurisdiction which you claimed to exercise in the Queen's name was unlawful, as it has now been pronounced to be, you proceeded, however, to 'try' me undefended, and pass 'sentence' upon me—in that very 'sentence' refusing to allow me any *right* of appeal whatever, such as is allowed to the humblest deacon by the laws of the Church of England. But, before doing so, you had agreed with your two brother Bishops, who sat as assessors in judgement with you, and who also condemned me unheard, to refuse me such right of appeal; and you had also all three agreed that, if I did not submit myself to the 'sentence' issued under these conditions, I should be *ipso facto* excommunicate. . . . . I repeat, I think that, to a manly and honourable mind, like yours, the reflexion upon the injustice of the course to which you have committed yourself—now that it has been brought to your notice by the strong comments made upon it by Englishmen of all religious persuasions—must give additional pain.

"But the *man*, alas! has too frequently, in the history of the Church, been sunk in the *theologian;* and such language as yours might be used—has been used repeatedly—by some pitiless inquisitor, while dooming a victim to the stake, and claiming for himself, and for his 'Church,' Divine authority, and the most absolute infallibility.

"You must suffer me to say that I cannot allow your 'thoughts' and 'impressions' about me to be the measure of my duty. If you do 'think' as you say, doubtless I shall forfeit your esteem and that of those who think with you, by the course which I consider it right to take at this time;

and while I shall regret this loss, it is only a part of the sacrifice which is required of me by present circumstances, and which I am prepared to make. We have only now to do with facts. And I say again, as I have said in my first volume on the Pentateuch, and repeatedly since, that I am not conscious that in any of my published writings I have transgressed the limits allowed to the clergy of the national Church, by whose laws only I am bound, to whose authority only I will be responsible, and not to that of the 'Church of South Africa,' or of what you understand by the expression 'the Church,' which you substitute instantly in your letter for the 'Church of England,' with which you began.

"I have been, as you rightly imagine, 'shocked and deeply pained' by very much that has been said of my 'supposed views' by many of my adversaries, more especially by yourself, whether speaking as a fellow Christian, as a brother Bishop, or as a judge. Whatever 'supposed' heresies you might detect or deplore in my writings, yet I consider that the tone of every one of my books, from the *Commentary on the Romans* to the last volume on the Pentateuch, ought at least to have protected me from being publicly charged by you—in the house of God, in my own Cathedral church—with 'reckless arrogance like that which marked the infidels of the last century,' with 'using the language of the boaster and the scorner,' with 'being led captive by the Evil one,' with 'having forsaken the Living Words of God.' I utterly deny that I have given any 'just ground for these imputations.' And I do not feel called upon, because I have been, not 'misunderstood,' but 'misrepresented,' calumniated, reviled, by many, to make any 'full confession of my faith,' beyond that which I have already made in my various writings already before the world, so as to save you and others the 'pain, anxiety, and trouble' of examining my books themselves, of considering carefully their actual statements, and judging righteously a righteous judgement, according to the truth, and not according to foregone conclusions and violent prejudices.

"When, however, you say 'you should have at once eagerly pointed out that you had been misunderstood and misrepresented' and add 'you have not done this,' I beg to say that I *have done* this more than once, and with the result that might have been expected from what usually happens when strong theological prejudices are entertained on any subject. My explanations were at once set aside, or explained away. . . . . I will give you an instance of this.

"When my book on the Romans was published, you wrote to me a private letter, in reply to which I said (among other things) as follows:—

"'I am sorry that you have so much misjudged what I have written about the Athanasian Creed as to suggest that I did not hold the essential part of it, more especially the doctrine of the Divinity of our Lord, than which from the first moment of my ministry up to the present hour, in all my preaching and teaching (as any one who knows them well must witness), no doctrine of the Church has been maintained by me more strenuously, though I have taught also the doctrine of His perfect humanity more fully and prominently than many, and not lost sight of it practically to a great extent as some do. I say this to you as a dear friend and brother; though, after all that I have written, even in this book on the Romans, I feel that I should be justified in declining to say it to you as Metropolitan. Nor do I think that you had any just ground, from anything that I have said, or omitted to say, in my *Commentary*, for the remarks which you have made on this point as on some others.'

"But what was the use of this explanation? A charge was brought against me at my (so-called) 'trial' of having 'contravened' the Second Article of our Church and certain statements of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. This charge was founded *on one sole passage* out of all my writings, though the corresponding 'proposition' alleged against me in the Report of the Committee of Convocation, who examined my books on the Pentateuch, was

characterised by the Bishop of St. David's as 'incomparably' the most important of all that they cite. My words, on which this charge was based, were as follows:—

"'Lastly it is perfectly consistent with the most entire and sincere belief in our Lord's Divinity to hold, as many do, that, when He vouchsafed to become a "Son of man," He took our nature fully, and voluntarily entered into all the conditions of humanity, and, among others, into that which makes our growth in all ordinary knowledge gradual and limited. We are expressly told that Jesus increased in wisdom as well as in stature. It is not supposed that in His human nature He was acquainted, more than any educated Jew of the age, with the mysteries of all modern science; nor, with St. Luke's expressions before us, can it be seriously maintained that, as an infant or young child, He possessed a knowledge surpassing that of the most pious and learned adults of His nation, upon the subject of the authorship and age of the different portions of the Pentateuch.'

"The Committee of Convocation, under the chairmanship of Archdeacon Denison, reported upon this that the proposition 'questions our Blessed Lord's Divine knowledge;' upon which Bishop Thirlwall very justly pointed out that the Committee appeared to have mistaken my obvious meaning. He says:—'The question which he raises does not properly concern our Lords Divine knowledge—that is, the knowledge belonging to His Divine nature. It is whether His human knowledge was co-extensive with His Divine omniscience.'[1] And this is perfectly true. It is plain that my argument assumed that one who had 'a most entire and sincere belief in our Lord's Divinity,' who believed, therefore, that He had, as the Eternal Son of God, 'certain Divine knowledge,' might yet hold, as many excellent Christians do, that, as the Son of man, though possessed as God of 'Almighty Divine Power,' yet He hungered and thirsted, was weary, weak, and faint, suffered and died as man. Bishop Thirlwall further

[1] See p. 309.

showed that Bishop Jeremy Taylor was 'inclined' to this view; and a clergyman has proved, in a letter published in my third preface, that it has all along been fully shared by a host of great divines, ancient and modern. . . . But this moderation did not suffice for yourself. . . . You had evidently made up your mind on the subject, in opposition to the view of so many great authorities; and whereas the Bishop of St. David's deprecates any attempt of the Church of England to promulgate a new dogma for the settlement of the controversy, you pronounced at once a peremptory judgement upon the point in question and decided that, 'in imputing to our Blessed Lord ignorance and the possibility of error, the Bishop of Natal has committed himself to a most subtle heresy, destructive of the reality of the Incarnation, and has departed from the Catholic faith, as held in the Church from the beginning, and expressed in the Second Article and the Creeds.'

"What, then, has been the use of my having 'at once eagerly pointed out that I had been misunderstood and misrepresented'?

"As to my 'differing from the Church' on this and other of 'the very gravest subjects and doctrines,' my being 'conscious' of it, and my 'being bound as a true man to say so, and save you all the pain, anxiety, and many troubles which [my] not saying so is entailing,' there can be no doubt whatever that I *do* differ very materially from the views which you lay down as the 'doctrines of the Church,' and which I assume, therefore, to be the doctrines of that body which you call 'the Church,' but whose authority over me, as a Bishop of the National Church, I do not in any way recognise. For, besides the difference above considered—where you, in the name of *your* Church, have 'promulgated a new dogma' which *our* Church, the Church of England, has not laid upon the necks of her clergy—*your* Church, as you have said, holds all her officers bound to teach at least two dogmas, viz. that 'the whole Bible is the unerring word of the Living God,' and that 'the punishment of the wicked in hell is endless,' upon which our

Church does not dogmatise, but leaves her clergy free to think and speak the truth on these points, as God may have enabled them to see it. *Your* Church, again, maintains, as you have also said, that 'what the Catholic Church, while yet one, during the first thousand years of her history, under the Spirit's guidance in her great Councils, declared to be, or received as, the true faith, that *is* the true faith, and that we receive as such. More than this we are not bound to acknowledge; less, we may not.'

"Whereas *our* Church says of the same 'great Councils' in her Twenty-first Article, 'when they be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God.'

"As I do intend most assuredly to use, to the full extent which my own sense of duty will allow, the liberty wherewith the good providence of God has made us free in the Church of England; and as my own views on all the above points, and no doubt on many others, do not at all accord with yours, it is certain that I 'differ' on very grave questions from the views which you assert to be the only 'true faith,' the 'doctrines of the Church,' but which the Church of England does not inforce upon the consciences of its ministers.

"Further, I do maintain the soundness of the principle—though you speak of it as a 'miserable plea'—that for the clergy of an Established Church, which notoriously tolerates such extreme views as are expressed within it by well-known opposite schools of theologians, whose laws are made and inforced, or, as the progress of the age in knowledge and charity may seem to require it, having first become practically relaxed by disuse, are from time to time (as in the recent case of clerical Subscription) rescinded and remodelled *by the State*—for the ministers of such a Church the measure of their legal is the only measure of their moral obligations, which others from without have a right to apply; while doubtless each clergyman, in the sanctuary

of his own soul, will judge for himself how far his continuance in the active discharge of his ministerial office is consistent with his own sense of truth, and a due regard to those great objects for which, in the eyes of enlightened men, a National Church exists.

"As a Bishop of the Church of England, I thank God that at my consecration, when I was examined publicly 'in certain Articles, to the end that the congregation present might have a trial, and bear witness how I was minded to behave myself in the Church of God'—I undertook to teach—not a system of doctrines, a dead body of dogmas, but that which I believe to be the truth of the Living God.'[1] As you yourself have said, 'The Bishop's only contract with the Church at his consecration, is to teach or maintain nothing, as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which he shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Holy Scriptures'; though, in order to restrain this liberty within just bounds, our Church requires me to submit myself to an authority which she regards as supreme in her affairs, 'in all causes, spiritual as well as temporal'—an authority which I gladly recognise, but which you repudiate.

"You ask, 'Ought not the voice of the Church in this matter to convince you?' 'Ought you not to hear the Church?' I answer, most assuredly not, when I know by what processes that voice has been elicited; when I know that everything has been done, in England as well as here, to raise a storm of prejudice against me, without any fair attempt having been made to examine and answer my arguments; that not only the flocks, but even the clergy, have been frightened into expressing condemnation of my works without having made any personal acquaintance with them; that these Synods have simply indorsed your proceedings, well knowing that I have never been heard in my own defence, and not caring to know what my defence would

[1] See the remarkable statement of "strange doctrines to be banished and put away" made in his ordination papers by Mr. Maurice (*Life of F. D. Maurice*, i. p. 159).

be; when I see from their expressions that even his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Oxford, and others of my brethren who have condemned me, have read my works very partially—nay, that Archdeacon Denison himself, when moving, in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, for a Committee to sit upon my works, did not hesitate to say, 'I have no doubt, at all events I hope, that there are many here who have not read the First Part of this work; and I am sure there are many who have not read the Second.'

"No! I have no confidence in any of these judgements, and feel in no way bound to defer to the 'voice of the Church' expressed under such circumstances, even if it had been more unanimous than it really is. For, when you speak of the 'general voice of the Church' having condemned me—'not in England only, but by the Synods of many colonial Churches, and of Churches in Scotland—by the unanimous vote of the first Provincial Synod of Canada, and the equally unanimous vote of the Convention of the Church in America'—I must remind you that these different bodies do not in any sense represent the Church of England, with which alone I have to do. And you are aware that a very large body of the most intelligent members of *that* Church, including not a few of the clergy, second to none in learning and piety, have not joined in that condemnation, and do not in any way share in those sentiments. I repeat, the 'Synods' on which you lay so much stress, and to whom you ascribe so much authority, have no pretence to represent the National Church, any more than those other bodies which you have enumerated in a letter recently published in the *Natal Mercury*, as presenting addresses to you, 'The English Church Union, do. Oxford Branch,' &c.; . . . . which latter bodies, as you well know, represent only one party in the Church of England—the party which is most anxious to shake off the Royal supremacy, and to exalt the priestly order, and the sacramental system.

"Still less do they represent the 'Catholic Church,' the true disciples of Christ in every land, the pure in heart and true

in life, whatever be their form of Church government. It is my comfort to know that I stand supported by the wishes and prayers of very many earnest and devout souls such as these, who form an integral portion of the 'Church of the Living God.' But were it otherwise, were the whole religious 'world' apparently against me, the examples of the past, even in Church history, would suffice to support and strengthen me for the maintenance of that which I believe—rather, which I know—to be true, in spite of the temporary opposition of my brethren, and in the assurance that the truth will ultimately triumph.

"You put before me two alternatives, as the 'two only courses' which are open to me, by adopting one or other of which I may 'spare us both the pain and distress of a formal severance'; though I confess I do not see how the 'severance' can be more complete and 'formal' than it is now, when you have publicly denounced me in my own Cathedral as an 'infidel' and 'heretic,' 'led captive by the Evil one.'

"The first of these alternatives is to resign my office, and 'withdraw of my own accord to lay communion'; though it is difficult to see how one who, according to your views, is so notorious an 'infidel' and 'heretic' can be allowed to exist even in 'lay communion' with your Church, without some 'recantation' on his part, of which you say nothing. I need hardly say, after all I have said already here and elsewhere, that I am *not* 'prepared for this.' On the contrary, I feel that it would be a dereliction of duty for me to do so—a cowardly forsaking of a post in which God's Providence and the will of my Sovereign have placed me; in which, however little such strife is congenial to my own feelings, I am called to maintain the sacred cause of religious liberty against the incroachments of the priestly system; in which I have been adjured to remain by not a few of the clergy and laity of the Church of England, men of devout mind, of deep thought, and far-reaching insight, who foresee clearly the dangers which threaten the Church at home from the growing extension of ecclesiasticism in the

colonies—dangers, I may add, foreseen by none more clearly than by the present Bishop of Grahamstown in former days.[1]

"The only other 'door' which, you say, 'is open to me,' is to submit myself to the judgement of 'the nearest approach to a National Synod which we can obtain,—such a Synod 'having been asked for by the Province of Canada,' and by yourself 'very earnestly.' 'To the decision of such a body,' you say, 'I will cheerfully refer everything. To civil judges you know that I could not, as a matter of conscience, refer the decision of a spiritual question.'

"Doubtless you would 'cheerfully refer everything' to such a body as you propose; for you have already told me, almost in the same sentence, that the very judges to whom my books would, in that case, be submitted, have already 'unanimously' approved of what you have done. I need hardly remind you that it is not necessary that Her Majesty, for the consideration of my case, should nominate merely a body of laymen,—that a Commission might be appointed, composed in part of learned and unprejudiced ecclesiastics, not already committed, by violent extra-judicial denunciations of my books, to foregone conclusions about them, as well as of laymen learned in the law,—and that in all the past history of the Church of England, whenever such Commissions have been appointed in spiritual cases, they have always contained a majority of laymen. This, I believe, is a fact which the recent inquiry into the subject, published with the authority of the Bishop of London, has placed beyond all doubt.

"I appeal to you once more, as a loyal subject and professedly a Bishop of the Church of England, not to overstep the bounds of Church order, and not to violate the law of the land. I appeal to you, as I have lately appealed to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, to address a humble petition to Her Majesty, praying that a Commission may be appointed to examine and report upon my books, if you think they deserve to be condemned; but, at all events, to

[1] See p. 339 *et seq.*

resign the patent which you hold from the Crown, *before* you proceed to take the steps which you threaten. If, however, you feel it to be a 'matter of conscience,' not to 'refer the decision of a spiritual question' to that authority which, to use your own words, you 'solemnly swore before God to recognise when you received your commission as a Bishop and Metropolitan of the United Church of Great Britain and Ireland,' on the other hand I feel it to be on my part a 'matter of conscience' to submit myself to that authority which I am bound on oath to obey, and a matter of loyalty not to admit the jurisdiction which you claim to exercise, but which the Privy Council has declared it would not be *lawful* for me to recognise.

"But I will on my part make a proposition, with which I think you should be willing to comply. I am quite ready to submit my writings, in accordance with the provision in your own letters patent, to the Archbishop of Canterbury—not, of course, to the Archbishop in person, for that would be a mere idle form, since his Grace has repeatedly, and even within the last month, condemned me unheard, and evidently, as I have said, without having even read my books. But I am ready to submit them to the Archbishop of Canterbury, sitting in his Ecclesiastical Court, before which the case of any clergyman of his province, and of every dignitary below a Bishop, might be brought by appeal. But your own counsel, Sir H. Cairns, admitted that there must be from the Archbishop a further appeal to the Crown; and as you are also aware, the Privy Council laid down the law that for us to make an agreement with one another to ignore the supreme authority of the Crown in such a case would be an *illegal* act on our part. I am not prepared to violate the law of the land for the purpose of supporting ecclesiastical authority. I reserve, therefore, my right of finally appealing to Her Majesty; and surely, as I have said, you cannot be justified in assuming beforehand that in such a case as this, involving questions of doctrine, a Commission would be appointed consisting only of lay judges. The duty of a loyal subject would seem to be to

await and see what would actually be done, and then, if felt to be necessary as a 'matter of conscience,' to protest against the *constitution* or the decision of such a court, and to disregard and disobey it, taking the consequences.

"In default of my complying with either of your two suggestions, you say that you will 'separate me with open sentence from the communion of the Church,' and you add that 'that separation will, you have no doubt, be formally recognised by the English Church and by all the Churches of her communion throughout the world.' I cannot believe that you have any authority for this statement as regards the Church of England. If you mean that the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, under influence of Bishop Wilberforce and Archdeacon Denison—the latter himself condemned for 'heresy' upon the 'merits' of his case, and deprived of his preferments, by one lawful ecclesiastical tribunal, though absolved upon mere technical grounds by another—may adopt by a *majority* in both Houses a resolution expressing approval of your proceedings, that indeed is possible: only then it is well known that the Convocation of one Province does not in any sense properly represent even the clergy of that one portion of the Church of England, and not in the least the laity. If you mean, however, that the Bishops in England will issue—as they did three years ago, following the lead of the Bishop of Oxford—a series of manifestoes, adopting your act, and 'formally recognising' its justice and validity, then I do not believe that in *every* diocese this will be done, and sure I am that, whenever such documents may be issued, there will be found multitudes of Englishmen, both clergy and laity, even of those who do not sympathise with me, who would utterly dissent from such unwarrantable and unlawful proceedings, who would regard these 'admonitions' as not 'godly,' and would refuse to 'follow' them.

'But, however this may be, it is certain that you hold your office, as Metropolitan in the Church of England, solely by the Queen's appointment, and that under that authority you have no power whatever to pronounce such a 'sentence,' any

more than to deprive me, as you suppose yourself already to have actually done, of all power 'in any way to minister in divine offices' or 'to exercise any sacred offices whatever in the *Church of God*,' pretending thus to an universal jurisdiction. It is true that in this age of the world such 'sentences' have lost their terrors for earnest and thinking men, who, believing in the presence of the Living God in the world, and not in the existence of a spiritual caste to whom the Supreme King has delegated his power, will remember that 'the curse causeless shall not come,' and go about their work as calmly as ever, content to say 'Let them curse, but bless Thou.' Your 'sentence of excommunication' would fall as lightly on me as that of 'deprivation,' or as that which is annually launched by the Bishop of Rome on both of us.

"But if you really *believe* in these spiritual powers which you profess to wield, and desire to show the world that you trust in *them*, and not in the arm of flesh, then let the battle be fought out, if it must be, openly and fairly between us. I declare that I belong to the Church of England, and that to her laws I will submit myself, by her decisions I will be bound. You declare that you do not belong to the Church of England—that you will not recognise the Queen's supremacy, nor accept the decision of her Supreme Courts of Appeal—that you belong to the Church of South Africa. Let it, then, be distinctly understood that we represent two utterly discordant principles—on the one hand, that of *State* supremacy, maintained as a part of the very Constitution of our National Church, the safeguard of her liberties, the pledge that, from time to time, as knowledge advances, her system shall be modified (as it has so lately been) to meet the demands of the age; and, on the other hand, that of *Clerical* supremacy, which secures that certain dogmatic teachings—'what the Catholic Church, during the first thousand years of her history, declared to be or received as the true faith'—shall be bound as a yoke upon all future ages, as Infallible, Divine, Eternal Truth.

"But, if this is the case, may I not say in your own words 'Surely you ought as a true man to say so,' by giving up

at once your patent, and laying aside all the power and influence which you now exercise, by virtue of your *apparent* subjection to the Crown, and your *apparent* organic connexion with the National Church? It is true this would involve a great sacrifice of 'worldly' power—not only of 'position and endowment,' but of lands, houses, schools, churches, which have been set apart by the Government and others expressly for the purposes of the members of the Church of England. It would involve also, I imagine, the loss of that strongest of all 'worldly' means of coercion, which, while professing to use only 'spiritual' weapons, you have wielded with great effect, and, in the case of one clergyman of my diocese, most unsparingly, and, I must add, in a way which I cannot justify, by means of the funds of the Gospel Propagation Society; for these, I presume, could hardly be granted to support the claims of a Bishop of the 'Church of South Africa' in opposition to another lawful Bishop of the 'Church of England,' who might be nominated by Royal mandate as Bishop of Capetown. But your position would then be at all events consistent with your avowed principles, and intelligible to many who are now beguiled by the double appearance of things. And it is obvious that any 'sentence' of excommunication, which you might think it necessary to issue, might then be issued, if not without breach of Christian charity, yet at least without the scandal of disloyalty and disregard of the conditions on which you received from the Crown your appointment and dignity as Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan.

"You go on to say that the endowments of this see were 'obtained by you for far other teaching than mine.' If you mean by this that they were raised with the express design of promoting, with the help of the incumbent of this see, the ecclesiastical system of the Church of South Africa, with a view of its reacting at some future day, in common with that of other colonial Churches, on the system of the mother Church at home,—then I say, as I have said before, that the gatherer and donors deserve to be disappointed;

that I utterly disclaim having ever been a party to such an arrangement; that I should deem it then, as I should deem it now, to be a treasonable conspiracy against the very life and well-being of our National Church. But, if nothing of this kind is meant, then I say that these funds were raised, as I suppose, from all quarters, from persons of very different views in the Church of England, from High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church, Tractarian and Erastian; by donations and subscriptions, at meetings and after sermons, for the express purpose of founding a Bishopric which should be subject to the fundamental laws of the Church of England; and, in many cases, from those who would heartily rejoice in the work which I am doing, or trying to do.

"As regards those who may choose to join the threatened South African 'schism' in this colony, I do not see any reason for supposing that they would find it necessary to meet with their Bishop in 'dens and caves,' while building their own places of worship. It would be easy to hire rooms both in Maritzburg and Durban; though I doubt if the number of worshippers in each place would be so large as you suppose—misled, it may be, by too zealous and sanguine informants. But when you say 'You know that all earnestness and all deep religious conviction would be against you,' I cannot but think that you have lost sight for a moment of what is due to the conscientious feelings of multitudes who differ from you, and who have placed themselves by my side in this controversy. It is the same kind of language as that which you employed before in my Cathedral church, when you told my flock that all good people were 'avowedly on God's side,' and therefore stood aloof from me; 'all that would be respectable in the world, ignorant and careless though some be,—all but the scoffer and unbeliever.'

"I must be allowed to say that I do *not* 'know' this; that I know the very contrary; that, among those who are *with* me in England and Natal, among those who read my works with interest and approbation, ... there are many most

excellent and estimable persons, of 'earnest and deep religious conviction,' who share with me the feeling that such work as you are now doing, so far as it is effective, must tend to destroy the true life of any Church ; and that the work which I am trying to do is that which must be done—may it only be done by more powerful agents !—to secure the permanence and prosperity of the National Church. . . . .

"I am, my brother,

"Yours faithfully in Christ,

"J. W. NATAL."

The informal letter of Bishop Gray, to which the Bishop thus calmly and conclusively replied, was certainly a marvellous production. If it betrayed a strange hankering after an ecclesiastical despotism, it betrayed also an ignorant narrowness not less astonishing. Not content with differing from Bishop Thirlwall or Jeremy Taylor—to say nothing of Hammond and Waterland, Chrysostom or Ambrose—on the subject of the human knowledge of Christ, Bishop Gray flatly condemned them all ; and this condemnation of what he, in his haste, regarded as a notion almost exclusively confined to the Bishop of Natal, was practically the pivot on which the arguments in the so-called Capetown trial mainly turned. Bishop Gray was ready to refer Bishop Colenso's case to Synods or Councils of various kinds ; but he forgot that if the Royal supremacy had any meaning or any purpose, it was to *prevent the bringing of ecclesiastical causes for final settlement before any such tribunals.*

The official letter forwarded to Bishop Colenso through his own Dean has in part been noticed already.[1] We need only mark here that one of the reasons now given for refusing to him an appeal to the Queen in Council was the provision, "in the letters patent founding the several sees of this province,

[1] See p. 378.

that the gravest spiritual causes in this portion of the Church shall be finally decided by Bishops only,"—in other words, that English Churchmen were to be under one law, one system, one discipline at home, and under a wholly different law, system, and discipline in the colonies; and here again are spiritual powers derived from a civil instrument, and exercised by an officer who protests against and disavows that subordination to the State which is the necessary condition of every clergyman in England, from the Archbishops downwards. Another reason was the absence of any law, either of the Church or of the State, empowering the Queen, either in person or by deputy, to hear and decide spiritual causes for colonial Churches, which were declared to be purely voluntary religious associations. In other words, by the mere fact of leaving England, members of the Church of England, on this theory, exchanged their condition of freedom for one of slavery. But no real effort was made to bring the case before the Crown, or into a court from which it could go by appeal to the Crown; and the plea, moreover, was thoroughly disingenuous. Had such a law been forthcoming, Bishop Gray must have protested against it, and found some means of evading it. He had said as plainly as possible that he could not recognise the jurisdiction of the civil tribunal of the Privy Council; and it was at least superfluous to say that he could find no law requiring him to do that which he was steadily resolved in any case not to do. Dean Green was only a trifle more extravagant than his Metropolitan when he compared the submission of Churchmen to the authority of the Crown with the litigation of Corinthian Christians in heathen courts, which St. Paul vehemently denounced.

But of misrepresentation and distortion of facts on the part of Bishop Gray and his supporters there was no end. The Bishop of Natal was constrained to address himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to call his attention simply to

such matters of fact. The clergy of Natal had been warned that "if any one of them communicated with Dr. Colenso, they would thereby be excluded from any cure in Englaud"; and it was hinted or asserted that this statement came from the Archbishop himself.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 30, 1865.

. . . "I cannot and do not believe it possible that such a hint can have been contained in your Grace's letter. Yet I cannot forget the fact that Bishop Gray's course of proceeding has been publicly indorsed with your Grace's full approval, though I do not suppose your Grace is aware that part of that proceeding was 'to advise by letter the clergyman of Durban to commit a brawl in the church by reading the Communion Service while the Bishop preached,' and another, 'to tell one of the churchwardens at Durban, when informed that steps might be taken by the laity to prevent the reading during Divine service of the illegal document deposing Bishop Colenso, that, if all the devils in hell were to appear next day, nothing should prevent his having the document read.' . . .

"I have applied for a copy of your Grace's letter, and have been informed by the Dean that it has been sent for publication to the *Natal Mercury*, but that the extract which I require is as follows: 'I do not see how you can accept Dr. Colenso as your Bishop without identifying yourselves with his errors.' Your Grace has thus distinctly and publicly advised the clergy of this diocese, professing to be clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland, receiving their stipends as such from the colonial Treasury and from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and ministering within buildings set apart for that Church, to rebel openly against their lawful Bishop, on the ground of certain 'errors' of which your Grace pronounces me to be guilty. . . . I feel that I have now a right to ask your Grace, before my fellow-countrymen, to point out as

publicly and distinctly, what those 'errors' are of mine to which your Grace refers, if any such have been already condemned by the existing laws of the Church of England. Or should your Grace not be able—as I venture to believe you will not—to produce any passages of my works, for which the humblest deacon could have been ejected from his cure by any of the Bishops in England, upon the principles by which the Church of England is governed, as laid down in any judgement hitherto given, then I feel that I have a right to demand, in the name of common justice, that your Grace should present a petition to the Queen, specifying those parts of my writings which you deem to be 'errors' of such kind as to justify my deposition, and praying that Her Majesty would be pleased to appoint a Commission to examine into the justice of the charge.

"I am a Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland, and not one of the Church of South Africa, with which, in common with the great body of the laity of Natal, I neither have, nor wish to have, at the present time, any very intimate relations. And I desire for them and their children, as well as for myself, the right to enjoy the liberties, and be judged by the laws, of that Church to which it is our privilege and our pride to belong. . . . . We count it no evil, as your Grace implies, but a great advantage, to be ruled by the decisions of her Supreme Courts of Appeal, and to be saved thereby from the arbitrary and prejudiced proceedings of irresponsible ecclesiastical judges. So long as the Church of England is maintained as the National Established Church in England, so long do we desire of our own free choice to maintain our connexion with it, and submit ourselves voluntarily to its laws, which are made by the State and by the Queen, and not by the clergy."

Of the Archbishop's reply to this letter this much at least must be said, that it reveals Dr. Longley's absolute unfitness for the office of a judge. He knew perfectly well that if the *Critical Examination of the Pentateuch* had been the work of the Bishop of London instead of the Bishop of Natal, the

course, if any, taken with regard to it must have been extremely different. He may also have felt that in all likelihood a time of bluster would in that case have been followed by a tacit agreement to leave matters alone. Anathemas and condemnation by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury would have availed nothing towards the deposition of a Bishop of London; and the promoter of any suit against him would probably have been advised that the chances of conviction before the Queen in Council were very small, and possibly that no passages were forthcoming on which any penal charges could be grounded. As to the vast mass of accusations brought against Bishop Colenso by the prosecuting clergy at Capetown, almost every one of these would have been swept away like cobwebs on the first breath of judicial inquiry in England. It was worse than useless, therefore, for the Archbishop to refer to the indictment in that so-called trial as furnishing the least warrant for supposing that such an indictment could be preferred against any clergyman in England. Yet this is what Dr. Longley, as Primate of England, did not scruple to do.

"I have no hesitation," he said (February 10, 1866), "in avowing that, according to my belief, you have been duly and canonically deposed from your spiritual office, according to the common laws of the Church of Christ, as set forth in the concluding paragraph of the Twenty-sixth Article of the Church of England; and I must decline to hold myself responsible to you for entertaining such a belief. I have never obtruded this opinion upon others, in my capacity as Primate of the United Church of England and Ireland; but I have not hesitated to avow my private opinion when it has been sought for. . . . . I never expected that my letter would have been given to the public, nor am I responsible for the fact; but as those to whom I addressed it have thought fit to publish a portion of it, I do not disavow the sentiment therein expressed. At any rate, I could not have objected

to the course they thus took from any apprehension that I might one day be called to sit as a judge in your case, because I have high legal authority for saying that there appears to be now no mode of proceeding by which I could be called upon to act in this capacity. The censure, therefore, which you would impute to me on this ground proves to be entirely without foundation.

"As you ask me to point out the errors to which I have alluded, I have merely to refer you to the reasons for your deposition, as stated in the judgement of deprivation passed upon you, and to state my belief that for such errors in doctrine an English clergyman could be ejected from his cure."

That Archbishop Longley might not have been called upon to act in a judicial capacity, had Dr. Tait instead of Dr. Colenso been the author of the *Critical Examination of the Pentateuch*, is not so certain as the Primate supposed; but assuredly if his private opinion had been put forth before such a trial as a public declaration of his state of mind he must have insured his own exclusion from such a tribunal, as entirely as any juryman who should avow his belief in the guilt of a prisoner before his trial was begun. He could not fail to know that the propositions charged against Bishop Colenso at Capetown might be penal errors, and yet it was possible that they had not been proved, and perhaps could not be proved against him. It is hard, indeed, to see how he could, further, fail to know that a large number of these charges had been cleared away by recent decisions of the Judicial Committee, and therefore were no longer admissible in future indictments. Yet, in spite of this, Archbishop Longley could speak thus confidently of the ejection of English clergymen for charges many of which could not be even formulated against them. In fact, Archbishop Longley had said deliberately what he either knew, or ought to have known to be not true.

On the various counts of the indictment at Capetown something has been said already.[1] A few remarks may bring out more clearly the results which might be expected to follow from such charges if preferred against a clergyman in this country. For the whole of them, as urged against the Bishop of Natal, Archbishop Longley's reference to the Twenty-sixth Article was altogether inapplicable. He had not been rightly tried, and he had not by just judgement been deposed. When we come to particulars, we find, on the first head, that the Bishop of Natal's patent says nothing of the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan over himself, and that it is doubtful whether the English Metropolitans have jurisdiction over their suffragans. On the second head, it is certain that the references made from time to time by the Bishop of Natal to the opinion and advice of Bishop Gray involved no pledge of submission, if need be, to be tried and deposed by him. On the third head, we find that the principles by which the English ecclesiastical courts are guided differ indefinitely and most widely from those by which Bishop Gray claimed to pass judgement. On the fourth head, which related to Holy Scripture, Bishop Gray and his advisers made assumptions which must end in the conviction of every one brought before his tribunal, but which the judge of the Arches Court had emphatically repudiated.[2] According to Bishop Gray, the Church of England "holds what the Church has always held," and this common faith commits her to the decisions of Councils for the first thousand years of the history of Christendom, "silence upon any particular point of faith, or upon any great question of religion [being] no reason for supposing that the Church of England was indifferent to that portion of the faith." Of the soundness of this argument Bishop Gray asserted with haughty assurance that he had no doubt. In the Gorham judgement it had been "*established*

[1] See p. 280 *et seq.* [2] See p. 325.

that all theological doctrines not determined by the Articles or formularies are open questions." On the one side we have the Bishop of Capetown's dreams, dreams which have inspired the ecclesiastical zealots of all ages: on the other we have the sober utterances of the Supreme Court of Appeal for the Church of England. The Gorham judgement scatters to the winds by anticipation the truculent theories of Bishop Gray.

> "If the case be, as undoubtedly it is, that in the Church of England many points of theological doctrine have not been decided, then the first and great question which arises in such cases as the present is, whether the disputed point is, or was meant to be, settled at all, or whether it is left open for each member of the Church to decide for himself according to his own conscientious opinion. If there be any doctrine on which the Articles are silent or ambiguously expressed, so as to be capable of two meanings, we must suppose that it was intended to leave that doctrine to private judgement, unless the rubrics and formularies distinctly decide it. If they do, we must conclude that the doctrine so decided is the doctrine of the Church. But, on the other hand, if the expressions used in the rubric and formularies are ambiguous, it is not to be concluded that the Church meant to establish indirectly as a doctrine that which it did not establish directly as such by the Articles of Faith—the code avowedly made for the avoiding of diversities of opinion and for the establishing of consent touching true religion."

In other words, we have on the one side a clearly-defined principle; on the other, we have a grim apparatus for the fabrication of arbitrary and constructive treasons.

The fifth head of Bishop Gray's "judgement" was a plain defiance of the judge of the Court of Arches. Dr. Lushington had ruled that the declaration of belief in the Holy Scriptures made by candidates for ordination must be interpreted as meaning that the Scriptures contained everything necessary

to salvation, and that to that extent they have the direct sanction of the Almighty.[1] In this decision Bishop Gray flatly refused to "concur." "It is a wrong," he said, "to the Church thus to limit the meaning and diminish the force of its plain language." It was, in short, a wrong and a hardship to himself to be thus interfered with in the exercise of an instrument admirably adapted for the conviction of every accused person; but it was no wrong and no hardship to the Bishop of Natal to be arraigned and condemned in Southern Africa on charges which could not even be entertained in England. Incumbents in this country were perfectly free to use language which was to be regarded at Capetown as justifying his deposition, and his excommunication for not yielding obedience to that sentence; and yet this was no denial of justice to the accused.

Under the sixth head Bishop Gray objected to the Gorham judgement as taking an inadequate view of the Sacrament of Baptism, and he therefore condemned the Bishop of Natal for holding the same inadequate view. Under the seventh he admitted that the passage impugned on the subject of the Atonement

> "was not so at variance with [the doctrine] of the Church as to call for any condemnation, did it stand alone. There are, however, other passages in his work besides those complained of which show that he uses the words 'atonement,' 'redemption,' 'sacrifice,' 'satisfaction,' 'propitiation,'—which are, so to speak, ecclesiastical and historical words—in a sense of his own, that he does not mean what the Church intends by them. . . . . I must consider the charge as proved,"—

that is, he condemns, while he confesses that the passages arraigned do not furnish materials for condemnation. It is an amazing thing; but "ecclesiastical words" are ready to

[1] See p. 323.

hand, and the sense in which he interprets those words supplies a safe and easy path to the sentence. The ruling of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council that "the accuser is, for the purpose of the charge, confined to the passages which are included and set out in the articles as the matter of the accusation," was for him not worth consideration.

Such are the main grounds on which Bishop Gray claimed the right to try, and, on condemnation, to depose, Bishop Colenso, and it was with regard to such grounds as these that Archbishop Longley stood committed to the belief that they would be sufficient for the deprivation of an English beneficed clergyman. Whatever his belief might be, the statement was false. It is quite certain that they could not be applied in this country. It is equally certain that if they could be applied they would, in Dean Stanley's words,

> "exclude every one possessed of a moderate knowledge of Biblical criticism, or even of intelligence enough to disbelieve the universal deluge; and equally would they exclude every party in the Church but that in whose name Bishop Gray tries to lord it over the South African dioceses, assuming on all occasions that mere Church membership is a sufficient recognition of its principles, though both common notoriety, and the opposition which he has himself encountered from far other quarters than the Bishop of Natal and his friends, must have made him as well aware as any man that that party numbers no majority of the clergy, and but an insignificant proportion of the laity, of this great Church and nation."

Twelve years later, 1880, the old allegations of Bishop Gray, repeated often, and as often refuted, were brought forward once more by his successor, Bishop Jones, who did what he could to fasten again a moral stigma on the Bishop of Natal in the following words :—

> "There is such a thing as a moral obligation which no human law can inforce, but which is paramount *in foro conscientiæ.* And surely there is a moral obligation on a Bishop who has recognised his Metropolitan as his judge by accepting his letters patent, and who has, at the most solemn moment of his life, bound himself by a solemn oath to render due obedience to his Metropolitan, to obey the sentence which, even though not binding in civil law, that Metropolitan in his court, with the consent of the Bishops of his Province has pronounced against him, and which the Synod of the Bishops of the Province at the same time has solemnly accepted."

This charge has been proved to be absolutely without foundation, and it would be mere waste of time to go over ground already traversed with care. The language of Bishop Cotterill has shown that the opposition to the ecclesiastical theories of Bishop Gray was not confined to the Bishop of Natal; and Bishop Jones deserves no further reply than that he has misinterpreted declarations set forth in the plainest language. It is true that, by the letters patent granted to him, Bishop Colenso was to be

"subject and subordinate to the see of Capetown and to the Bishop thereof;"

but it was declared that he should be subject only

> "in the same manner as any Bishop of any see within the Province of Canterbury is under the authority of the Archiepiscopal see of that Province and the Archbishop of the same;"

and it has certainly never been maintained that the Archbishop of Canterbury can try, sentence, and depose his suffragans without appeal; and from the Primate appeal can lie only to the Crown. But it is not less true that by the letters patent of Dr. Gray the Sovereign declared that the Bishop of Capetown

"shall be subject and subordinate to the Metropolitical see of Canterbury and to the Archbishops thereof, and in the same manner as any Bishop of any see within the Province of Canterbury is under the same Metropolitical see and the Archbishops thereof;"

and it cannot be pretended that the former could be tried, condemned, and deprived by the latter without appeal, and this appeal must of necessity be to the Crown. By the so-called judgement at Capetown, Bishop Gray assumed to deprive Bishop Colenso of a right to the loss of which it cannot for a moment be supposed that he would himself have submitted, had he been arraigned before the tribunal of the Primate. According to the second patent granted to Bishop Gray, it is stated that he is to be

"*subject* to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and *subordinate* to the Archiepiscopal see of the Province of Canterbury."

These words settle absolutely the relations between the Bishop of Capetown and his suffragans, and between these and the English Primate. These relations involve the right of appeal to the Crown; and this right cannot be taken away, or these relations affected, by the clause in Bishop's Gray's second patent which authorised him

"to exercise Metropolitan jurisdiction over the Bishops of Grahamstown and Natal, and all the clergy in their dioceses."

This authorisation, whatever it be, must be taken as involving nothing antagonistic to the former; and the question is therefore settled without going into further controversy with reference to this patent. This question has been sufficiently examined by Bishop Cotterill in the letters already cited; but when all doubt on the subject has been removed by

these general considerations, it becomes pertinent to lay stress on the fact that Bishop Gray's second patent, dated December 8, 1853, was not issued till a fortnight after those issued to the Bishops of Grahamstown and Natal, dated November 23, 1853.

> "Such a clause," the Bishop of Natal remarks, in his reply to Bishop Jones, in 1880, "would not legally override my older patent; nor would it bind me in any sense morally, unless I had been informed of its existence before accepting my own patent. In point of fact, I was not aware of it until I saw the Capetown patent in the report of the proceedings of the first Synod of Capetown, published in 1857. Nor was it likely that I should have known anything about it, since on November 15, 1858, Bishop Cotterill wrote to me: 'It shows how loosely these matters are managed, that both the Archbishop and the Government (I mean officials at the Colonial Office) knew nothing about that formidable visitation clause, until I drew their attention to it.'"[1]

What Bishop Cotterill thought at that time of this claim to jurisdiction has been sufficiently shown in his own words. The fact that he took different ground later on may not be to his credit; but it does not lessen the force of his earlier reasoning. To this reasoning there is obviously no answer; and he himself never ventured to make any. He had then declared his conviction that

> "in the matter of judgement on a suffragan Bishop, the letters patent are directly opposed to the principles of Church law."

If then, the Bishop of Natal asks, Bishop Cotterill could express these convictions, although

> "he had received his letters patent with full knowledge of the contents of Bishop Gray's," "what right has Bishop

[1] See p 338.

Jones to charge me—who had no such knowledge—with an act of gross immorality and the violation of a solemn oath?"

The idea of a consensual jurisdiction could not be maintained in this case for a moment. The Privy Council, in Bishop Colenso's words,

"took their stand on the principle that a public functionary, appointed by Royal letters patent, cannot by his own private act so modify the conditions of his office as to subject himself to deprivation in a way not pointed out by the law, since others are interested, as well as himself, in holding his office according to law, and not allowing the law to be overridden by ecclesiastical phrases or arguments, as the clergy and laity of the Church of England in other parts of South Africa, but especially in Natal, are interested in the maintenance of my position against the arbitrary action of Capetown."

But Bishop Jones insisted that he had a further moral hold on the Bishop of Natal.

"Bishop Colenso's contention," he says, "as to the illegality of which he would have been guilty had he obeyed a sentence which the Metropolitan Court (through an undue reliance on the authority bestowed by letters patent) had assumed to pass, but which it had no power to inforce, is tantamount to his saying that when the law says that a sentence has no legal force, it forbids a man to obey it; that even what is binding on a man's conscience, so long as a court of law refuses to allow its inforcement, it is wrong and illegal to do. He might as well say that should the law refuse to support a father in requiring obedience from his son, it would be illegal for the son to keep the fifth commandment."

"I have shown," the Bishop of Natal replies, "that it was not 'binding on my conscience' according to my own view of my duty, confirmed by the decision of the Privy Council—

not to speak of Bishop Cotterill's opinion—to appear before the illegal court of the Metropolitan, or obey its illegal judgement, though approved by Bishops Cotterill and Twells. The appeal of Bishop Jones to the fifth commandment is a mere fallacy, since he tacitly assumes that the command in question was one which the son was 'bound in conscience' to obey, whereas a son would be perfectly justified in disobeying a father who commanded him to do what was wrong, either morally or legally, and which therefore the father had no right to command—*e.g.* to betray a trust confided to him for the sake of others—nor in the eyes of sensible men would he appear to have broken the fifth commandment by such disobedience.

"But Bishop Jones has taken no notice of the fact that I wrote in my letter, 'it would be illegal for me or *for any other loyal subject, e.g.* Bishop Jones and others, to recognise Bishop Gray's sentence of deprivation as having any force, which has been pronounced by the highest authority to be null and void in law."

CHAPTER IX.

BISHOP HAROLD BROWNE AND THE ANTAGONISTS OF THE BISHOP OF NATAL.

THE publication of Bishop Colenso's criticisms on the Pentateuch was for many reasons an important event,—important, not more, it may be, for the conclusions reached by the inquiry than in its relation to the religious and the general thought of the land. The way in which these criticisms were received by that which is commonly spoken of as the religious world was still more remarkable. The object of the investigation was simply the discovery and the establishment of the truth; and it was obvious to all impartial minds that the result must affect the value put upon certain books, either by adding to that value or by lessening it. The volumes thus submitted to examination were some of the sacred books of Christendom; and the sacred books of Christendom were, admittedly, only a part of the sacred books of the world. But there was this vast difference between them, at least in the eyes of Christians generally, that all those other books were wrong—wrong in history, wrong in philosophy, wrong in the statement of facts, wrong in the conception of spiritual realities. In all these respects the Christian books were right, absolutely right; and the great task of Christendom was to convince the world of the error of the rest.

This work, it was clear, could not be accomplished without a firm conviction on the part of the assailants that their own position was impregnable; but it was an indispensable condition to their success that the task should not be confined to assertion. If it should be so confined, nothing could be looked for but an infinite series of wranglings. The mere assurance of Christians would be met by equal assurance on the part of the adherents of Zoroaster, of Buddha, or of Mahomet. The worship paid by the Rabbinical schools to the letter of the Hebrew Scriptures was equalled, if not surpassed, by the reverence shown by the Hindu for the text of the Rig Veda. Each had his sacred history, his sacred law, his sacred psalms, hymns, and prayers; nor could the Christian hope to sweep all this aside, if he chose to challenge them on the authority of other sacred books, except by showing that these books were in every respect superior to all others. If they really were so, they could be submitted fearlessly to the most searching scrutiny; and the examination could be carried on without excitement and without passion, the results being left to take care of themselves. To say that the value of the Christian sacred books must in no case be affected would be a begging of the whole question. In the general opinion of Christendom all the series of sacred books were wrong but one. It was at least conceivable that this one series might be found to be no exception. It was further conceivable that the progress of the Divine work in the Church and in the world might render necessary a complete change in the estimate put on all sacred books and in the methods to be applied to them; and it was, at least, possible that the idea of an external infallible authority in books or in Churches must give way to something higher and better.

But in any case, if the veracity or accuracy of a book should be assailed, its correctness could be maintained only by showing the untenableness of the specific charge, and not

by shifting the question to any side issue. If it should be said that the genealogies of the Book of Genesis are self-contradictory, that the book speaks of Methuselah as dying before the flood and after it, that it gives an impossible chronology for the family of Abraham and of Jacob, these charges could only be met by showing that on these points, and not on some others, there was no mistake. Either let this be shown in every instance, or let the admission be candidly made that the Hebrew or other Scriptures had been regarded in a wrong light, and made to answer purposes for which they had never been designed. There had seldom been a question which called for greater clearness of thought and precision of language in those who should undertake to deal with it; but the putting of the question evoked, in fact, a very Saturnalia of untruthfulness. Writer after writer committed himself at starting to conclusions of which he had never attempted to foresee the consequences. There was constant shifting of ground, constant shuffling, equivocation, and evasion; and these disingenuous methods were employed by many who had won, and won deservedly, a high reputation, not only for their learning, but—in a far higher degree—for the integrity of their lives, for their earnestness, and their zeal. They had done, and they continued to do, good work; and it might be thought that there is no justification for expressing a disparaging opinion of any of them personally. Judgement must be left to the Divine Judge; but we are bound to point out and to denounce methods which involve the least disingenuousness, if our own sense of truthfulness is not to be tampered with and impaired.

Before he published the First Part of his work on the Pentateuch, the Bishop of Natal had written (without forwarding it) a letter to Dr. Harold Browne, then Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. At the time when he thought of consulting his friend, he could little have

anticipated the mode which some two years later that friend would feel himself called upon to adopt in answering him. The employment of this mode involved a great wrong to the Bishop of Natal, and this wrong has never been repaired. In mere justice to him, the history of this controversy must be given; but its real nature cannot be shown except by reference to some other historical controversies, somewhat earlier in the century, which throw a full light on the questions raised about the historical value of the Pentateuch.

We must suppose, then, that a writer is examining the history or the so-called history of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. Taking the several portions of the narrative in succession, and submitting them to those tests to which narratives of facts in our daily life must be submitted, he comes clearly and definitely to the conclusion that a great, perhaps even the greater, part of the story is not to be depended upon; that the accounts given of the causes which led to the war are clearly fictitious; that the whole tale of Demokêdês is full of inconsistencies and contradictions; that the debates which are said to have preceded the march of Xerxes are mere fictions; that the account of the march is highly embellished, and that the whole Hellenic land could not have supported the invading army for a week; that even the most notable incidents are full of suspicious circumstances; that not a detail in the records of the battles of Marathon or Salamis, or even Plataia, can be relied on; that the beautiful history of Leonidas contains much more of fiction than of fact. We must suppose, further, that this writer, after making so much havoc of the traditional narrative, distinctly avows his belief, and positively maintains, that Xerxes did invade Europe with a large force, that he made strenuous efforts to inslave a free people, and that he was beaten back; and, further, that these facts were of the utmost

importance for the future history of mankind ; that the victory of the Persians would have retarded for hundreds, if not for thousands, of years, the development of European civilisation ; that the victory of the Greeks attested the profound sagacity of Themistokles, and bore fruit in the freedom and splendour of Periklean Athens.

It is obvious that anyone who proposed to answer such a writer might fairly say, if he so thought, that he was absurdly incredulous, and that he had made an extravagant use of the pruning knife. His only duty would be to show this, as well as to assert it. But what would any impartial critics say if the reply took the following form ?

> " I have carefully examined the writings of Herodotus, and in my opinion everything tends to prove that his history must in its main facts be true. The Persians beyond question marched out of their own country, passed through Asia Minor, invaded Western Hellas, and were beaten back by the Athenians and their allies. The latter must have been in a far higher state of discipline, and influenced by far higher motives than their enemies, or such a victory would have been impossible. This is exactly what the history of Herodotus says, and what this writer denies."

There is not, it may safely be said, a man with a particle of honest feeling, who would not at once answer that the critic had given utterance to a tissue of false statements, which, if he had read the book before him, he must have known to be false, and the uttering of which, without reading the book, aggravates the offence ; and that the critic was bound to make an unqualified apology not only to the writer whom he had slandered, but to the public whom he had led to believe the slander.

But here the terms must be changed. The history of the Jewish conquest of Canaan in many remarkable points closely

resembles that of Herodotus. Like the latter, it describes an invasion, and exhibits a striking picture of the effects of political and moral foresight. We will suppose that the narrative of this Hebrew conquest has been very patiently and closely analysed by a writer who comes to the conclusion that very much of the tale is unhistorical; that the conferences with Pharaoh could not have taken place as they are related; that the numbers throughout are exaggerated; that the story of the invasion of Midian is as contradictory as that of the attack of the Persians on Delphi; that the elaborate "Mosaic" legislation is as much the composition of a later age as is the legislation of Servius Tullius at Rome; that the long speeches put into the mouth of Moses are to be classed with the long speeches put into the mouths of the counsellors of Xerxes; that the story of the exploits of Joshua is deserving of about as much credit as the story of the exploits of Leonidas; and that the account given of the political career of Moses is at least as inconsistent as the account given of the political career of Themistokles. But this writer, while thus pulling to pieces the traditional narrative, has, we will suppose, taken special care to record his conviction that the people had sojourned in Egypt; that they did pass through the wilderness; that they invaded Canaan and established themselves in the conquered territory after partially subduing the inhabitants; and that these facts are of the greatest moment in the history of mankind, as opening the way to that higher faith and deeper conviction of the Unity and Righteousness of God which it was the mission of the teachers of the Hebrew people to exhibit to the world.

It is clear that against such a writer also an opponent might fairly, (provided that he alleged the proof for it), bring a charge of over-much incredulity or over-minute analysis, or too great a severity in applying the ordinary tests of evidence to a narrative of events which took place in very remote ages.

But what would the impression be, if the critic, after asserting that he had with the greatest care examined this history and read his opponent's works, were to say:—

> "Everything tends to prove that the history of the Pentateuch must be in its main facts true. The people without question came out of Egypt, sojourned in the wilderness, conquered Canaan, and must have been both numerous and well-trained, or such a conquest would have been impossible. This is exactly what the Pentateuch says, and what [this writer] denies."

The verdict of every honest man must be in this case precisely that which it would be in the case which I have previously supposed. Is the offence lessened because the writer criticised is not the incredulous Mr. Grote, or the more incredulous Sir Cornwall Lewis, but a clergyman? and is our honest judgement to be suppressed because the critic has a high repute as a scholar and as being in general a fair and moderate controversialist,—because, in short, the writer criticised is the Bishop of Natal, and the critic is Dr. Harold Browne, now Bishop of Winchester?

The question concerns not so much the personal character of Bishop Browne as the strength of theological prepossessions and prejudices; and it must be said plainly that, if one who should ascribe to Mr. Grote a denial of the fact of the Persian invasion would owe him the best reparation in his power, the same reparation was due to the Bishop of Natal for charging him with a denial of the fact of the Jewish invasion and of its success, the reality of which he distinctly and positively affirmed. The refusal or failure to make this reparation leaves on the critic the responsibility of a man who should accuse Thierry or Lappenberg of denying the fact of the Norman invasion of England. In the interests, not of individuals, but of the nation, the matter is very

serious. The abuse of criticism in questions which affect the traditional or popular belief has become so gross, it appears so completely to blind the eyes and pervert the nature of men who in other things show themselves upright and generous, that it can no longer be borne with. Is our faith in the honesty and truthfulness of Englishmen to be shaken altogether? Are we really to be brought not to the hasty thought, but to the deliberate and fixed belief, that the moment they think their shibboleths (whether religious or political) endangered, all men become liars?

To the demand for retractation made through the columns of the *Examiner*, August 26, 1865, Dr. Browne, then Bishop of Ely, returned the following answer:—

"Your correspondent and Bishop Colenso charge me with wanton misrepresentation, when, after having proved that the Israelites had dwelt long in Egypt, had gone out of Egypt in large multitudes, had sojourned for a great length of time in the Sinaitic wilderness, and had then poured in vast hordes upon the plains of Canaan and so conquered the country, I add, 'This is exactly what the Pentateuch says and what Bishop Colenso denies.'[1] Now really, if I have failed at all, it has been in the summing up of my own conclusions, which I did not wish to press too far; and so, perhaps, those conclusions do not seem so very much beyond Bishop Colenso's admissions as they would have done if more clearly and forcibly put. This may be formally and in the letter unfair to Bishop Colenso: but it is not so in spirit and reality. . . . My object in the argument referred to was to show that the history of the Pentateuch was most strongly confirmed by indubitable facts in those very points on which Bishop Colenso most strongly attacked it; that facts, which could not be gainsaid, proved a long residence in Egypt, proved a long sojourn in the wilderness, proved especially that the num-

[1] *The Pentateuch and Elohistic Psalms*, 1864.

bers which went out of Egypt and dwelt in the wilderness must have been enormous, and that the conquest of Canaan could, humanly speaking, only have been effected by the invasion of masses or hordes of an almost countless multitude. . . . Such being the real conclusion at which I arrived, I surely do Bishop Colenso no wrong if I say that this is what the Pentateuch says, and what Bishop Colenso has written on purpose to disprove."

A comparison of these words with the sentences previously cited (the words *this writer* only being substituted for *Bishop Colenso*) displays a most material shifting of ground. How, it might be asked, was any one to know that, when Bishop Browne said that "the people came out of Egypt," he meant that they came out after dwelling there "a long time"? When he said that "they sojourned in the wilderness," who was to know that here also "a long time" was to be supplied? When he added that "they must have been both numerous and well-trained," who was to imagine that they were to be numbered by thousands of myriads, and again that these well-trained warriors were mere masses and hordes? To make the point more clear, we are driven back to the records of the Persian invasion of Europe. To his supposed critic Mr. Grote might reply:—

"It is most unfair, it is most false, to say that I deny the march of the Persians through Western Asia and their defeat by the Athenians and their allies. You cannot say that this is what the history of Herodotus affirms and what I deny, because I do not deny this any more than you deny it yourself."

But what would be Mr. Grote's astonishment if his critic were to reply:—

"My object was to assert that facts which could not be questioned proved that the march of the Persians extended over years, that thousands of ships were arrayed against

each other on either side, and more especially that the number of the invading force must have been enormous—in fact an almost countless multitude."

But how would it be if the historian were to urge further :—

"And even now I cannot make out your meaning, or what you believe or do not believe about the matter. You tell me now that the history of Herodotus especially proves the enormous, nay, the countless, numbers of the Persians; but a little while ago you told me that you were quite perplexed and could not tell what to do with them, and that the substitution of hundreds for myriads would remove most of the difficulties, while yet again you said that the smaller number would be just as puzzling as the larger. What am I to infer from all this but that our notions of truthfulness cannot agree together?"

Yet this was precisely the position in which the Bishop of Ely placed himself by his letter in the *Examiner*. In that letter he said that the Pentateuch "proved especially the enormous, almost countless, numbers" of the invading Israelites; and he forced on his readers the question whether he himself really believed this,

(1) Because he had said in his volume on *The Pentateuch and the Elohistic Psalms*,

"It would be rash to deny that the numbers of the Exodus are inordinately great, and proportionately puzzling."

He added, it is true, that the story is professedly miraculous, and said that it is very unreasonable,

"in the consideration, to keep out of sight miracle altogether."

But in his letter he said that,

"the conquest of Canaan could, humanly speaking, only have been effected by the invasion of masses or hordes of an almost countless multitude."

(2) Because in his book he had asserted, when "puzzled" to know what to do with these multitudes,

> "if for 600 (thousand men fit to bear arms) we might read 60, all would be clear; every numerical difficulty worth thinking of would vanish at once."

In other words, that the numbers are "inordinately great and proportionately puzzling," whereas in his letter he said that the work of conquest could not have been done without almost countless numbers, and that, therefore, the numbers are not exaggerated at all.

(3) Because in the very same page of his book in which he made the preceding statement he said :—

> "Sixty thousand would, perhaps, be as much too small, as six hundred thousand seems too large, a number. On the whole, notwithstanding the *admitted* difficulty of the large numbers, it is very questionable whether the difficulties would not be greater on the supposition that the numbers were much less"—

whereas in his letter he urged that

> "the insuperable difficulty would lie in the supposition that the numbers fell short of an almost countless multitude,"

and that, therefore, there is *no admitted* difficulty in the larger number.

It is, indeed, pitiable to find such a man as Bishop Browne struggling vainly in the nets of inextricable contradictions. He wishes to uphold the credit of the Pentateuch; he can do so only by saying or implying that its statements cannot be trusted. He will give up as unhistorical and impossible the alleged fact that seventy souls could in four generations grow into six hundred thousand armed men. The difficulty, he holds, lies in the paucity of generations, there being four

only from Levi to Moses. The generations in the family of Levi were, he thinks, "abnormally few," and he insists that

> "eight or nine is the more probable number for the generality of the descendants of Jacob."

But even if we grant that there were eight or nine, or that there were ten, this would not expand a troop of seventy persons into a nation of more than two millions. The positive promise is, however, given in Genesis xv. 16, that "in the fourth generation they" (the Israelites generally) "shall come hither again"; and this solemn declaration Bishop Browne summarily sets aside. But, as the Bishop of Natal remarks,[1]

> "the 'abnormally few' generations are *not* confined to the family of Moses and Aaron. They occur in every instance which is recorded in the Pentateuch or, with one exception, anywhere else in the Bible."

The exception is the genealogy of Joshua, as given by the chronicler in a book full of errors, written two centuries after the captivity, and a thousand years after the commonly received date of the Exodus. Bishop Browne's rejection of these alleged facts is a plain admission that the "*Scriptural* account, as it stands, is incredible."

Nor is this the only straw at which he catches. He clings to Abraham's retinue of three hundred and eighteen followers, and holds that the family of Jacob must in their descent to Egypt have been accompanied by a corresponding number of shepherds and herdsmen. But of this the narrative of Genesis gives not the slightest indication, and Jacob himself, on his return from Padán-Aram, says, "I am few in numbers." But if he had this retinue, why did he send his darling Joseph *alone* to look for his brethren? How is it that the ten sons went unaccompanied to buy food from Egypt? The whole

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. xiv.

story shows that they had no attendants, and how would their *ten ass-loads* of corn have supplied food for these hundreds of shepherds and herdsmen for a whole year, as well as for their own family of seventy persons?[1] But he has yet another resource remaining. The numbers as they now appear are large. The difficulties are not removed by striking off a cipher and reducing six hundred thousand warriors to sixty thousand; but the text of Moses may have been affected by the carelessness or blundering of copyists. It may have gone through some such changes as happened to the poems of Homer, collected by one and re-edited by another, and the "slight corruptions" so introduced "might have affected most probably and easily the numbers in the Pentateuch." This is, indeed opening the flood-gates of speculation. The so-called Homeric poems are an accretion of songs or lays which grew up through a long series of years, and the story contained in them is inconsistent or impossible from beginning to end. But here again Bishop Browne cannot escape from the morass. He shows that he is very well aware that the numbers in Exodus are not corrupted.

"I must freely confess," he says, "this solution of the problem 'by the reduction of the numbers' is not so simple or satisfactory as it sounds at first. The number 600,000 does not stand alone. In the first two chapters of Numbers we have all the constituents of that number. Twice over the number of fighting men in each tribe is mentioned, and the second time they are arranged in four camps . . . . the number in each camp is given, and in both cases the sum is 603,550 fighting men above twenty years of age. All the way through the history the numbers, more or less, correspond, by what is not the simple recurrence of *the* figure, which might have suffered equally in every place from error of transcription."

So far then as the numbers are concerned, we know that the

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. xv.

text is not corrupt, that they are checked, and counter-checked in so many cases that there is no pretence for any such hypothesis.

What right then had Bishop Browne to talk of corruptions such as these in the text, and then to speak of these corruptions as "slight," when in truth they would be of the most serious kind? What right had he to assert that

> "without miraculous intervention the numbers in the writings of Moses were a thousand-fold more liable to have become corrupted than those in the writings of the great Greek historians"?

What right had he to assert this, when he had himself already given the strongest possible reasons for saying that they were not corrupt, and when he must, or ought to, have known that the numbers in the Greek historians have also not been corrupted? He is speaking of corruptions caused by the fault of transcribers, and in this sense the numbers in Herodotus, for instance, are not corrupt. They are impossible numbers, it is true, but they are the numbers which Herodotus himself wrote down. These also have been checked and counter-checked, and the sums total correspond. Critics may have rejected both these totals and their constituents; but no one supposes that they have been falsified since first Herodotus set them down. Bishop Browne further takes comfort from the thought

> "that much greater difficulties than inaccuracy in numerals would not invalidate the general truth of the Persian history of Herodotus or the Athenian history of Thucydides, or the retreat of the 10,000 related by Xenophon."

But the numerals in these histories are *not* inaccurate, in the sense that they have been tampered with by later transcribers. Wrong they may be; but if they are, they were so written by

Thucydides or Herodotus or Xenophon. The cases moreover, as the Bishop of Natal remarks, are not parallel.

> "What credit," he asks, "should we give to the details of Xenophon's narrative if, starting with 10,000, he had gone on to describe his doings as those of a general of a million of men, sending 50,000 here and there, losing tens of thousands by plagues and other accidents, and besides all this deliberately and systematically falsifying the numbers of his troops throughout, even when professing to give the exact results of the different marshallings, which he himself had superintended?"

But Bishop Browne was well aware also that difficulties even more formidable than any connected with the numbers of the Israelites at the time of the Exodus were involved in the characteristics of the Elohistic and Jehovistic portions of the Pentateuch. The Bishop of Natal brought out the evidence of actual facts as furnished by the narratives: the Bishop of Ely sought only to give some "probable" explanation of these narratives. His first hypothesis was that Moses would write first only a very brief sketch of the previous history from the Creation onwards, reserving a fuller account for the closing years of his life. If so, he would be likely in the earlier tale to use the word Elohim, and would defer the *constant* use of Jehovah till his people had become more thoroughly familiar with it. In the more recent portions of his books, the portions interpolated in the older parts and the portions added at the end of them, he would introduce the more sacred and now long known name of the Almighty.

Bishop Colenso remarks here that Bishop Browne has overlooked a point fatal to his theory—viz. that certain sections in which the name Elohim is used exclusively, are almost identical in style with the Jehovistic, yet are entirely distinct from the old Elohistic narrative, which forms the basis of the Pentateuch.[1]

[1] *On the Pentateuch*, Part V. p. xxvi.

The Bishop of Ely's second hypothesis is that, writing at two different periods of his life, Moses would naturally use different sets of documents. For the earlier portions he would use the ancient records; and these would

"pretty certainly have been Elohistic, for otherwise the people could not have been ignorant or forgetful of the great name of their Creator. The portions written and mingled in with the traditional portions by Moses would on the other hand most probably be Jehovistic."

Of these two hypotheses he says:—

"These explanations are surely possible solutions of the difficulty which Bishop Colenso declares to be insuperable. I firmly believe that one of these solutions is indeed true."[1]

It is a happy thing that we have only two hypotheses; Bishop Browne might have found a dozen, and then expressed his conviction that one of them was the true one. But he would be bound to say which of the dozen was the right interpretation: it is not easy to see why or how this duty is changed because he confines himself to two. But he has, as in the former case, overlooked a point which upsets his hypothesis. The account of the revelation of the Divine name to Moses in Exodus vi., which *must* have been written by Moses himself, if any part of the history was so written, is due undoubtedly to the very same hand which wrote the old Elohistic narrative.[2] It is useless to speak of the name Jehovah as having been known and then forgotten. The Elohistic writer abstains throughout his narrative from using the name Jehovah at all, *until* he has recorded its revelation to Moses, and it follows therefore inevitably that he meant the statement

[1] Bishop of Natal, *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. xxi.
[2] *Ib.* p. xxviii.

> "I appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob by El-Shaddai, but by my name Jehovah was I *not known* to them,"

to be understood as saying that the name was actually not known at all to the Patriarchs.[1]

What the Bishop of Ely may have meant by his reference to miracle is not clear. Could his reasoning be that numbers which are utterly perplexing on any human supposition may in some way or other be received on the ground that the narrative is professedly full of miracles, just as the enormous numbers of the army of Xerxes, utterly inexplicable by any reference to the supplies of any human commissariat, may be received in a narrative in which, as is the case in that of Herodotus, superhuman agency is manifest throughout? This is an opinion which might perhaps be legitimately expressed by one who will adhere to it; but in his letter the Bishop of Ely shifted his ground by saying that the conquest of Canaan could, *humanly* speaking, have been effected only by an almost countless multitude.

But this is not all. Dr. Browne had, in his letter, charged Bishop Colenso with reckless and irreverent treatment of records

> "thrown into the sacred, solemn form of the Pentateuchal narrative, a form in which they have for three thousand years been accepted as a true and heaven-inspired history;"

but it can scarcely be denied that he has himself laid violent hands on at least one cardinal statement which in the Book of Deuteronomy is put into the mouth of Moses. On the supposition of the Mosaic authorship of this narrative, the intimate familiarity shown with minute local features in the land of Canaan had to be accounted for. According to Dr. Browne, this familiarity was attained by Moses during the many journeys of exploration which he made through Palestine

[1] Bishop of Natal, *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. xxix.

before the final entrance of the Israelites; but except on the hypothesis that the Book of Deuteronomy is historically untrustworthy, this point is not left an open one. The words ascribed to Moses not merely imply, but state with the utmost possible clearness, that he had never visited or seen the Promised Land. The very pathos of his pleading lies in this fact, that his eyes have never rested on its hills and streams. "I pray thee let me go over and see the good land that is beyond Jordan." But the prayer was not to be granted. From the top of Pisgah he might indeed gaze on its faint and distant outlines, but nearer he might not approach. "I must die in this land: I must not go over Jordan." What meaning, or rather what truth, is left in these words, if they were spoken by one who had many a time crossed the stream, and made himself familiar with the future inheritance of his followers?

These are matters which cannot be treated as questions of mere detail. The supposition last mentioned strikes directly at the truthfulness of the Hebrew lawgiver. The Bishop of Ely's charges, as put forth in his volume on the Pentateuch, are amply refuted by those passages in which Bishop Colenso distinctly maintained that

> "the Israelites did leave Egypt, and remained for a time in the wilderness of Sinai, under circumstances which produced a profound impression on the national mind,"

and in which he further affirmed that

> "there is not the slightest reason to believe . . . . that there was no residence of the Israelites in Egypt, no deliverance out of it."

They could be established at all only by shifting ground; and Bishop Browne shifted his ground accordingly. But in doing so he took no notice of the two histories to which his

attention had been specially called. The systematic Mosaic, legislation, and the elaborate minuteness of the Levitical organization, had been regarded as conclusively proving the accuracy and authority of the Mosaic narrative. But of this network of laws, and this intricate priestly system, the national history down to the time of the Captivity exhibits not a trace. How could the inference be avoided that both the system and the code belong to a period subsequent to the Captivity? And how could the student, examining the records of this legislation, forget that the early history of Rome furnished the closest parallel to that of the Jews? Here also we have a legislation (the Servian) drawn out with the precision of an English Act of Parliament, a legislation affecting directly the whole body of the people; and with it we have a subsequent traditional history which ignores it. Hence, after the closest examination, Sir Cornewall Lewis concludes that whatever the Servian legislation may have been, we have of its details no knowledge whatever, or rather we have ample evidence that in its main provisions no attempt was ever made to carry out that legislation. Why may not that which took place in Italy have taken place also in Canaan?

But, if Bishop Browne might legitimately strive to uphold the historical value of the Pentateuch so far as it could honestly be upheld, it was unworthy of him to insinuate that the Bishop of Natal admitted even less than he professed to maintain. The Bishop had spoken of some of the Pentateuchal narrative as derived "from legendary recollections of some former residence in Egypt under painful circumstances, and of some great deliverance," and Dr. Browne, fastening on the phrase, ascribed to him not quite accurately a constant use of the word, which he pronounced to be in itself "somewhat suspicious." *Legend*, he remarked, became so soon almost identified with fable

"that one chief sense attached to it by Johnson is 'an incredible unauthentic narrative;'" and he added, "I cannot think that the Bishop would have used the word so frequently without intending to throw some discredit even on that traditional basis which he does not wholly deny."

The constant use of the word imputed to Bishop Colenso cannot be proved; and of the traditional basis it is enough to say that he not only does not deny, but positively maintains it. But the word was used in a few cases simply to denote the transmission of this basis, through a series of generations, by oral traditions. It would have been more accurate, probably, to speak always of "stories orally transmitted" instead of "legendary stories"; but the former phrase is more cumbersome and awkward, and the latter implies no greater disbelief of the narrative than the other. If the historian of Greece speaks of the narrative of Herodotus as legendary, he asserts no more than that it was transmitted by oral tradition only, until Herodotus committed it to writing.

Whatever, then, may have been the motives and the purpose of the Bishop of Ely, his criticism of Bishop Colenso was not fair, not just, not true. It was criticism which must cause gratuitous pain; but in this respect another of the Bishop's friends was a worse offender. Not much, perhaps, may be gained by attempting to trace the workings of a mind like that of Mr. Maurice; but the supreme unselfishness and beauty of his character give his words a weight which makes it the more needful to point out the fallacies running through them or underlying them. The thought that charges of historical inaccuracy can be disproved only by proving the correctness of the history seems never to have entered his mind. Although for quite other reasons than those which influenced the traditionalists of the day, yet with not less vehemence than theirs, Mr. Maurice took upon himself the office of the judge

and the doomster. None, he said, could be more indignant with the Bishop of Natal than he was himself.

"He seemed to be taking from us the very message which we had been suppressing and mutilating; to be indorsing the crime which we had been committing against the laity; to be using physical facts for the sake of cheating us of moral and political facts; to be destroying the great link between God and national life; to be driving us to the old platitudes and abstractions about the necessity of order to freedom, and freedom to order, which have no power over any human spirit, when we might, if we believe the Exodus, speak of an everlasting God of Freedom, who is also, and for that reason, the God of Order."[1]

What, it might be asked, is all this talk about? What did Mr. Maurice mean by physical facts, and by the application of them to overthrow spiritual truths? What did he mean by saying that the Bishop of Natal had struck out sparks and invented theories,[2] and that the answers to him, so far as they have not consisted of shrieks and ridicule, have been directed to an exposure of his physical facts?[3] Any one who had not opened the Bishop's work on the Pentateuch might be led by these words to suppose that it broached some new geographical or astronomical ideas which upset the Mosaic cosmogony, or that it urged the evidence furnished by the science of language or of comparative mythology against the Mosaic accounts of the fall of man. He could not possibly learn from Mr. Maurice's pages that the Bishop of Natal had pronounced the narrative of the Pentateuch to be not historical, because it exhibited palpable contradictions; because its chronology was artificial; because it embodied a legislation which, as we see on the face of it, was never carried out, and exhibits a state of society which never existed; because,

[1] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 76.
[2] *Ib.* p. 125. [3] *Ib.* p. 73.

finally, it would be impossible to account for the later history of the people, if the Mosaic history was a genuine relation of events which passed before the occupation of Canaan. To physical facts there are only indirect and incidental references: and all that Mr. Maurice could do by such remarks was to place the question on a false issue. The truth is that no one was more profoundly conscious than Mr. Maurice that spiritual things must be spiritually discerned; but he remained not less assured that it was indispensably necessary for all others to discern the truth where he saw it himself, and that, if they failed to see it where he saw it, they would not find it at all. His own conviction of the Divine righteousness was a rock not to be shaken; but it also drove him to make a crowd of assumptions about the records in which he traced the several steps in the Divine government of the world. From the Book of Genesis he learnt the sacredness of the order of the family, the misery which comes with the infraction of it, the blessings which flow from obedience to it. The Book of Exodus taught him that God had sympathy with sufferers, that He was the Judge of the tyrant, the Deliverer of the bondman and the captive; and from these convictions he drew the inference that the books were, throughout, trustworthy historical narratives. At the same time his respect for the letter of the narrative was not so unswerving as to satisfy the adherents of straiter schools. Thus, for instance, he resolved the incidents of Balaam's journey into a spiritual impression left on the mind of the seer[1] in the teeth of the comment in the New Testament that the dumb ass spoke with the articulate speech of man. But when the same freedom with regard to this same narrative was used by another who went on to the further question of the time of its composition, and who reached the conclusion arrived at more recently by the most

[1] *Sermons on the Old Testament*, Sermon I. p. 28.

eminent of modern Jewish interpreters,[1] Mr. Maurice expressed his aversion not of a critical method which was too lax or too arbitrary, but of the spiritual perversity which was robbing men of lessons indispensable for the vindication of the Divine righteousness. It mattered not that Dr. Stanley spoke of the national religion of the Jews, down even to the Babylonish captivity, as a sensual and bloody idolatry. It was enough for Mr. Maurice that the Book of Genesis inforced in his opinion certain spiritual truths, and he insisted with an amazing pertinacity that apart from this book the knowledge of those truths could not have been attained. The lessons which it taught were or had been needed by Englishmen. Like the Israelites in Egypt, they had been sorely oppressed by the ecclesiastical yoke before the Reformation, and deception had gone hand in hand with tyranny. With astonishing simplicity he failed to see the irrelevance of the tirade called forth by the thought of that time of bondage.

> "If there was a Lord God who had proclaimed His commands out of heaven amidst thunders and lightnings; if He was really what He said that He was, a Lord God who brought His people out of bondage, ... then Englishmen might hold up their heads against their foes and rise up, were they ever so sunken, in the might of Him who had promised not to forsake them or forget them."[2]

Such comments, it is clear, might be drawn out to any extent, and Mr. Maurice had at his command wealth of illustrations which proved that the lessons taught by the Book of Exodus were living lessons.

> "They raised the English middle classes into moral and political existence; they ratified the great oath of the peasants at Rütli; they raised the Dominican Savonarola to be the witness against Alexander the Sixth; they made

[1] Dr. Kalisch. [2] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 70.

the German monk mightier than Charles the Fifth; their echoes woke again among the peasants of the Tyrol; they stirred the scholars of Germany to a new life; they roused the Czar of the Russias to drive back the invader who had profaned the holy shrine of Moscow." [1]

If it was the Book of Exodus, and this book only, which taught all these men their lessons, there ought surely to be some record of the fact. The force of the lessons is not disputed, but the fact that the peasants of Rütli had any intimate familiarity with the narratives of that book, or that some or many of them had any knowledge of it at all, is one rather to be proved than assumed; and it is not easy to see why Arnold of Brescia and Savonarola could only have been roused to their condemnation of sacerdotal corruption by the story of the Exodus. It is nothing less than absurd to assert that without this story the clergy would no longer be able to say to the laity:—

"The God who rules over you is verily such an *One* as this book, taken in its simplest sense, says that He is. We proclaim to you that God is the Deliverer of nations. He did not pretend that He delivered them; He actually delivered them." [2]

But such deliverance does not come always. It did not come to Harold and his brave Englishmen who fought under him at Senlac; and there has surely been no invasion marked by more monstrous wrong than that of the Norman Conqueror. Mr. Maurice's teaching may seem to be edifying, but it is really dangerous. It is dangerous because it stakes our faith on a wrong issue, and because our inference may be used to support the authority of other sacred books besides our own. We may, with Mr. Maurice, hold up the Pentateuch, and ask whether the events related in it are not all "discove-

[1] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 71. [2] *Ib.* p. 72.

ries to us of a Divine Lord, speaking to man, and of man." If we reply that this is so, our answer does not prove the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch except by involving the historical truth of the Koran. When we ask—

> "Has not this story of the Red Sea given faith to men in sore trials, when they needed something else than fictions to rest upon?"[1]

many a professor of Islam might retort—

> "Has not the history of our Prophet nerved our arm for conquest, and supported us in times of defeat and shame? Have not our heroes received fresh strength in the conviction that there is no God but God, and Mahomet is the Prophet of God?"

When we say that the books of the Pentateuch educate us, as no other books can, out of the temper of mind which makes us think of God as a very great Being who does not care about little things, when we assert that

> "they compel me to believe that God does care for the sanitary condition, for the bodily circumstances, of the people of my land, and of every other land,"[2]

we use words which might come as earnestly from the lips of a Mahometan as from our own. The lesson is in either case true and good, but it does not prove the historical truth whether of the Koran or of the Old Testament.

Mr. Maurice's canon would carry us even further than the Koran. It would prove the historical truth of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The Greek could not afford to dispense with the lessons taught by the friendship of Achilleus for Patroklos, or the still higher lessons of self-sacrifice, of filial and brotherly love, displayed in the person and the career of Hektor. Nay more, these epic poems taught them that long ago their

[1] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 104. [2] *Ib.* p. 142.

fathers were not like the barbarous Thrakian and Scythian tribes of their own day,—that the Achaians of Agamemnon had, like themselves, a respect for law, and a greater respect than they had for the equal companionship of men and women; and so these epic poems are genuine and veracious histories. After all, the evidence for facts is a matter of little consequence. Great events, like the victories of Salamis and Plataia, are truths rather than facts.

> "They are taken out of the region of letters. They do not depend any longer on the credibility of records. They have established themselves in the very existence of humanity. You cannot displace them without denying that, or remaking it anew, according to some theory or fashion of your own."[1]

These utterances of Mr. Maurice were to me unintelligible at the time when they were published, and they remain unintelligible still. But we have to note them patiently, if we would see how far he was qualified to deal with the criticisms of the Bishop of Natal, or indeed with any narrative of facts. It is hard to see what end can be attained by his method but that of complete bewilderment. Mr. Maurice spoke with something like contempt for those who "believe in nothing but contemporary testimony," and asked how Sir Cornewall Lewis could reach such a conclusion

> "with all the proofs which the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny gave him of its utter untrustworthiness."

Sir G. C. Lewis, he insisted

> "could believe in no evidence coming to his own reason and conscience; he could, after living through the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, depend upon the contemporary testimony which told him one day that the defeats of the

[1] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 75.

Russians were entirely due to the French, the next that the French had almost no share in them; one day that hundreds of men and women were mutilated by the Sepoys, the next that there were none."[1]

If, on reading these sentences, bewilderment gives place to a weaker feeling, or even vanishes, it is only because we are driven to the conclusion that, when a question is treated thus, words are wasted. Did Mr. Maurice disbelieve absolutely the occurrence of the Crimean War and of the Indian Mutiny? Whatever notions either he or any one else may entertain about either of these events, if they be events, what proofs apart from contemporary evidence can be adduced in support of either of them? If Mr. Maurice knew of any testimony which has fallen down from Jupiter, he has given no hint of his knowledge. But, in truth, all this declamation comes from the familiar logical fault of an undistributed middle. Sir Cornewall Lewis never said that all contemporary testimony was of necessity absolutely trustworthy; and most assuredly he never would have allowed that all must be worthless because some may be false.

Such statements, many of them altogether irrelevant, almost all of them proving too much, serve only to show how greatly and urgently Bishop Colenso's criticisms were needed. The device of plausible fiction has been employed, often with marvellous success, in most countries and ages; but Mr. Maurice was able to shut his eyes to the fact, and found a proof of the historical trustworthiness of the Pentateuch in the style and form of its contents. The Levitical legislation was exceedingly minute, and has very little of the air of a romance; we may therefore, forsooth, safely assign it to the age of Moses. Moses himself is not such a personage as an epic poet might picture to himself. He is described as encountering all manner of difficulties and opposition.

[1] *Life of Maurice*, vol. ii. p. 510.

"But He who has sent him prevails over the tyrant, bears with the murmurs of the slaves, educates them to trust through their distrust, orders their society, gives them laws, statutes, a tabernacle, and priests to minister in it."

We may therefore without misgiving ascribe the Levitical legislation to the time of the sojourn in the wilderness, although the sentence simply begs the whole question. With the same wonderful assurance Mr. Maurice asks his readers to give credence to the story of Noah, on the ground that it is "familiar and prosaic," although the remark applies strictly, so far as language is concerned, to every tale in the *Arabian Nights* legends. There is the less reason to distrust it, because it is "not surrounded with all kinds of romantic incidents." This may be a matter of opinion; but it is at least as easy and as reasonable to maintain that the incidents are romantic from beginning to end. The building of a house or ark larger than the largest of modern ships, the mighty procession of living things which are to inhabit it, the rising of the enormous structure with its flat floor on the swirling waters which have ingulfed a world, the success with which it keeps its balance in the tumult of the currents sweeping round a submerged globe, the story of the dove and of the olive-branch which has been some miles under water for a year or more, keeping its leaves still green, are surely not familiar incidents of every-day life; but if they were, such incidents cannot of themselves give weight to any narrative. Some of the legends of Numa Pompilius are familiar and prosaic. The constitution of Servius Tullius is exceedingly minute and utterly free from the slightest admixture of romance. It is as calm, sober, and practical as an English Act of Parliament; and yet it is nothing more than an elaborate piece of plausible fiction, thrust into a narrative of traditions which are utterly incredible and impossible. It

does not, indeed, follow that because the constitution of Servius has no reality, therefore the Levitical legislation is a fiction ; but it is absurd to infer the reality of the latter from the particularity of its details or the homeliness of the language in which its precepts are conveyed.

To all such considerations Mr. Maurice shut his eyes, while yet his own method was both eclectic and rationalistic. It was eclectic, because he chose to dwell on those parts of the narrative which told in favour of his teaching, while he made no reference to other portions which told against it. It was rationalistic, because in many cases he substituted a narrative of his own in place of that which he professed to receive as the Mosaic record. It is true that this method may be applied to the Koran ; and it may be rightly applied, so long as it is done openly. There are some Suras which are as nearly perfect as any words uttered by human lips can be ; and if in dealing with the Pentateuch we say plainly that we are separating the gold from the alloy, the process is thoroughly legitimate. But it is disingenuous and sophistical to leave the impression that the alloy either is absent or is infinitesimally small. This is what the Bishop of Natal refused to do, and what Mr. Maurice did systematically. The latter omitted all mention of laws which appear cruel and actions which seem inhuman, when these laws are stated to proceed, and these actions to receive encouragement, from God. He would not assert in so many words that God gave His expressed sanction to the laws of slavery, concubinage, and marriage,—to the extermination of whole nations, whose extermination was never accomplished or attempted,—to wholesale massacres of enemies and prisoners. He denied in plain terms [1] that Jewish slavery was caused or decreed by God, although the whole legislation about slaves is asserted to come from God as distinctly as the declaration that He

[1] *Sermons on the Old Testament*, Sermon XVI. p. 306.

dwells in the high and holy place with those that are of a contrite heart and humble spirit. Some might, perhaps, be perplexed to know what Mr. Maurice meant by the Divine sanction; and on this difficulty some light may be thrown by the following words:—

> "The Jewish legislator, referring all his wisdom, all the sanction of his laws, to the unseen Deliverer and Ruler, sinking himself altogether, exhibiting the sins of his family and tribe, conferred a blessing upon Israelites which we can only appreciate by considering its effects on those who accepted his words most strictly." [1]

If we accept Mr. Maurice's words strictly, it would follow that in every single instance in which Moses or other Hebrew leaders and judges propounded a law or an ordinance under the sanction, "Thus saith the Lord God," he or they were referring their wisdom to the unseen Deliverer and Ruler; and that when they claimed that sanction for the law of jealousy or the massacre of the Midianite children, they were only sinking themselves altogether, out of reverence to Him in whom all live, move, and are. It would follow, further, that the words of the Hebrew prophets are utterances of deep moral conviction, coming from men who habitually refer their thoughts to God, and sink their own individuality in the sanction which they claim for their words. If this was (and there can be little doubt that it was) his meaning, Mr. Maurice was virtually saying that, while God speaks in every true word contained in the Pentateuch and every other part of the Bible, yet the book contains at least some things which do not proceed from Him at all. It would have been more simple and straightforward to say this, instead of indulging in generalisations which exhibit the Hebrew Scriptures as a grand and harmonious unity never marred by the faintest

[1] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 143.

discord. So thinking and speaking, Mr. Maurice naturally disliked any careful or rigorous handling of these old narratives. It is perhaps his strongest ground of complaint against the Bishop of Natal that he assumed the Pentateuch to be giving

> "not a revelation of God's ways to men, of His mode of governing men and holding intercourse with them, but a narrative of events which are unlike any other events that have happened in any generation since." [1]

Mr. Maurice was, as usual, overstating his case. The Bishop had treated the story simply as a narrative of historical events, to be tested by the rules which are applied to all events in any generation whether before or since. In so doing, the Bishop was only applying to Jewish history the method which had been already applied to the ancient traditions of Greece and Rome, of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, and India. There remained only the earlier history of the Jews to serve as a field for the same rigorous scrutiny. That history, like the traditional history of Rome, was found on examination to present a number of narratives more or less contradictory, with details apparently as inconsistent as they were minute. It exhibited a chronology not less artificial, and institutional legends not less clearly declaring their own character; while, to complete the parallel, it contained an elaborate political and religious legislation, of the actual existence of which the subsequent history of the people fails to give sufficient, if indeed any, evidence. The conclusion was inevitable. The traditions of the Hebrew nation before the rise of contemporary writers could not be accepted as authentic history. The traditions themselves might inforce the sublimest of all lessons, the most precious of all truths. The critic was concerned with the simple question of fact. They might

[1] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 102.

contain much real history mixed up with the colouring of legend; but the critic had no warrant for determining positively in every instance what was fact and what was fiction. Such was the simple conclusion to which an examination of the Pentateuch brought the Bishop of Natal: and this is the simple question, which must be held up as the only point at issue. It matters not what or how great may be the interests or the hopes involved, or supposed to be involved, in it. We have before us, in the early Hebrew history, a narrative of alleged facts; and each one of these alleged facts either took place or did not take place. That history may exhibit lessons which we can ill afford to part with. It may carry with it, for certain minds, a consolation and encouragement which they will tell us that they cannot do without. But the Mosaic and Levitical legislation remains, nevertheless, as much the subject of historical criticism as the reforms of the Spartan Lycurgus or the constitution of Servius Tullius.

But, having so overstated the case, Mr. Maurice added that the Bishop

> "demands that there should be a minute accuracy in all the details of these events, to insure *their* credibility, which would not be needed to insure the credibility of any other events."

To a certain extent this depends on the judge; and as a judge Sir Cornewall Lewis would have been probably far more rigorous than the Bishop of Natal. Not content with this, Mr. Maurice further insisted that "the moment he missed that accuracy," the whole narrative was dismissed as worthless. This charge was both unjust and untrue, although Mr. Maurice had no wish to be either untrue or unjust. Was it a "minute inaccuracy" which carries the life of Adam down to that of Noah, and makes the life of Noah overlap, or

nearly overlap, that of Abraham; or which records as actually working from the time of the Sinaitic sojourn a legislation to whose existence the later history bears little testimony or none? The results might, of course, be unwelcome. They would be so in the highest degree to a mind which, like that of Mr. Maurice, could not see the positive gain which might often come from negative conclusions.

> "Researches into ancient history which lead to merely negative results are important and useful, as well as similar researches which lead to positive results. They distinguish between fiction—which, however diverting, instructive, and elevating, can never be historical—and reality, which is a necessary attribute of an historical narrative."[1]

These are the words of Sir Cornewall Lewis, than whom in this domain of ancient history few critics have been more destructive. But it would be absurd to say that even under his potent wand the whole of early Roman history vanishes into air. The cardinal fact of that history is the conflict of the several orders in the State; and that fact remains, and is borne out by the subsequent history of the commonwealth; or, in Mr. Maurice's language, we still have that from which we may draw "lessons." It would not be less absurd and untrue to say that all Jewish history vanished at the touch of the Bishop of Natal. The Exodus remained, with the ascendency acquired by a poor and exiled people over the inhabitants of a land in which they had once sojourned themselves. There is still the sharp contrast between them and the Canaanitish tribes by the belief of their leaders in one Living God, and by their possession of a law higher than any known to the nations whether of Palestine or of Egypt. There remained, in fact, enough to yield all those lessons which animated the countrymen of Wyclif and Cranmer,

[1] Sir G. C. Lewis, *On the Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 433.

and nerved the hearts of the sturdy peasants who met at Rütli. Bishop Colenso did not, indeed, profess to receive the narrative as it stood; and in this lay his strength. Mr. Maurice did profess this; and the result was language which had too much the likeness of sophistry. The lay correspondent whose question led to the writing of the book on *The Claims of the Bible and of Science* had spoken of many as fearing that, "if once they allow the historical reality of the physical account of the Deluge to be called in question, they are guilty of doubting the word of Him who is Truth"; and on this point Mr. Maurice gave the following explanation:—

> "There may be an historical reality in that which does not in the least correspond with those facts with which the physical student is occupied. It might be true of a deluge covering a very small portion of the earth, that God saved a man and his family from perishing in it; that He gave him a warning of the calamity which was coming, before it came; that He taught him how to save his family, and how to save creatures of various kinds in the same building in which he himself took refuge. All this might be a very simple, child-like narrative of an historical fact, not in the least legendary."[1]

Of course it might; and if Mr. Maurice had intended to give this as the historical nucleus round which the Noachian story had grown up, it may safely be said that no objection would have been offered by the Bishop of Natal. But it did not follow that because this nucleus was historical the Noachian narrative was historical also. The inference would rather be the other way; but whatever Mr. Maurice's hypothetical story might be, it was not the narrative of the Book of Genesis, and it violated the Mosaic record in its essential particulars. That record spoke of a flood over all the earth,

[1] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 109.

covering the high hills; of the gathering of all living creatures of every kind; of the destruction of every living thing which did not enter the ark, and of every living substance on the face of the ground, although the olive-branch survived with its leaves several miles under water. It was a strange method of dealing with the Book of Genesis. According to Sir Cornewall Lewis, any fact of history is a fixed quantity; from Mr. Maurice's words we might suppose that it was an elastic line. That the plain statements of the tale involved some difficulty, he was constrained to admit; but he asked:—

"Has then that length or breadth anything to do with it? I should say 'absolutely nothing,' if I did not reflect that just in proportion as my thoughts of the earth expand, I must treat the *principle*—the *law* of this narrative—as also expanding. If it was true once that God punished men for their lust and violence, it is so still."[1]

Who doubts it? But why is it said? The remark applies with fully equal force to the overthrow of Xerxes, and Herodotus insists on the lesson again and again with all the earnestness of Mr. Maurice. But although he had thus got rid of some of the restraints of ordinary historical criticism, Mr. Maurice had still some qualms, and he proceeded to allay these by objecting that, for Bishop Colenso,

"a small fact is no fact at all. Noah's deluge must have been universal, else why make so much of it? I reply, because the whole Bible is occupied about small areas, little families, contemptible tribes."[2]

Mr. Maurice may have made this statement in good faith. It is, nevertheless, not true. It is absurd to speak of kings who could make equal alliances with some of the mightiest monarchies of the East as the sovereigns of little families or

[1] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 111. [2] *Ib.* p. 114.

contemptible tribes, absurd to speak of the empire of Solomon as a small area; and the account of this empire is certainly included in "the whole Bible." It remains further an open question whether the historian of the Deluge was altogether unacquainted with the larger area which extended "from the one sea to the other—from the flood unto the world's end." Here, however, as elsewhere, Mr. Maurice escaped with instinctive eagerness into that ethereal region in which alone he could breathe freely, and then returned to defend himself against the charge of cowardice for not informing his people that they have been deceiving themselves in heeding the story of "a deluge." This contempt he admitted that he should deserve, if ever he bade them hold any opinion about the Deluge which he "did not hold" himself. What then was his opinion? The Book of Genesis asserts that the flood was universal: he had said that it was very partial. The former says that all species were represented in the ark: Mr. Maurice said that some only were sheltered in it. The Mosaic record maintains that all other men and all other flesh died: Mr. Maurice declared that, for all we know, a great many in other parts of the earth may have remained alive. He had left scarcely an incident of the narrative unmodified, and then asked his readers to heed the story of *a* deluge, when the simple question was whether the Noachian story, and no other, is a matter of fact or not. It is mere specious argument, if it be not rank absurdity, to talk of the *principle* of the story. There are thousands of overwhelming calamities which, if the Noachian Deluge were proved to be the merest fiction, might still teach us that God "punishes men for their lust and violence." Only we have received a caution not to judge those who were crushed by the falling tower in Siloam, or the earthquake of Lisbon.

In short, Mr. Maurice, in these criticisms on Bishop Colenso, dealt with the Mosaic story of the Deluge much as Thucydides

treated the tale of the Trojan War. It is conceivably possible that both Mr. Maurice and Thucydides may have hit upon the real historical residuum in each case ; but we cannot have any warrant or evidence for this, beyond their own word. In both the tales the several incidents form one coherent whole. In the Trojan story,

> "If we are asked whether it be not a legend embodying portions of historical matter and raised upon a basis of truth; whether there may not really have occurred at the foot of the hill of Priam a war purely human and political, without gods, without heroes, without Helens, without Amazons, without Ethiopians under the beautiful son of Eôs; . . . . if we are asked whether there was not really some such historical Trojan war as this, our answer must be that, as the possibility of it cannot be denied, so neither can the reality of it be affirmed."[1]

It is not easy to see what would under any circumstances be gained by dissecting in the same fashion the Noachian story of the Deluge, and then talking of the principle of an event which, in the form propounded, had been really fabricated by Mr. Maurice himself. Had Mr. Maurice put forth these conclusions as his own, *in place* of the Noachian story as it has come down to us, it would have shown at once that he ranked the Pentateuch with all other histories, although the soundness of the method by which he reached the residuum might still be questioned. Critics like Sir Cornewall Lewis might have said that he spoke too positively about events which belong to a pre-historic age; but the admission that Mr. Maurice regarded the history of the Pentateuch as a fair subject for scrutiny would have gone far towards quieting the stormy waters of the controversy provoked by the publication of the Bishop's volumes. It would have shown that he shared

[1] Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 434.

Dean Milman's conviction that "the words of Christ, and His words alone (the primal, indefeasible truths of Christianity) shall not pass away."[1] It would have dealt another blow on that exaggerated or false dogmatism which has overlaid those words by doctrines which are not His. It would also have shown that the vast gulf which Mr. Maurice supposed to intervene between himself and the Bishop of Natal was really but a narrow channel created by his own unreasonable and unreasoning fears.

We should, however, be doing Mr. Maurice a gross injustice were we to put out of sight the really vast gulf which separated him from the rank and file of those who came forward to uphold what they called the authority and inspiration of the Scriptures. For him every narrative even of the earliest books of the Old Testament was instinct with a living spirit; and this spirit was the Spirit of the God of Truth, of Righteousness, and of Love. These books revealed to him nothing but things lovely, and beautiful, and of good report. They pointed to the conflict between truth and falsehood, and to the great consummation in the victory of righteousness over sin. They left him, therefore, precisely on the ground on which the Bishop of Natal had taken his stand, although they had reached it by opposite ways. The former had insisted on his right to draw all these lessons from these books, and to contend, by some strange mental process, that apart from these books they could not have been learnt at all. The latter showed that in many, if not in most, cases, these narratives did not teach the lessons so extracted from them, and that Mr. Maurice's attitude in the matter gave unfortunate encouragement to those who made use of their Bibliolatry to inforce on the people the most horrible falsehoods and superstitions. It is useless to blink the facts of the case. The Bishop of Natal had tested the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch,

[1] *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vi. book xiv. ch. x. p. 447.

partly because he was moved by a natural desire for historical knowledge, as for all other truth; partly by a wish to throw off the yoke which thrust on him as historically true a narrative some of which at the least is uncertain; but, most of all, by a longing to take away the foundation of those cruel notions or doctrines which are scarcely less fatal than the Manicheeism of Simeon Stylites,—in short, to break the chains of a cruel and deadly tyranny. It may be true that no great amount of arithmetic would be needed to "induce men," in Mr. Maurice's words, "to throw off the incubus of an authority which they suppose exists to curse them;" [1] but it is equally true that they who represent God as dooming "the immense majority of His creatures to hopeless destruction," profess to speak on the authority and by the command of an infallible book. The blow struck against this fetish worship had called forth an outburst of this malignant dogmatism. The Primate himself had declared that the endless torturing of individual sinners was our only warrant or assurance for the endless happiness of the righteous, and that the latter must fall with the former. Another, pleading expressly the sanction of the New Testament, held that it would be an insult to the saved if a harlot or a thief dying impenitent were admitted, after atonement extended over billions of years, to take but the lowest room in the house of their Father and Redeemer.[2] On this sanction, together with the authority of that which he spoke of as the Church, this same writer condemned, not to the *limbus puerorum*, or limbo of children, but to the hell of bodily torture, all infants dying unbaptized.[3] To these he had unquestionably the authority of Fulgentius for adding those who die before birth in their mother's womb. Against this horrible blasphemy the Bishop of Natal and Mr. Maurice were both fighting; and we have to

[1] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 136

[2] *Christian Remembrancer*, April 1863, p. 476. [3] *Ib.* p. 477.

remember that Mr. Maurice had come forth first to bear his righteous testimony. While he was reproaching the Bishop for taking away the foundations of trust, he was also denouncing

> "the popular interpretation, not for its severity, but for the practical laxity which its fierceness engenders, ... because it deters from no crime, and cultivates the despair which is the cause of ten thousand crimes."

While he looked on his friend as obscuring the light of the Divine Love, he was uttering the golden words—

> "If I preached that there would be no deliverance from eternal death, I should be preaching that no sinner can be raised from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God."[1]

He who could thus speak might well have withheld the hard words which he cast at the Bishop of Natal. But, great and good man though he was, in Mr. Maurice the historical sense was very weak. He was but scantly capable of weighing the laws and applying the tests of historical credibility; and hence it was that, in dealing with alleged records and statements of facts, his method assumed, in the eyes of men who wished simply to know the truth of facts, very much the appearance of sophistry, although he expressed just indignation at the

> "race of quacks who can always prove what they are wanted to prove."

Strange to say, the utterance of his censure is followed by an attempt to prove the harmony of the two accounts of Creation, which provokes a comparison with the mysticism that spoke of the seven sons of Job as meaning the twelve Apostles, and of his daughters as representing the faithful laity. It was,

[1] *Claims of the Bible and of Science*, p. 133.

therefore, scarcely possible for him to do justice to the Bishop of Natal, who broached no theory, who put forth no hypothesis, propounded no solutions, but set himself sedulously to determine the historical value of certain professedly historical records.

The controversy provoked by Bishop Colenso's writings raised some curious side issues. For the time High Churchmen and Low Churchmen alike seemed united in their enthusiasm for a book (or series of books) which they regarded as a direct gift from God; and of Broad Churchmen or muscular Christians some at least seemed resolved that they would not allow others to outrun them in their zeal. But it never seems to have struck any of them that they might have to encounter difficulties with other prodigies than those related in the Bible, or to defend themselves against home-thrusts on the score of relic worship. Of these champions of Christendom not a few insisted that the Hebrew Scriptures had during three or more millenniums been preserved by special Divine interposition from mutilation, interpolation, or corruption, that they were in short like a picture or a statue fresh from the hands of the painter or the sculptor; and they insisted with not less vehemence that a series of wonderful incidents recorded in those books were all historical facts, and that no other wonderful incidents could be included under the same term. Prominent among these was Mr. Kingsley, who, being then Modern History Professor at Cambridge, undertook to hurl his lance first at the Bishop of Natal, and then at Dr. Newman. The discussions which ensued threw a singular light first on the arbitrary method which regarded as fact certain miracles because related in particular writings, as against others because they were not recorded in those books; and next on the dogged pertinacity which will take up any ground rather than give up the genuineness of a relic. Mr. Kingsley had applied some very strong language to Dr. Newman, charging him, among other things, with "stupendous

silliness" because he thought it difficult or impossible to withstand the evidence which is brought for the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, and also because he thought that the holy coat of Treves may possibly or probably be a genuine relic, whereas "the very texture and material of the thing prove it" to Mr. Kingsley's satisfaction "to be spurious." But Mr. Kingsley had read, or he ought to have read, the preface on ecclesiastical miracles which Dr. Newman had prefixed to a translation of a part of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*, and in which he argued that the question of miracles is one wholly of evidence, and that the fact of a miracle in any age or country must be accepted if the evidence offered for it be adequate. It followed from this that no sharp line could, as Mr. Kingsley held that it could, be drawn, on one side of which miracles are possible, on the other impossible. It would be absurd, therefore, to say that they ceased with the close of the Apostolic age, or with the conversion of Constantine, or to deny that they may be extended down to our own time. Logically, therefore, no one who accepted the miracles of the Bible could reject contemptuously the miracles of St. Augustine or St. Boniface without examining the evidence in each case; and any one who urged difficulties with regard to the latter must be prepared to face difficulties which may be urged against the former. But Mr. Kingsley would have it that, as miracles do not occur nowadays, modern narratives of miracles must be false; and he insisted at the same time that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, settling the debate by the triumphant question, "If Moses did not write the Pentateuch, who did?" Dr. Newman had his own answer ready, and the following words, though nowhere used by him, may be taken as fairly representing it.

> If I believe that the blood of St. Januarius liquefied at Naples, you believe that a long time ago an ass spoke with

articulate human speech; that an iron axe-head was made to float on the water, instead of remaining at the bottom; that handkerchiefs which had touched an Apostle's body were endued with the power of healing diseases. If I see no special harm in people crowding to look at the coat at Treves, you have no special condemnation for those who fancied that their sicknesses would be cured if merely the shadow of an Apostle passing by fell on them. Moreover, for my belief I may bring up the testimony of a hundred living witnesses: to what can you refer me but to the mere statement of a record which does not profess to be contemporary, and for which there is no corroborative evidence whatever? If I believe in the genuineness of the holy coat, do you not believe in the genuineness of the Pentateuch? Have you not been calling the Bishop of Natal hard names, and charging him with abandonment of the faith, because he asserts, and gives his reasons for thinking, that your holy coat is no genuine relic, inasmuch as "the very texture and material of the thing prove it to be spurious"? If I believe that portions of the true cross are at Rome and elsewhere, do you not hold that not a portion only but the whole, or something very like the whole, of the writings of Moses have come down to us in their integrity? If the tradition of the Jews, who, as you say, ought to know best, is that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, does not the tradition of Catholics, who ought to know best, affirm that the holy coat was worn by our Lord? What are the difficulties against this supposition compared with those which Bishop Colenso has urged against your theory of the authorship of the Pentateuch? I see that in your opinion the debate is ended by asking, "If Moses did not write these books, who did?" Bentley, as the Bishop of Natal remarks, would, of course, have said that it was no part of his business to determine, if Phalaris did not write the epistles of Phalaris, who did write them. But at the least I have as good a right to ask, "If the holy coat is not the work of those who wove it for our Lord, whose work is it?"

It is strange, indeed, that Mr. Kingsley should not have seen with how serious a matter he was dealing. He was bound, by the terms of Dr. Newman's *Essay*, to prove that miracles called ecclesiastical stand on a different footing from those in the Bible. He attempted nothing of the sort; but he turned savagely on the Bishop of Natal because he called into question the genuineness of a relic about which Mr. Kingsley refused to entertain a doubt. These facts alone would suffice to show not merely how thoroughly the Bishop of Natal was justified in undertaking his task, but how urgently his work was called for. If the clergy and laity of the Church of England had seen things in the light in which they were beheld by Dr. Thirlwall, all the criticisms proving that the really historical residuum in the Pentateuch was less than they had taken it to be would have been received with interest indeed, but dispassionately, as in no way affecting any higher concerns. Questions relating to the families of the Patriarchs, to the sojourn of the Israelites first in Egypt, then in the desert, to the promulgation of the moral, the civil, and ecclesiastical codes, would have been treated on the footing of questions relating to the expulsion and return of the Herakleids, to the legislation of Lykourgos (Lycurgus) or Drakon (Draco), of Solon, or Numa, or Manu. One man, and one man only, amongst the Bishops of English sees, had the insight to discern and the courage to say this, and he said it with a clearness which left no room for misapprehension.[1] In his judgement we were no more called upon to explain away difficulties in the story of Samson, or in the annals of the children of Jacob, than to take part in the search for the philosopher's stone or the elixir of life. But the replies which came forth in shoals on the publication of each part of the Bishop's work implied without exception that, if the defence of these narratives were not made good,

[1] See p. 310.

Christianity itself must fall. The Bishop's First Part pointed out the self-contradictions in the accounts of the children and grandchildren of Jacob, and other like difficulties in the earlier portions of the Pentateuch; and the self-styled orthodox champions hurried into the fight without waiting to see whether their labours might not all be rendered useless by arguments and evidence still to be adduced. Such evidence was produced in the Third Part, which had for its special object to show the composite character of the Pentateuch, and the later date at which much of it must have come into existence. On the supposition that it was all the work of one author, some of the explanations proffered might seem to prop up a tottering wall; but if it should be proved that it was not, and could not be, the work of one author, then these efforts must, as the Bishop insisted,

> "be dismissed at once as merely ingenious attempts—like the cycles and epicycles of the old Ptolemaic system of astronomy—to build up a theory which has no real foundation in fact, and which falls at last by the weight of its own cumbrous additions, and must be swept away together with them." [1]

Some of these pleaders seemed to think that, if they shifted a difficulty ever so slightly, they had got rid of it altogether. The Bishop had pointed out the very astonishing consequences involved in the directions given to the priest, Leviticus iv. 12, about the carrying of the dead victims to a place without the camp. The Bishop had treated this as a task imposed upon the priest personally; and at once a broadside was opened against his Hebrew scholarship, and his folly in forgetting that the verb had here a causal meaning. The point is by no means certain; but the difficulty remains much where it was.

> "I am quite ready," the Bishop rejoined, "to admit that the Hebrew word here employed *may* be used in the sense of

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. viii.

carrying out with the help of others. But the stress of my argument is not laid upon the necessity of the priest himself in person doing this, but upon the fact that it *had to be done by somebody*,—that all the ashes, offal, and filth of every kind, for a vast city as large as London, without any kind of sewage arrangements, had to be carried out daily through the crowded streets a distance of six miles."[1]

Difficulties such as these were met by Mr. Maurice with an indignant remonstrance against the temper which could cast such foulness in his face,[2] when the only matter of any moment was the training of the people to the conviction of the Divine rule and the Divine love. To this, again, no objection needed to be made, provided only that all were ready with Mr. Maurice to treat the Pentateuch merely as a storehouse of wholesome lessons and edifying instruction. The case was altered when others spoke as if the way was made fairly clear by the hypothesis that many of the laws were never meant to be carried out in the wilderness. Thus they disposed of the difficulty about the pigeons or turtledoves, although these are ordered, as the story states, by Jehovah Himself, as an easy offering for a poor man to bring, with express reference to their life in the wilderness.[3]

This method of putting a part for the whole runs through many or most of the replies put forth to the Bishop's earlier volumes. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*[4] eulogized an anonymous layman's treatise[5] as effectually disposing "of the greater part of Dr. Colenso's objections" by appealing "entirely to the direct evidence of the Pentateuch itself, interpreted by common-sense." The Reviewer was mistaken. The objections in general were not removed at all; and it is

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. xiv.

[2] He had himself already spoken of sanitary laws as a necessary part of the Divine work. See p. 433.

[3] *Pentateueh*, Part II. p. xiv.

[4] No. 240, p. 505.

[5] *The Historic Character of the Pentateuch Vindicated.*

obvious (1) that, so long as any remained, the ground taken by Mr. Burgon and Dr. Baylee was lost; and (2) that it was only against this position that the Bishop's labours were directed. Had it been universally admitted that the narratives of the Pentateuch were records comparable precisely with the records of the invasion of Xerxes, or the exploits of the Roman kings, the "intelligent Zulu" would have had no need to put his searching questions, or, if he had, even Lord Macaulay's school-boy would have known how to answer them. The layman's method, however, affected to dispose of one of the chief difficulties connected with the numbers of the Israelites at the time of the Exodus by assuming that Jacob went down into Egypt with "a thousand or more" followers, who were all reckoned as his children, and as the forefathers of the two or three millions who escaped from captivity; and this in the teeth of the plain statement in Deuteronomy (x. 22), "Thy fathers went down into Egypt with three score and ten persons," and although, as the Bishop adds,

> "it is equally plain that ten asses (Genesis xiii. 26, 27) could scarcely have brought up corn enough from Egypt to support a thousand servants, besides Jacob's own children and grandchildren, for twelve months in a time of famine."

After the same fashion the perplexities involved in the numbers of the priests are supposed to be met by the supposition that the priests formed originally five households, of which Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar were the heads; that each of the families consisted of about forty souls, including a considerable number of servants; and that all the males of the proper age among them all were reckoned as sons of Aaron, and priests, although it is distinctly stated that there were only three. Another objection, which, the layman allowed, would, if established, be fatal to the entire argument, was thought to be disposed of by the

assertion that the first-borns of man were not to be "openers of the womb," although it is distinctly stated (Exodus xiii. 2) that they were.

The Bishops generally seemed to think it their duty to treat Dr. Colenso's work as almost beneath contempt. Bishop Wilberforce spoke of his arguments as "but the repetition of old and often-answered cavils," but at the same time denounced the book as doing an amount of evil which it was difficult to estimate. If Bishop Wilberforce meant that these arguments had been satisfactorily and conclusively answered, it was surely nothing less than his duty, and that of all his colleagues on the bench who agreed with him, to put forth these answers, and commend them with their solemn sanction to the whole body of the faithful. But nothing of the sort was done, or seemingly even thought of. Of collective action there was none. Individually some of them pronounced his criticisms to be "rash and feeble," "unfounded, false, and childish;" and one of them in one short letter, forbidding him to minister in his diocese, applied either to him or to his work the following choice expressions—"heretical," "blasphemous," "abominable," "unhappy," "blind," "daring," "ignorant self-sufficiency," "instrument of Satan," "poor Bishop Colenso."[1]

In truth, while from all parts of the country he was receiving letters of sympathy from clergymen and laymen, urging him to carry on and complete his labours, he might well confess himself disappointed at the course adopted towards him by the great body of his episcopal brethren.

"I had no reason," he said, "to suppose that I should receive from *all* of them expressions of sympathy or encouraging help in my work. . . . But I did not imagine that so many Bishops of England, with the Bishop of Oxford at their head, would have absolutely ignored the existence of such a science as Biblical criticism, and its undoubted and

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. xv.

undeniable results in its application to the earlier Hebrew Scriptures. I believed that there were men of science and scholars among them, who, being acquainted generally with these results, would be aware of their reality and importance, and who would feel it to be impossible, in this age of inquiry, any longer to bar out their admission, as facts to be taken account of, like any of the facts of science, by the more intelligent minds of the Church of England. I had hoped that their influence would have prevailed to check the hasty judgement of others, less informed than themselves on these matters ; and that if my episcopal brethren generally, did not think it expedient to hold out to me a brotherly right hand of fellowship—if they condemned me as going too far in my conclusions, or as reasoning too confidently on insufficient premises—they would at least have recognised that my arguments were not altogether without some real foundation, and ought to be judged upon their merits, ought to be considered, and, if need be, checked and corrected, not merely thrown aside with contemptuous language, as unfounded and ridiculous. I could not have believed, for instance, that the Bishop of Oxford would have ventured to say that my 'speculations, so rash and feeble in themselves,' are 'in all essential points but the repetition of old and often-answered cavils against the Word of God,' and still less that his Grace the Primate of All England would have pronounced, with the high authority of his office, that my objections 'are, for the most part, puerile and trite; so puerile that an intelligent youth who read his Bible with care, could draw the fitting answers from the Bible itself—so trite that they have been again and again refuted, two hundred years ago by Archbishop Ussher, one of the most learned analysts of this or of any country, more recently by Bishop Watson and others.'" [1]

If nothing more was needed for their complete refutation than the intelligence of an average youth who read his Bible carefully, the great learning of Archbishop Ussher must have

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. xviii.

been wasted on a task unworthy of his powers. But not one word of the Primate's statement was true in fact; and, as the Bishop of Natal temperately urged, "the writings of Archbishop Ussher and Bishop Watson will throw no light whatever upon the most important questions which are here discussed." But, in truth, Archbishop Longley allowed himself to use language which, if employed for instance in the long controversies on the origin, growth, or composition of the Homeric poems, would have covered the critic with disgrace. Not content with expressing his contempt for the Bishop's "puerilities," he ranged the readers of his book into three ranks or categories—the ignorant, the half-informed, and those who rejoiced "in anything which can free them from the troublesome restraints of religion." This is one of those vast falsehoods of which we may hope that Archbishop Longley, were he Primate still, would be now ashamed. But the Bishop, now as always unruffled, replied simply :—

"The object of my whole book is to bind the consciences of men more imperatively than ever by the law of true religion, which is the law of life and happiness. But inasmuch as multitudes have already broken loose from the restraints of that traditional teaching, which they know to be contradicted by some of the most familiar results of modern science, now made the common heritage of every educated English child, I believe that I have only done my duty, as a minister of the National Church, in endeavouring to re-establish a permanent union between the teachings of religion and science, and to heal effectively that breach between them, which otherwise will assuredly widen day by day, with infinite injury to the Church itself, and to the whole community." [1]

But again and again the Bishops tried to divert the controversy to false issues. They would have it, for instance,

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. xviii.

that Dr. Colenso "denied the inspiration of the Bible." He had not done so, and indeed he had not in these volumes entered into the question at all. His only aim had been "to examine critically the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua," with the special purpose of determining, as far as possible, the age and authorship of the different books. They insisted further that he wished to prove the whole Pentateuch, and, in fact, the whole Bible, to be untrue. Nothing, he replied, could be further from his wish and purpose.

"Rather," he said, "I desire to know what *is* true in the Pentateuch history, and in the Bible generally. I wish to know, if possible, in what age, by what persons, under what circumstances, the different portions of the Bible were written, that I may be able to judge for myself, and help others to judge, the amount of credibility to be attached to the different narratives. . . . . The process of critical inquiry, so far from eliciting proofs and confirmations of the Mosaic origin of these books, leads quite to the opposite conclusion. All the arguments drawn from an examination of the Pentateuch point in one direction. It is well to observe this. There is literally *nothing* in these books distinctly indicative of Mosaic authorship. The whole force of the argument for that authorship rests upon tradition, and may be referred back to the opinion of the Jews who lived nearly a thousand years after the date assigned to Moses. It is not a question of *balanced internal evidence*, but a case where there is a *host* of indications all tending to show diversity of authorship and late date, and *none* discoverable, by all the ingenuity yet brought to bear upon the subject, which tends decidedly the other way; and the supporters of the traditional view will be found to be constantly occupied—not in producing 'internal evidence' to show that Moses *did* write the Pentateuch, but—in trying to account for the existence, on the assumption of his authorship, of so much internal evidence of the contrary. In short, the strength of the resistance to the critical

conclusion lies in the feeling that we do not *like* to think that those books could have grown up in the way which the 'internal evidence' clearly indicates,—the way in which, be it observed, the religious books of all other nations are known to have been formed."

"I have felt it to be my duty," he went on to say, "to lay the facts of the case before the English reader. . . . . I believe that I have succeeded in this to some extent, though I must confess that I have been surprised at the amount of ingenuity which, even in an age like this, can still be expended in framing all kinds of possible or impossible ways of escape from the most overwhelming difficulties."

Further than this, the Bishops charged him with imputing dishonesty to the clergy generally for concealing their views about the Deluge, and using the Baptismal Form of Prayer without believing it. The charge was not true; and if any words used by him could fairly be made to express this meaning, he would, he said, have regretted and apologized for the use of language capable of being so misconstrued.[1] He had acted simply in self-defence. Accused of dishonesty himself, in retaining his clerical office while disbelieving many or most of the details of the story of the Exodus, he replied

"that Wyclif did not retire from his sacred office, though disbelieving the doctrines of the Church of which he was a minister; and that Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, and other Bishops, though consecrated as Bishops of the Roman Church, and bound by the solemn vows of their ordination in that Church, did not resign their sees as soon as they became Protestant Bishops, and the National Church by the national will had become Protestant also; nor afterwards, when, by the same will, the Church ceased to be Protestant, and once more became Romanised. But I felt that in the present instance there was far less reason for urging upon me such a course as a plain duty, inasmuch as

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. xxi.

very many of the clergy, I believed, and certainly not a few of my episcopal brethren, did *not* accept the story of the Noachian deluge as literally and historically true, and yet justified themselves in retaining their offices in the Church. If my conduct was dishonest, so, too, was theirs; for my 'dishonesty,' surely, could not consist in openly professing that which others secretly held."[1]

Far, however, from imputing dishonesty to them, he gave certain reasons which he thought would satisfy different classes of minds, and enable them still with a clear conscience to use the form of prayer which referred to that narrative.

But the disingenuousness of the great majority of the prelates of the Church of England was shown still more glaringly in the joint letter which they addressed to the Bishop of Natal, calling upon him to resign.[2] They were well aware that the position of the clergy in England had been much affected by recent decisions of the Court of Arches and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and that the effect of these judgements was greatly to extend the range of their freedom. Of some of these facts the Bishop of Natal could not be aware at the time of writing some of the sentences on which the prelates fastened; but they proceeded, nevertheless, to judge him out of his own mouth, without betraying any consciousness that the circumstances of the case were no longer what they had been.

"(1) We understand you to say," they wrote, "that you do not now believe that which you voluntarily professed to believe as the indispensable condition of your being intrusted with your present office.

"(2) We understand you to say that you have entertained, and have not abandoned, the conviction that you could not use the Ordination Service, inasmuch as in it you must

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. xxiii.

[2] See p. 236.

require from others a solemn declaration that they 'unfeignedly believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments,' which, with the evidence now before you, it is impossible wholly to believe in.

"(3) We understand you further to intimate that those who think with you are precluded from using the Baptismal Service, and consequently (as we must infer) other offices of the Prayer Book, unless they omit all such passages as assume the truth of the Mosaic history."

The comments added to these three suppositions show that they were meant to serve as nooses to catch an unwary victim. How different the comments might have been, and how different the results following from those comments, the Bishops were not aware. Their words had not ascribed to the Bishop of Natal any definite offence, or shown that these three headings involved any offence at all. They do not state what it was that the Bishop of Natal had, at the time of his ordination, voluntarily professed to believe; and it did not of necessity follow that, in believing this, whatever it may have been, he was right. The fact is that he was not right, and one at least of the English Bishops, Dr. Thirlwall, of St. David's, felt that he had not been right. Had all of them seen things as Bishop Thirlwall saw them, their comments would have taken probably the following form :—

We understand you to say that you no longer hold a certain belief which you held at the time of your ordination; and from your writings we gather that you felt yourself bound by this belief to accept every single incident in the narratives of the Hebrew Scriptures as historical fact. We are thankful to be able to disabuse you of a mistaken notion, and to assure you that in accusing yourself of failure in duty by abandoning this notion you were led astray by an over-sensitive and scrupulous conscience. Your error lay in the old belief or idea, not in the abandonment of it. We are aware that such ideas are still entertained by some

amongst both the clergy and the laity; but it is a groundless superstition. The Church holds, and has always held, that the voice of God may be heard in the Scriptures of the Old Testament and of the New; but it has never said or meant that they should be treated as though the narratives found in them were all genuine history, or as though the prophets and righteous men whose words we read in them were guaranteed against all mistakes and errors. If we have at any time so spoken as to countenance this popular delusion, we take blame to ourselves; and we welcome your work as showing clearly how the Scriptures should be studied, and as helping the people to realise more fully the real nature of the Divine Kingdom and the Divine work in the world.

These things might have been, and should have been, said; but we have to come down to hard facts.

The Bishop's answers to these inferences or assumptions are so important that they must be cited almost in full. He had to reply to one of the craftiest documents that ever came from a body of hierophants conscious that the popular faith in their own authority was being assailed and shaken. They were trying to pin an honourable and single-minded man to his own words in a sense which might, as they hoped, constrain him to withdraw from the struggle, and leave them masters of the field. They were careful at the same time so to lay their snare as to impart the semblance of a judicial authority to their interpretations of the promises made at ordination and consecration. They juggled (the word cannot be withheld) with their phrases, when they said that the Bishop had to obtain from candidates for orders a declaration that they "*believe* the canonical Scriptures" which now he found it impossible to *believe in*. Christians, and, it is to be hoped, all men, believe in God alone: to other things they may give credit, they can do no more. But the Bishops were insinuating throughout that the acceptance of an immense number of

incidents of all sorts and kinds as historical events was the most important condition imposed on candidates for orders, so that when in the daily office the priest declares the forgiveness of sin for all who unfeignedly believe the Holy Gospel, this means not so much the thankful welcome of the message of healing, strength, peace, and love, as the receiving without question as genuine historical events every incident in the narratives relating to the Nativity or the Passion. By speaking of certain prayers in the offices of the Church of England as assuming the truth of the Mosaic history, and insinuating on this ground that an acceptance of every incident in that history as actual fact was imposed as a sacred duty on all the clergy, they were making a demand still more monstrous, and were doing their best to choke the spiritual life of the country. When, as a candidate for orders, Mr. Maurice was asked what were the erroneous and strange doctrines which he undertook to banish and put away, he specified among others the doctrines that there is any goodness in the creature disunited from God; that there is any bar to the admission of a sinner into God's presence, except that which his own unbelief creates; that men are more anxious to attain the knowledge of God than He is anxious to bring them to that knowledge; that man can worship God except in the Spirit; and that there is any reward so great or glorious which God can offer to His creatures as that of making them partakers of His Divine character. These are truths or realities on which men can live, without which they cannot live; and yet the prelates could speak as though their own minds and those of their clergy were, or ought to be, running at least equally on the duty of believing that historically the ass of Balaam spoke with articulate human speech, or that Samson smote a thousand Philistines with an ass's jaw-bone. The very thought of such superstition is to the last degree humiliating; and it was a happy thing for the future history of English thought

that the Bishop of Natal avoided the trap thus laid for him.

As to the first of the three assumptions made by the prelates who addressed him, he said that at the time of his ordination he understood the words "believe unfeignedly all the canonical Scriptures"

> "in their obvious and most natural sense,—the sense in which some of the Bishops and many of the clergy at this very time receive them,—as implying that those Scriptures were, in matters of historical fact, as well as in statements of moral and religious truth, divinely and infallibly true."
>
> "I have said also," he added, "that I had ceased to believe this, and that I was pained to find my convictions contradicting, as I conceived, the words of the Ordination Service, until it was declared, on the highest legal authority of the Church of England, that my former view—I may say the popular view—of the meaning of those words was mistaken, and that they must be held to mean no more than a simple expression of a *bonâ fide* belief that 'the Holy Scriptures contain everything necessary to salvation,' and that, 'to that extent, they have the direct sanction of the Almighty.'"

On the second of their remarks he reminded them that, although he had at one time

> "felt the impossibility of demanding from a candidate for orders such a confession of belief in the Holy Scriptures as [he] then considered, and as many still consider, to be required by the formula of the Ordination Service,"

he had added, since reading in England the judgement of Dr. Lushington, that his words were written before that decision, which had, of course, materially affected his conclusion.

Of their third assumption he said that it

> "is contradicted by my own language already referred to (Part II. p. xxii.), where I have said that many clergymen

who do not believe in the historical truth of the Noachian Deluge will yet be able to justify themselves, in one of two ways, in using still such a form of prayer. If it is perfectly understood that a minister is at full liberty to explain to his people freely his opinion respecting the Biblical account of the Deluge, the unhistorical character of the Mosaic story, or the age and authorship of Deuteronomy (and this appears likewise to be decided in the affirmative by the same legal judgement), I apprehend that many who have an intelligent acquaintance with the results of modern criticism, may still be content to read the allusions in the Liturgy. But I felt also that there might be others, of more scrupulous conscience, who would not be satisfied with this mode of meeting the difficuly, and to whom I could give no other advice than that which I have given—viz. to *omit* such expressions, and take the consequences of such omission. I consider, however, that such passages ought no longer to be retained, as of absolute obligation, in our Prayer Book; and I hold it to be my duty, as a Bishop of the National Church, to labour for their removal—or, at least, for the liberty being granted of omitting them—as soon as possible."[1]

In giving this advice the Bishop was, as it so happened, fully borne out by the Primate, Dr. Longley.[2] To the Bishop of Natal this support was satisfactory, and in a certain sense it was eminently so; but there was, nevertheless, this difference, that, at the worst, the using of the words in the Burial Service over the remains of those who had lived unworthily, or shockingly, would but express trust in a love stronger than spiritual death, trust in a righteousness which will make each undergo the discipline which they have deserved and which they need, trust in a will which is eternally at war with evil, and which will remove and destroy it in the end. By the advice which he gave, Archbishop Longley was virtually expressing distrust in this Almighty love and this righteousness; by his

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. xxvi. [2] See p. 326.

counsel to clergymen in perplexity the Bishop of Natal was affirming it.

But the Bishop was the last person to say or to think that the course which he took or the position which he occupied must in every instance be right. As against the prelates, who, if they were to be judged exclusively by the words of their letter, seemed dead to all spiritual perceptions, he was perfectly right. The extravagant views or fancies which were fast becoming an incubus on the thought of the country made his challenge indispensably necessary; but apart from these absurdities it would have been less urgently called for. Dean Stanley was one of those who would put all these follies out of sight and keep them out of his mind, and if this could always have been done by all, it might perhaps have been a gain for Christendom. For those who can throw themselves into his mode of thought, questions of historical credibility become, in reference to the province of faith, matters of supreme insignificance and indifference. If some portions of the offices of the Church of England make mention of the Noachian flood, and the passage of the Red Sea, of the marriage of Abraham and Sara, of Isaac and Rebekah, all these are merely illustrations of the Divine government of the world or of the Divine love. They mean nothing else; and apart from this significance the incidents themselves become mere chaff, husks, and straw, lacking utterly all nourishing power. If these illustrations fail, millions more are forthcoming. It was Mr. Maurice's special fallacy that, without the narrative of the Exodus, the truth that God is a deliverer from bondage and tyranny could not be brought home to the hearts of men.

Regarded in this light, all so-called historical difficulties may be said with truth not so much to be solved as to fade away. In another channel the history of Christianity has been the history of the petrifaction of spiritual life into a set

of outward symbols, which are supposed to point to historical incidents; and its future history must be the history of deliverance from this house of bondage. In the words of an eminent layman:—

"Such terms as forgiveness, reconciliation, and salvation, instead of representing experiences of the believer—processes of his spiritual life—came to represent certain Divine transactions, in which the believer had no personal part, though through faith he had the benefit of them in the acquisition of final happiness. The death and resurrection of Christ ceased to be looked upon as perpetually re-enacted in the surrender of the fleshly self, and the substitution for it of a new man in the moral life. They became past events by which certain blessings had been obtained for us, or Divine testimony given to an authority claiming our obedience."

Against this falling back, which was also a falling away, there had been more than one protest already.

"Having come to be understood as no more than an acceptance of the authority of the Church and obedience to its rules, faith was restored by Luther to the meaning of an assurance of sonship in Christ, founded on personal experience. This was so far a gain; but it did not carry with it—most Christians would have said that it would have been pernicious if it had carried with it—any change in the view of man's redemption as achieved by past historical events. The death and resurrection were not interpreted into present realities within the experience of the believer."

With reference to these eternal realities, St. Paul

"seemed to himself to die daily, and rise again with Christ, and it was this moral and personal experience that gave reality in his eyes to the supposed historical events."

But, by the hardening process which marks the dogmatic theology of the Christian Churches,

"faith is regarded as necessarily involving the belief that propositions asserting the actual occurrences of these events are true. The saving faith on which Protestants insist is doubtless held to imply much more than such an acceptance of certain propositions; but though much more, it cannot, according to the common conception, be less than this. But the more strongly we insist that faith is a personal and conscious relation of the man to God, . . . the more weakened becomes its dependence on events believed to have happened in the past. . . . It is not on any estimate of evidence, correct or incorrect, that our true holiness can depend. Neither if we believe certain documents to be genuine and authentic can we be the better, nor if we believe it not, the worse. There is thus an inner contradiction in that conception of faith which makes it a state of mind involving peace with God and love towards all mankind, and at the same time makes its object that historical work of Christ of which our knowledge depends on evidence of uncertain origin and value." [1]

From the serener region in which the layman is free to move and breathe, we are drawn down to the heaver air of the traditional dogmatism which does not represent the true spirit of the Church of England, and which can never do more than give a stone where bread is asked for. It is a wretched necessity; but the language of his opponents left the Bishop no alternative. Well might he ask how, if the acceptance of the old Pentateuchal or other narratives as historical was the Christian's first duty, his conduct differed from theirs in respect of honest adherence to the principles

[1] *The Witness of God, and Faith*, two lay sermons, 1870, 1878. By T. H. Green, M.A., Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford. Pp. 59 and 68.

I make no apology for quoting these passages from one of the most remarkable sermons written within the life-time of any now living. These two sermons were preached in the Chapel of Balliol College. Their importance, as showing the channel into which the deepest religious thought of the age is flowing, can scarcely be exaggerated.

of the Church of England. After his reply to the letter of the prelates, the Bishop of Oxford was the first to issue a letter of inhibition, and most of the other Bishops had "followed him in adopting this extraordinary mode of public Church censure, upon the mere judgement of each individual Bishop, without any hearing or trial of the accused." Before his countrymen, therefore, he put to the Bishop of Oxford, as the guide and representative of his colleagues, this question:—

> "Does he, a Fellow of the Royal and other scientific Societies, believe unfeignedly in the literal historical truth of the account of the Creation, the Noachian Deluge, or the numbers of the Exodus? . . . If he does not, then how, I repeat, does his present conduct differ essentially from mine? *He* has some way of explaining these matters, which satisfies his own mind, as I have. And the only difference is this, that I think it to be my duty, and shall make it my practice, to tell my people plainly, on such points, what I believe, and what I know to be true; and the Bishop of Oxford has not yet, as far as I am aware, thought it necessary to say what he really thinks upon any one of these subjects."

It was indeed difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain what Bishop Wilberforce and his colleagues did believe as to this matter. They had expressed themselves in strong terms as "resting their hopes of eternity on the Word of God." "But that," the Bishop remarks, "I trust I do as truly and entirely as they." What, however, is the Word of God, which, in the language of the first Homily, is "contained in Holy Scripture"? The question was answered by Dean Milman in these few plain words:—

> "The moral and religious truth, *and this alone*, I apprehend, is the Word of God, contained in the sacred writings. I know no passage in which this emphatic term is applied to

any sentence or saying which does not convey or inforce such truth."

To the Dean's words the language of the Bishops presented a pitiable contrast; but the qualifications and reservations which underlay their professed unanimity call for a harder term. On the one side was the assertion that

"the very foundation of our faith, our nearest and dearest consolations, are taken from us, if one line of that Sacred Book be declared to be unfaithful and untrustworthy."

On the other hand there was the assurance that

"every line of Scripture will amply bear the pressure of any test applied to it, if viewed with relation to the subject it really refers to, the state mentally and morally of those to whom it was addressed, and the effect it was intended to convey."

Probably nowhere, certainly not among Mahometans, or Brahmans, or Buddhists, could a more barefaced method be propounded for the easy covering of every difficulty, for establishing any preconceived conclusion, and for making anything mean anything.

Of the value of the results which this method might be made to yield Dr. Pusey had never a moment's doubt. It would meet all objections urged by the Bishop of Natal, or by any one else, as fast as they were made. The Bishop might appeal to Galileo, as one who upset the Mosaic account of the Creation. The appeal was irrelevant. It was wrong to condemn Galileo. The Book of Genesis really said only what Galileo said. It never was of faith (*de fide*) to hold that the earth stands still while the sun moves. It was simply a wrong interpretation; and the same may be said of every other question. The language of the books in the Bible may seem to assert or to imply that the earth is

a flat plane, with a solid heaven stretched over it, which God may bow to touch the mountains and make them smoke. The words of St. Paul may seem to speak of all men as rising together at the end of the world from a plane surface to a common centre in the air. The Psalmists may seem to speak of an earth which cannot be moved. But the appearances are all delusive. What they really set forth is the Copernican astronomy, which the accusers of Galileo most culpably failed to discover in its pages. What if it be, as the Bishop of Natal urged, a scientific fact that the universe existed for unimaginable ages before man walked the earth? This may have been puzzling once, but why should it cause any difficulty now? Is there not a great *chasm* between the verse, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," and "The earth was waste and desolate"? It is strange, perhaps, that no one should have thought of this before; but then "we had," Dr. Pusey replied, "no occasion to think of a gap which we had no data to fill up." Dr. Buckland and Sir Charles Lyell have supplied the data, and the gap is found. There is nothing more to be done. It is, he insisted,

> "absolutely certain that the Bible does not say that the earth was created at any definite past time, and that between its original creation mentioned in verse 1 and man's creation there is room, if need be, for time countless by man."

If any are so unrighteous as to think that Dr. Pusey's chasm does not much mend the matter, inasmuch as the first verse is followed by a consecutive history which places the creation of the sun and moon at a later stage than that of the earth, we must suppose that more gaps will be found which carnal sight is too dull to espy. So with the Deluge. If some ask how the wingless birds of New Zealand or Australia came into the ark, the answer is that they never

came at all, and that God created them afresh when the waters had subsided. If anyone be perplexed by the chronology of the Noachian genealogies, the doubt is knocked on the head by the answer that God did not mean them to be "exact measures of man's existence on the earth." If, according to Augustine, God has a right to doom to endless agonies the infant of an hour old who dies unbaptized, has He not also the right of setting forth a pictorial chronology? Dr. Pusey could not see the possibility of doubting this.

> "St. Matthew," he insisted, "omitted purposely in one place some names, in others, others; and used the word *beget* of the grandfather or of the grandfather's grandfather. . . . . Since, then, St. Matthew employed fourteen, not as an actual number, but probably as a symbolical number, we need not say positively that Moses did not in like way employ ten, as it often seems to be used, as a mysterious number, significant of completeness, and the word *beget* of the grandfather, as St. Matthew did."

From reasoning such as this it would seem to follow that one falsehood is rendered historical by adducing the parallel of another falsehood. Of one thing only can we be assured. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, as we have it, says that from Abraham to David *there are* fourteen generations: what the writer really meant, it seems, is that there were a good many more than fourteen, but that his symmetrical chronology made it inconvenient to mention them.

If we can speak seriously of this astounding method of adaptation, should we not say that Dr. Pusey deserved the gratitude of all who have Sacred Books, the statements of which seem to need manipulation in order to bring them into harmony with scientific or historical facts? But miserable as all this shuffling may be, it is somewhat less repulsive than the brazen hypothesis which would uphold the credit of the Hebrew Scriptures by charging God Himself with falsehood.

According to this hypothesis, the whole existence of man on the earth to the present time, has not exceeded six millenniums; and the earth's strata point to a lapse of many myriads of years. If the chalk cliffs had never grown from the first at a more rapid rate than that of coral reefs and islands now, the years of the world must be reckoned almost by millions. But all these appearances are, we are told, delusive, and were purposely caused to be delusive. God imparted this semblance of age to works by comparison of yesterday, in order to confuse the human mind, and humble the pride of the human intellect. This is, indeed, to make God a liar, and to make Him such for the express purpose of bewildering and misleading His creatures; and yet some who could stoop to such wretched shifts could denounce the Bishop of Natal for deliberate impiety for saying that when Jesus spoke of Mosaic books or of the Mosaic law, he may have only shared the popular opinion of the day. It was, perhaps, scarcely necessary that the controversy thus provoked should have been raised; and on the whole we may regret that it was raised. It was renewed with almost more than its first virulence at the Capetown trial; and it may be that the abuse heaped on the Bishop, both there and in England, might have been avoided, by insisting simply that it was *impossible* for Jesus to speak otherwise than as He spoke.[1] But the theological hatred had been fully roused by the Bishop's words. The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke of them as "derogatory to the person, the attributes, and the work of our Divine Redeemer," and as "charging Him who knew what was in man, with ignorance and imposture." The Archbishop of York reproached him with "having imputed to the Lord of Glory ignorance of holy things," and with "having described our Lord as a blind guide, quoting for the very bread of life the baseless fables of men." One prelate

[1] See p. 307, *note*.

only, the courageous and judicially-minded Bishop of St. David's, came forward to say that this was not a question of holy things at all, and that, if the Bishop of Natal was on this point in error, the error was shared by Jeremy Taylor.[1] But, in truth, the notion which the two Archbishops seemed to regard as indispensable to soundness in the Christian faith was practically unknown to the Ante-Nicene Church. Athanasius himself had said plainly that "as, on becoming man, He hungers and thirsts and suffers with men, so with men, as man, *He knows not.*" Of this language Dr. Pusey was constrained to say that it certainly *seems* to impute ignorance to our Lord as man. To Cyril it was evidence of His love, that He could "bring Himself down to so great humiliation as to bear all things that are ours, one of which also is *ignorance.*" The utterances of Chrysostom and Augustine are not less explicit; nor is Jeremy Taylor the only theologian of more recent times who has entertained the same opinion. The words of Hammond, Lightfoot, and many others, are cited in an admirable letter addressed by Mr. Houghton to the Bishop, and inserted by the latter in the preface to the Third Part of his book on the Pentateuch. The Bishop felt deeply the sincerity and courage shown by Mr. Houghton in thus coming forward in a controversy in which he had at first taken the opposite side. Mr. Houghton had published a pamphlet in reply to Part I.; but before he wrote his letter he had withdrawn that reply from circulation. It was impossible for him to deny that "the Bible and science were opposed to each other." A four years' examination of almost every word in the Bible relating to natural history had convinced him that

> "in many and essential points, the Biblical and natural records are, to use the words of the learned and candid Kalisch, utterly and irreconcilably at variance."

[1] See p. 309.

It was, therefore, absurd to speak of the Bible as being infallible in the sense in which the popular creed assumes it to be; but Mr. Houghton was sure, nevertheless, that it contained "a jewel of heavenly lustre and of priceless value," and that it was madness in men to refuse to drink of the water of life because it was offered to them in an earthen vessel.

From these manly and wholesome utterances it is, in truth, depressing to return to the Report of the Committee of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury appointed to examine the first two parts of the Bishop's work.[1] Of this Committee, Archdeacon Denison, who had moved for it, was the chairman; but here, as elsewhere, the paramount influence was that of Bishop Wilberforce, whose own convictions as to the historical value of the Old Testament records it was then, as it is still, impossible to ascertain. It was Bishop Wilberforce who had striven to impress upon the nation the duty of taking a signal vengeance on the Indian mutineers. It was his crusading zeal which now led his followers to break the bounds of all decent moderation. Whether among these Archdeacon Denison was to be reckoned, it might be rash to say. He might be acting as a fellow-leader, when, having expressed a wish to "avoid the appearance of approaching to intemperance in thought and language," he confined himself to speaking of the Bishop of Natal as "a sacrilegious person," as one ready to "damage the Bible by misrepresentation, to tear out its leaves, mutilate it, and desecrate what is left."

> "I am going to say," he added, "if any man asserts such things as are asserted in this book, '*Anathema esto!* Let him be put away.'"

Nor was this enough to satisfy his sense of fairness. He, a judge, addressing himself to judges, who were about to

[1] See p. 303.

examine and pronounce on the merits or demerits of a given book, could have the triple brass to say—

> "I have no doubt—at all events, I hope—that there are many here who have not read the First Part, and I am sure that there are many who have not read the Second Part,"

of the work on which they were about to pass sentence. Such was the justice of English ecclesiastics in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a justice which might seem to be borrowed from Archbishop Laud and his colleagues in the seventeenth. But it had a strange look, as being exhibited to the world after the decision of Dr. Lushington in the prosecution connected with the volume of *Essays and Reviews*. On three points the terms of this decision were broadened by the final ruling of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In other respects it was unchallenged, and remains the law of the Church of England. Dr. Lushington's judgement was rejected with contempt at the so-called trial of the Bishop of Natal by the Metropolitan of Southern Africa; but it is for all who have not, like the clergy of the Church of South Africa, bartered away their rights, a safeguard for the liberties of the Church of England. It rests on the principle that the judge is not to travel away from the Articles and formularies, either to the decrees of Councils or to passages of Holy Scripture, of which it would become necessary that the judge should be the interpreter.

Dr. Lushington's comment[1] is almost more important than his ruling. All liberty carries with it its own especial danger; and the man who acts or speaks as though all things were expedient for him because they were lawful must be as strangely wanting in charity as in discretion. The office of the Christian priest or teacher is to guide, educate, comfort, and cheer his people. Will he be discharging his duty, if to

[1] See p. 325.

the folk of a country parish who possess perhaps not a book beyond the Bible he bluntly announces that Deuteronomy is the work of the Prophet Jeremiah, or that the belief of an immediately impending Parousia in the Apostolic age was a delusion? It is enough that the clergy are as free as the laity in the Church of England to examine and criticise the books of the Bible by the tests applied to all other books, and that they are not under the yoke which Bishop Wilberforce and Archdeacon Denison would have imposed upon them.

The Report[1] of the Committee over which Archdeacon Denison presided is in many respects a noteworthy composition. It embodied the conclusions reached by fourteen clergymen after an inquiry extended over nine days. These judges might wish and intend to be truthful and impartial; but many or most of them had previously expressed themselves in terms of severe censure on the books, and "could not therefore," as the Bishop of Natal rightly supposed, "be likely to spare any traces of heresy which might fairly be detected in them." But in spite of this the Committee did not report that his criticisms were unfounded, or his critical conclusions false. They impeached not the scientific truth, but only the orthodoxy of his reasonings. In the words of one of them, they had simply taken expressions from the book, and "placed them side by side with the Bible and expressions from the formularies and Articles;" and even with the large license so assumed, they found four points only in which the Bishop of Natal was in their judgement guilty of having transgressed the law of the Church. How these points were dealt with by the Bishop of St. David's, we have seen already.[2] It was strange that on the subject of the Divine and human knowledge of Christ the Committee should in their haste to condemn the Bishop of Natal condemn the

[1] See p. 303. [2] See pp. 304-11.

teaching of some of the greatest doctors in Christendom, who had either avowed conclusions similar to those which had been reached by Bishop Colenso, or had declared that others were free to hold them. With reference to these opinions of Cyril, Athanasius, and other theologians, Dr. Colenso remarks that it is surprising

> "that neither the Bishop of Oxford, nor any one of the Bishops who voted with him, uttered one syllable to imply that he was aware of any such passages existing, or expressed a brotherly hope that on this particular point at all events, I might not be altogether so guilty as some supposed. It is, I repeat, an amazing fact, that so many Bishops, doctors, and divines, should have adopted this Report, without one single voice breaking the dead silence to intimate that there was even the slightest doubt in the Church upon this question; still less to give utterance to the simple truth that, here at least, I am supported by the consentient opinion of very many of the greatest divines, both ancient and modern." [1]

A legitimate, if not the only, inference is that they wished to keep this consentient opinion out of sight, in the hope that they might succeed in arrogating the authority of the Church of England for a decision which would have for its effect the exclusion of the Bishop of Natal. Their policy was one of treachery to the English Church, involving sooner or later its downfall and ruin. It was not meant to be such. Of any such intention they may be most thoroughly acquitted; but the true friends of an institution or a constitution are often not those who are loudest in protestations of their zeal. The Committee of Convocation had not eyes to see the real bearing of their own words and acts, or the real mission of the Church in which they were ministers. This mission had been well set forth in the memorable words with which Dean

[1] Part III. p. xlvi.

Milman closed his long and arduous toil as the historian of Latin Christianity:—

"As it is my own confident belief that the words of Christ, and His words alone (the primal, indefeasible truths of Christianity), shall not pass away, so I cannot presume to say that men may not attain to a clearer, and at the same time more full and comprehensive and balanced, sense of those words than has as yet been generally received in the Christian world. As all else is transient and unstable, these only eternal and universal, assuredly, whatever light may be thrown on the mental constitution of man, even on the constitution of Nature and the laws which govern the world, will be concentered so as to give a more penetrating vision of these undying truths."

This happy consummation can be brought about only by a readiness to receive and to acknowledge the truth of facts, when they are shown to be true. It must be retarded by the exercise of authority barring the way to impartial and unprejudiced research, on the books included in the Canon of Scripture as on any others; and here the warning of Dean Milman is still indispensably necessary:—

"If on such subjects some solid ground be not found on which highly educated, reflective, reading, reasoning men may find firm footing, I can foresee nothing but a wide, a widening, I fear an impassable, breach between the thought and religion of England. A comprehensive, all-embracing, Catholic Christianity, which knows what is essential to religion, what is temporary and extraneous to it, may defy the world. Obstinate adherence to things antiquated, and irreconcilable with advancing knowledge and thought, may repel, and for ever—how many, I know not—how far, I know still less. *Avertat omen Deus!*"

CHAPTER X.

THE PENTATEUCH: ITS MATTER.

NEARLY a quarter of a century has passed away since Archbishop Longley was pleased to pronounce Bishop Colenso's criticisms on the Pentateuch "so puerile that an intelligent youth who read his Bible with care could draw the fitting answers from the Bible itself," and so trite that they have been threshed out and refuted again and again during the last two centuries. The two statements are not altogether consistent. Mere trivialities, of which a child could detect the worthlessness, could scarcely need so often to be knocked on the head, and ought scarcely to cause so much excitement or provoke such fierce and even malignant denunciations. The value of Archbishop Longley's judgement must be tested by some account of the Bishop's method and of the results attained by it. If the Bishop was assaying a silly and ridiculous enterprise, then seldom, if ever, has an unprofitable task been undertaken with such single-hearted devotion to truth and with so steady a resolution to surrender everything else, if need be, for the sake of it.

The fact is that Luther himself, when he nailed his Theses on the church door at Wittenberg, was not committing himself to a more momentous work than the Bishop of Natal when he resolved to search into the structure of the

Pentateuch. Each was proposing to fight with a strong delusion; and the superstition which worshipped the letter of a book was not a jot better grounded than the superstition which regarded a Papal indulgence as the remission of sin and the restoration of the penitent to peace. The circumstances of his past life and work had drawn away the Bishop's mind to other channels; but the unswerving truthfulness of his nature compelled him to go thoroughly into the matter, so soon as inquiry was forced on him as a duty which he owed to others, and to none could he owe this duty more than to the ignorant and helpless, who yet had wit enough to ask whether certain things were really so. Having once felt that he was called upon to go into the question, he never for a moment hesitated in his purpose; but he wished to give as little pain and create as little of disturbance as possible. He soon found that the work was much more serious and extensive than at the first he thought that it might be; and feeling that above all things he needed counsel, he turned to Dr. Harold Browne, then Norrisian Professor at Cambridge, now Bishop of Winchester. To him he wrote, although he did not forward, a letter from which the following passages are extracts:—

"My remembrance of the friendly intercourse which I have enjoyed with you in former days would be enough to assure me that you will excuse my troubling you on the present occasion, were I not also certain that, on far higher grounds, you will gladly lend what aid you can to a brother in distress, and in very great need of advice and assistance, such as few are better able to give than yourself. You will easily understand that, in this distant colony, I am far removed from the possibility of converse with those who would be capable of appreciating my difficulties, and helping me with friendly sympathy and counsel. I have many friends in England; but there are few to whom I would look more readily than to yourself for the help which I

need, from regard both to your public position and private character; and you have given evidence, moreover, in your published works, of that extensive reading and sound judgement, the aid of which I especially require under my present circumstances.

"You will, of course, expect that, since I have had the charge of this diocese, I have been closely occupied in the study of the Zulu tongue, and in translating the Scriptures into it. Through the blessing of God, I have now translated the New Testament completely, and several parts of the Old, among the rest the Books of Genesis and Exodus. In this work I have been aided by intelligent natives; and, having also published a Zulu Grammar and Dictionary, I have acquired sufficient knowledge of the language to be able to have intimate communion with the native mind while thus engaged with them, so as not only to avail myself freely of their criticisms, but to appreciate fully their objections and difficulties. Thus, however, it has happened that I have been brought again face to face with questions which caused me some uneasiness in former days, but with respect to which I was then enabled to satisfy my mind sufficiently for practical purposes, and I had fondly hoped to have laid the ghosts of them at last for ever. . . . .

"Here, however, as I have said, amidst my work in this land, I have been brought face to face with the very questions which I then put by. While translating the story of the Flood, I have had a simple-minded, but intelligent, native—one with the docility of a child, but the reasoning powers of mature age—look up, and ask, 'Is all that true? Do you really believe that all this happened thus,—that all the beasts, and birds, and creeping things upon the earth, large and small, from hot countries and cold, came thus by pairs, and entered into the ark with Noah? And did Noah gather food for them *all*, for the beasts and birds of prey, as well as for the rest?' My heart answered in the words of the prophet, 'Shall a man speak lies in the name of the Lord?' I dared not do so. My own knowledge of some branches of science, of geology in particular, had been much

increased since I left England ; and I now knew for certain, on geological grounds, a fact of which I had only had misgivings before, viz. that a *universal* Deluge, such as the Bible manifestly speaks of, could not possibly have taken place in the way described in the Book of Genesis, not to mention other difficulties which the story contains. I refer especially to the circumstance, well known to all geologists, that volcanic hills exist of immense extent in Auvergne and Languedoc, which must have been formed ages before the Noachan deluge, and which are covered with light and loose substances, pumice-stone, &c., that must have been swept away by a flood, but do not exhibit the slightest sign of having ever been so disturbed. Of course, I am well aware that some have attempted to show that Noah's deluge was only a *partial* one. But such attempts have ever seemed to me to be made in the very teeth of the Scripture statements, which are as plain and explicit as words can possibly be. Nor is anything really gained by supposing the Deluge to have been partial. For, as waters must find their own level on the earth's surface, without a special miracle, of which the Bible says nothing, a flood which should begin by covering the top of Ararat (if that were conceivable), or a much lower mountain, must necessarily become universal, and in due time sweep over the hills of Auvergne. Knowing this, I felt that I dared not, as a servant of the God of Truth, urge my brother-man to believe that which I did not myself believe, which I knew to be untrue as a matter-of-fact historical narrative. I gave him, however, such a reply as satisfied him for the time, without throwing any discredit upon the general veracity of the Bible history.

"But I was thus driven—against my will at first, I may truly say—to search more deeply into these questions ; and I have since done so, to the best of my power, with the means at my disposal in this colony. And now I tremble at the result of my inquiries ; rather, I should do so were it not that I believe firmly in a God of Righteousness and Truth and Love, who both IS, and is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him. Should all else give way beneath me,

I feel that His Everlasting Arms are still under me. I am sure that the solid ground is there on which my feet can rest, in the knowledge of Him in whom I live, and move, and have my being, who is my faithful Creator, my Almighty and most merciful Father. *That* truth I see with my spirit's eyes, once opened to the light of it, as plainly as I see the sun in the heavens. And that truth, I know, more or less distinctly apprehended, has been the food of living men, the strength of brave souls that 'yearn for light,' and battle for the right and the true, the support of struggling and sorrow-stricken hearts, in all ages of the world, in all climes, under all religions."

Having mentioned some of the chief difficulties in the account of the Exodus, the Bishop went on to ask advice in the selection of books, and to mention that he had sent for Hengstenberg's work on the Pentateuch, which he had seen commended in the *Quarterly* article on *Essays and Reviews.* Of this article he spoke as a remarkable paper, which shrank, however, from treating the real question at issue, and as occupied chiefly with pitying the essayists, or censuring them, instead of meeting them with arguments.

"I cannot," he said, "think it to be a fair way of proceeding to point out, as the *apparent consequence* of the course which they are pursuing, that it will necessarily lead to infidelity or atheism. It may be so with some: must it, therefore, be so with all? The same, of course, might have been said—and probably was said—freely, and just as truly, by the Jews of St. Paul and others; and, in later times, by members of the Romish Church of our own Reformers. Our duty, surely, is to follow the truth wherever it leads us, and to leave the consequences in the hands of God. Moreover, in the only instance where the writer in the *Quarterly* does attempt to remove a difficulty, he explains away a miracle by a piece of thorough 'neologianism'—I mean where he accounts for the sun 'standing still' at the word of Joshua, by referring to 'one of the thousand other modes by which

God's mighty power could have accomplished that miracle, rather than by the actual suspension of the unbroken career of the motions of the heavenly bodies in their appointed courses,' which last the Bible plainly speaks of to a common understanding, though the writer seems not to believe in it.

"After reading that article, I felt more hopelessly than ever how hollow is the ground upon which we have so long been standing, with reference to the subject of the inspiration of Scripture. I see that there is a very general demand upon the clerical authors of *Essays and Reviews* that they should leave the Church of England, or, at least, resign their preferments. For my own part, however much I may dissent, as I do, from some of their views, I am very far indeed from judging them for remaining, as they still do, as ministers within her pale,—knowing too well, by my own feelings, how dreadful would be the wrench, to be torn from all one has loved and revered by going out of the Church. Perhaps they may feel it to be their duty to the Church itself, and to that which they hold to be the truth, to abide in their stations, unless they are formally and legally excluded from them, and to claim for *all* her members, clerical as well as lay, that freedom of thought and utterance which is the very essence of our Protestant religion; and without which, indeed, in this age of advancing science, the Church of England would soon become a mere dark prison-house, in which the mind both of the teacher and the taught would be fettered still with the chains of past ignorance, instead of being, as we fondly believed, the very home of religous liberty, and the centre of life and light for all the world. But, whatever may be the fate of that book or its authors, it is surely impossible to put down in these days the spirit of honest, truth-seeking investigation into such matters as these. The attempt to do this would only be like the futile endeavour to sweep back the tide which is rising at our very doors. This is, assuredly, no time for such trifling. Instead of trying to do this, or to throw up sandbanks which may serve for the present moment to hide from our view

the swelling waters, it is plainly our duty before God and man to see that the foundations of our faith are sound, and deeply laid in the very truth itself."

The Bishop went on to speak of the possible need of resigning his office if the difficulties pressing on him could not be removed. This question will come before us in its proper place later on. We have only to remember here that he did not forward this letter, which ends with the following words :—

"God's will must be done. The law of truth must be obeyed. I shall await your reply before I take any course which may commit me in so serious a matter. And I feel that I shall do right to take time for careful deliberation. Should my difficulties not be removed, I shall, if God will, come to England, and there again consult some of my friends. But then, if the step must be taken, in God's name I must take it ; and He Himself will provide for me future work on earth, of some kind or other, if He has work for me to do."

A few weeks before this letter was written the Bishop had taken part in an episcopal conference at Capetown, January 1861. At the time of that conference, to which he had gone for the purpose of taking part in the consecration of Bishop Mackenzie,[1] he had not entered into the inquiries which led to the writing of his book on the Pentateuch, nor had he, of course, any idea of their results. The admission of these facts might, he was well aware, suggest to some that his conclusions had been hastily reached and might be as hastily given up. This retort he was prepared to endure, as he was prepared for the further rejoinder that his exposure of the difficulties connected with the Pentateuch was stale and flat. They had all been put forth by German critics, who had been perfectly answered by their own countrymen. This was just the point which called for settlement. There were, it is true, in Germany as in

[1] See p. 125.

England, orthodox critics and liberal critics; and there, as well as here, the former charged the latter with merely following their leader and repeating parrot-like each his statement of difficulties, with the addition of little or no new matter of their own. At the worst, this charge could but reduce many voices to one voice. It could not silence that one voice, except by showing that its utterances were false or foolish; but it was also obvious that, if there were a hundred independent critics working on the same records, they would all, or almost all, fasten on the same difficulties, *if those difficulties really exist.* The seeming repetitions would be really the most cogent evidence of their reality and their importance. Still, wishing to avoid all bias in what might be thought the wrong direction, the Bishop resolved to confine himself to the orthodox Kurtz, whose *History of the Old Covenant* "maintains the ordinary view of the Mosaic origin and historical accuracy of the Pentateuch with great zeal and ability"; and not till he had gone through this work did he turn to the ponderous volumes of Ewald. Having grappled with these, he read carefully the orthodox works of Hengstenberg and Hävernick, and on the other side those of De Wette, Bleek, Kuenen, and Davidson, the last of these being in his opinion "the most able work which has yet appeared in England on the subject of Biblical criticism."

During all this time, he retained the letter which he had written to Dr. Browne, "to see what effect further study and consideration would have upon" his "views."

> "At the end of that time—in a great measure by being made more fully aware of the utter helplessness of Kurtz and Hengstenberg in their endeavours to meet the difficulties which are raised by a closer study of the Pentateuch—I became so convinced of the unhistorical character of very considerable portions of the Mosaic narrative that I decided not to forward my letter at all. I did not now need counsel

or assistance to relieve my own personal doubts: my former misgivings had been changed into certainties. The matter was become much more serious. I saw that it concerned the whole Church—not myself and a few more only, whose minds might have been disturbed by making too much of minor difficulties and contradictions, the force of which might be less felt by others." [1]

But teachers and modes of teaching are not of one kind only. There are methods of shirking difficulties or of slurring them over; and there is a mode of bringing out a negative conclusion by drawing a vivid picture of the condition of things which seems to render any other conclusion impracticable. We may trace the popular or national religion, worship, and society of the Jews through the days of the Judges to those of the earlier and later Kings, realising their persistent polytheism, their gross, sensual, and cruel idolatry, their solar and phallic cultus. We may dwell on the protests and struggles of the scanty band of prophets in every age against these abominations, showing that at no time was there anything more than a weak and evanescent reformation, wrought by an appeal to a higher sanction for which the people could not be brought to care at all. We may mark the dense ignorance and obstinate adherence to their degrading rites as clear evidence that they had no acquaintance with a higher law; and so we may imply that the Mosaic and Levitical codes and the discourses in Deuteronomy were not so much a system carried at any time into practice as ideal pictures of a state of things which ought to have been but never was realised. This method and these conclusions clearly sweep away the historical character of the Pentateuch, because they insinuate that the civil and ecclesiastical codes which bear the name of Moses were put together

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. xviii.

in after times by some who wished to bring their countrymen, even at the eleventh hour, to walk in a better path; but the strictly negative character of this method, and of its results, might very probably not be perceived by those who regarded the Pentateuch as historical. The impression made by it would, therefore, be in proportion weaker, and, except to the enlightened few, the real state of things would not be made known at all.

This method was recommended to the Bishop, only to be summarily rejected.

"A friend," he says, "to whom I had submitted the book before I had decided to publish it, was afraid that I might give offence by stating too plainly at the outset the end which I had in view. . . And he suggested that I might do more wisely to conceal, as it were, my purpose for a time, and lead the reader gradually on, till he would arrive of himself, almost unawares, at the same conclusions as my own. But however judicious for a merely rhetorical purpose such a course might have been, I could not allow myself to adopt it here, in a matter where such very important consequences were involved. I *must* state the case plainly and fully from the first. I do not wish to take the reader by surprise or to entrap him with guile. I wish him to go forward with his eyes open, and to watch carefully every step of the argument, with a full consciousness of the momentous results to which it leads, and with a determination to test *severely*, with all the power and skill he can bring to the work, but yet to test *honestly* and *fairly*, the truth of every inference which I have drawn and every conclusion to which I have arrived."

In short, for the Bishop, as for St. Paul, there was a sacred call from One whom he dared not to disobey, and whom before all things he longed to obey. There was a woe on both if they failed to answer to the call; and for himself the constraining power of this call was strengthened by the

circumstances of his past life. For him, therefore, it was as with the prophet of old. The Lord God had spoken: who can but prophesy? He was asked, "Why publish to the world matters like these, about which theologians may have doubts?" To such questions he could give no heed. They were no longer doubts to him; and it was not theologians only who were troubled with such doubts.

> "We have," he said, "a duty to discharge towards that large body of our brethren—*how* large, it is impossible to say, but probably much larger than is commonly imagined—who not only doubt, but disbelieve, many important parts of the Mosaic narrative, as well as to those whose faith may be more simple and uninquiring, though not, therefore, necessarily, more deep and sincere, than theirs. We cannot expect such as these to look to us for comfort and help in their religious perplexities, if they cannot place entire confidence in our honesty of purpose and good faith—if they have any reason to suppose that we are willing to keep back any part of the truth, and are afraid to state the plain facts of the case."

Thus in the course which he took he had no alternative. Arriving in England as a missionary Bishop, he must receive calls from many quarters to plead the cause of missions; and he could not decline acceding to such calls without assigning, by the publication of the First Part of his book, the reason why, with his present work in hand, he could not comply with them. The question was to him a matter of life and death. He was not aware, after the delivery of the judgement in the case of *Essays and Reviews*, that he had in any way violated the law of the Church of England; and in any case, as a Bishop of that Church, he dissented entirely from the principle laid down by some that the question with which he intended to deal was not even an open question for an English clergyman. Against this contemptible sophistry Dr. Stanley had,

about eighteen months before, protested with all his might in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*.[1] It was a shame to Englishmen that any among them should say or think

> "that truth was made for the laity and falsehood for the clergy —that truth is tolerable everywhere except in the mouths of the ministers of the God of Truth—that falsehood, driven from every other corner of the educated world, may find an honoured refuge behind the consecrated bulwarks of the sanctuary."

The Bishop of Natal himself could scarcely denounce with greater earnestness this godless theory of a National Church as tainted with a far deeper unbelief than any which could ever be ascribed to professed infidels. He could scarcely urge more strongly that they who can sincerely accept as a whole the constitution and the worship of the Church of which they are ministers will count it treason to the Church and to its Divine Head to desert either its communion or its ministry. He would heartily approve, but he could scarcely add force to, Dr. Stanley's words, that if the obligations laid upon the clergy involved such differences between their belief and that of the educated laity, it would be the bounden duty of both,

> "in the name of religion and common-sense, to rise as one man and to tear to shreds such barriers between the teachers and the taught, between Him whose name is Truth and those whose worship is only acceptable if offered to Him in spirit and in truth."

It was well, indeed, for the Church of England that the Bishop of Natal, in full accord though he might be with all these utterances of Dr. Stanley, did not adopt the critical method which was, no doubt, best suited to Dr. Stanley's circumstances, but which would have fallen with little effect

[1] April 1861, p. 495.

on one of the chief superstitions and extravagances of orthodox Christendom.

But while smiting this superstition, the Bishop never made any attempt to deny the fact that he had himself shared it. The belief that every chapter, every verse, every word, every syllable, every letter of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures is the direct utterance of the Most High, was the creed of the school in which he was educated, and it cost him a hard struggle to break away from it.

> "God is my witness," he says, "what hours of wretchedness I have spent at times, while reading the Bible devoutly from day to day, and reverencing every word of it as the Word of God, when petty contradictions met me, which seemed to my reason to conflict with the notion of the absolute historical veracity of every part of Scripture, and which, as I felt, *in the study of any other book* we should honestly treat as errors or misstatements, without in the least detracting from the real value of the book! But, in those days, I was taught that it was my duty to fling the suggestion from me at once, 'as if it were a loaded shell shot into the fortress of my soul,'[1] or to stamp out desperately, as with an iron heel, each spark of honest doubt, which God's own gift, the love of truth, had kindled in my bosom. . . . I thank God that I was not able long to throw dust in the eyes of my own mind, and do violence to the love of truth in this way."[2]

It may suit those who sneered at the "puerile simplicity" of the Bishop who could be converted by an intelligent Zulu, to say that nothing else could be expected in one who had thus himself been in bondage to the letter. But all unprejudiced and impartial thinkers and judges will be thankful that a man has been found whose powers of judgement were not stunted and starved by the creed which he shook off.

[1] Bishop S. Wilberforce; see p. 164, *note.*

[2] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 6.

This warping and withering of the mental powers is so sadly manifest in all but an infinitesimally small minority of Bibliolaters, as to make it matter both of wonder and rejoicing that the early bondage quickened, rather than dulled, the Bishop's powers of perception, and thus excited in him only an unfaltering resolution to seek out the truth at all hazards, and a manly candour in setting forth the nature of his conclusions. It was supposed at the time, and some may suppose still, that the Bishop came to regard the historical books of the Old Testament as unhistorical, solely because he could not bring himself to give credit to the stupendous wonders recorded in them, to the standing still of the sun and moon, the dividing of the waters of the Red Sea and the Jordan, the articulate human speech of Balaam's ass, or the marvels of the Egyptian magicians, or because he recoiled from some of the precepts or laws of the Mosaic or Levitical codes. One or two such laws he mentions—the provisions, for instance, which directed that in certain cases a man gaining his freedom should leave his wife and children in slavery, or that a master who beat his slave to death should not be punished if the slave survived his torture for a day or two, because he was his money. Cynical critics a quarter of a century ago may have laughed at the sentimentality which could make a fuss about nothing; but their jeers furnish no reason for omitting the Bishop's record of the impression made by these laws upon Kafir minds.

"I shall never forget the revulsion of feeling with which a very intelligent Christian native, with whose help I was translating those words into the Zulu tongue, first heard them as words said to be uttered by the same great and gracious Being whom I was teaching him to trust in and adore. His whole soul revolted against the notion that the great and blessed God, the merciful Father of all mankind, would speak of a servant or maid as mere 'money,' and

allow a horrible crime to go unpunished, because the victim of the brutal usage had survived a few hours. My own heart and conscience at the time fully sympathised with his. But I then clung to the notion that the main substance of the narrative was historically true. And I relieved his difficulty and my own for the present by telling him that I supposed that such words as these were written down by Moses, and believed by him to have been divinely given to him, because the thought of them arose in his heart, as he conceived, by the inspiration of God, and that hence to all such laws he prefixed the formula, 'Jehovah said to Moses,' without its being on that account necessary for us to suppose that they were actually spoken by the Almighty. This was, however, a very great strain upon the cord which bound me to the ordinary belief in the historical veracity of the Pentateuch, and since then that cord has snapped in twain altogether."

The temper of mind which mocked at the questions of the intelligent Zulu may regard his revulsion of feeling as a matter to be treated rather with a laugh than seriously. But it was on no such considerations even as these that the Bishop's trust in the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch was finally dispelled. It was not only a question of marvels, of external revelation, of the moral character of Mosaic or other precepts or enactments. The doubt, first, and lastly the rejection of the narrative as history was forced upon him by the "many *impossibilities* involved in it, when treated as relating simple matters of fact," and it was his bounden duty to set forth this conclusion plainly. Infidelity, or lasciviousness, it might be urged, must be in many cases the consequences of his publishing it. It was enough to reply that infidelity and lasciviousness were as rampant under the strictest traditional theology as under the freest German criticism, and that the greatest license prevailed where the popular creed was that of the Westminster Confession. It might be said that all faith

in God must go if belief in the historical trustworthiness of the Pentateuch be lost. But the statement would be a mere falsehood.

"Our belief in the Living God remains as sure as ever, though not the Pentateuch only but the whole Bible were removed. It was written on our hearts by God's own finger, as surely as by the hand of the Apostle in the Bible, that God IS, and is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him. It is written there also as plainly as in the Bible, that God is not mocked,—that whatsoever a man soweth that shall he reap, and that he that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption."

The Bishop had here touched the very root of the matter. The superstitious reverence paid to the mere letter of a book points to the failure or to the absence of the conviction that the Church is a living society under a living Head, who is ever present with it and in it, and in every member of it. With the foresight of true spiritual perception, he could say:—

"It is, perhaps, God's will that we shall be taught in this our day, among other precious lessons, not to build up our faith upon a book, though it be the Bible itself, but to realise more truly the blessedness of knowing that He Himself, the Living God, our Father and Friend, is nearer and closer to us than any book can be, that His voice within the heart can be heard continually by the obedient child that listens for it, and *that* shall be our Teacher and Guide in the path of duty, which is the path of life, when all other helpers, even the words of the Best of Books, may fail us."

But, let the historical untrustworthiness of its narrative be what it may, the Pentateuch still contains abundance of matter "profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness."

"It still remains an integral portion of the Book, which, whatever intermixture it may show of human elements,—of error,

infirmity, passion, and ignorance,—has yet, through God's Providence, and the special working of His Spirit on the minds of the writers, been the means of revealing to us His true Name, the Name of the only living and true God, and has all along been, and, as far as we know, will never cease to be, the mightiest instrument in the hand of the Divine Teacher for awakening in our minds just conceptions of His character, and of His gracious and merciful dealings with the children of men."[1]

This confession fully satisfies any requirements of the Articles and formularies of the English Church; it more than satisfies the demands of Dr. Lushington's judgement in the case arising out of *Essays and Reviews;* but it failed altogether to satisfy the Metropolitan and his adherents, who were resolved on imposing the ecclesiastical yoke on the neck of the Church of Southern Africa. The Bishop was, nevertheless, right in saying that

"the time is come, in the ordering of God's Providence and in the history of the world, when such a work as this must be taken in hand, not in a light and scoffing spirit, but in that of a devout and living faith, which seeks only Truth, and follows fearlessly its footsteps; when such questions as these must be asked—be asked reverently, as by those who feel that they are treading on holy ground—but be asked firmly, as by those who would be able to give an account of the hope which is in them, and to know that the grounds are sure on which they rest their trust for time and for eternity."

The first passage of the Pentateuch selected by the Bishop for examination relates to the birth of Hezron and Hamul, sons of Pharez, son of Judah. This birth is stated most positively to have taken place in Canaan, and Hezron and Hamul are mentioned as included in the list of seventy

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 13.

persons (Jacob, Joseph, and Joseph's two sons being among them) who went down from Canaan into Egypt. We get then the following chronology for the incidents in the life of some of the sons of Jacob. Joseph is spoken of as thirty years old when he stands before Pharaoh as ruler over all the land of Egypt. When his father came down to Egypt nine years later, he was, therefore, thirty-nine years of age; and so his brother Judah, who was three years older than himself, was at that time forty-two. But if we turn to Genesis xxxviii. we find that in the course of these forty-two years the following events happen. Judah grows up, marries, and has three sons. Of these sons two grow up, marry (the second marrying his brother's widow), and die. The widow deceives Judah, and has by him twin sons, of whom one grows up, marries, and has two sons, Hezron and Hamul, who are thus great-grandsons of a man not forty-two years old. The Bishop remarks:—

> "The above being certainly incredible, we are obliged to conclude that one of the two accounts must be untrue. Yet the statement that Hezron and Hamul were born in the land of Canaan is vouched so positively by the many passages which sum up the seventy souls, that to give up this point is to give up an essential part of the whole story. But then this point cannot be maintained, however essential to the narrative, without supposing that the other series of events had taken place beforehand, which we have seen to be incredible."

Here, then, is a manifest contradiction. If we choose to admit, as in all honesty we are bound to admit, that this portion of the story is not a narrative of facts, we may pass on without entangling ourselves in so-called reconciliations. The commentator Thomas Scott saw that Pharez at the time of the descent into Egypt would, if born, be only an infant, and could not, therefore, be the father of children whom he

took with him from Canaan; but he thought that he had solved the difficulty by saying that the heads of families born in Egypt during Jacob's life were included in the list. The record, however, says that Pharez and his sons were all born not in Egypt but in Canaan. Kurtz professes to rid himself of the perplexity by asserting that the grandsons and great-grandsons of Jacob and Judah, though not born, were in their fathers, and therefore entered Egypt with them. But so assuredly were their great-great-grandsons and all their children from that day to this. With calm effrontery Kurtz adds,

"Objections have been raised to this interpretation from various quarters; but we must adhere to it."

Certainly we must, the Bishop replies, if the historical character of the Pentateuch is to be maintained at all costs; but it can be maintained only by the assertion of an equivocation or a falsehood—only by tearing to pieces the statements of the book whose veracity is to be defended. The very principles by which commentators like Hengstenberg allow themselves to be guided involve insincerity; words mean in many or most cases what they seem not to mean; and theological or religious considerations are introduced to account for or to justify this misuse of language. It is true that in the vision of the Apocalypse the number of the servants of God sealed on their foreheads is twelve thousand for each tribe; and we see at once that there is here no pretence of an historical enumeration. But it is quite otherwise when we find the family of Jacob at the time of the descent into Egypt mentioned as consisting of seventy souls, Jacob himself with Joseph and his two sons being included to make up the total; and when elsewhere—Genesis xlvi. 26—the number excluding these four is given at three-score and six. In spite of this, Hengstenberg treats the numeration as mystical.

"The author's object in making this computation is to show from how small a quantity of seed so rich a harvest was produced. For this object it was perfectly indifferent to him whether the numbers were 40, 50, 60, or 70. The contrast between these numbers and the hundreds of thousands remain the same. The author, who must be judged by the standard of a sacred historian, not of a writer of statistics, could hence follow his theological principle, which recommended to him the choice of the number seventy. Seven is the signature of the covenant between God and Israel. By fixing on the covenant number the author intimated that the increase was the covenant blessing."

In short, the sacred historian is emancipated from every duty by which other historians are supposed to be bound, and his standard enables him to play fast and loose with words, facts, and figures. If the contrast was the only thing of moment, it would have been far more impressive, even on his own theological principle, if he had represented the seed by the covenant number seven and the harvest by seven millions.

The difficulties connected with the gathering of the assembly or the congregation before the door of the tabernacle are more striking. That these words are meant to denote the whole body of the people there can be no question, and the attempts to limit their meaning in some passages to the chief men or the elders are desperate. The passover was to be killed by the whole assembly of the congregation; the whole congregation or mass of the people murmur against Moses and Aaron, and reproach them with bringing the whole assembly into the wilderness to kill them with hunger. In the story of Korah the congregation is pointedly distinguished from the elders. In Joshua it includes the women, the little ones, and the strangers conversant among them; and these certainly would not all be exempted from the plague which breaks

out in the congregation. Of this mighty body the 603,550 Israelitish warriors formed only a part; and this vast mass is invited or commanded to assemble before the door of the tabernacle—in other words, within the court. But the width of the tabernacle was 18 feet, its length 34, while the court was about 180 feet long and 90 broad. The latter, when thronged, might have held some 5,000 people; but if merely the adult males of the people had stood nine abreast in front of the tabernacle door (and more could not have stood in a space 18 feet in width), they would have formed a line of nearly twenty miles. Moses, again, and Joshua address the whole assembly of the people; but what human voice could make itself heard by a multitude of three millions? In the same way, allowing four square yards only for each person, we find that their camp must have covered more than 1,650 acres. According to the Levitical direction, the priest was to carry away daily the refuse of all the sacrifices to a spot outside this camp; and even if it be allowed that he might do the work by deputy, the difficulty remains much where it was for, in truth, from the numbers given, the camp, according to the commentator Thomas Scott, must have formed a movable city of twelve miles square. From this huge space the people were every day to carry out their rubbish, and into it they must bring their daily supplies water and fuel, after first cutting down the latter where they found it. The supposition, as the Bishop remarks, involves an absurdity; and it is a mere gratuitous and useless assumption, if we say that the narrative in its original form related the exodus of a scanty troop with a few women and children, for whose numbers the tabernacle described in the record might amply suffice. The question is then shifted to the date of the description of the tabernacle and of the laws relating to it; and if these belong to a comparatively late age of Jewish history, their historical character vanishes. In

any case no trust whatever can be placed in the alleged numbers of the Israelites at the time of their departure out of Egypt.

It is even more astonishing to find this people, who fled out of the land of bondage in haste, "taking their dough before it was leavened, their kneading-troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders," provided soon afterwards with tents, with armour, and with weapons. A Levitical precept refers to their having dwelt in booths on coming out of Egypt; but there is not, the Bishop remarks, the slightest indication in the story that they ever did live in booths, nor is it conceivable when they could have done so.[1] Where were the boughs and bushes needed for this purpose to be found? But if they used tents, then at the very least 200,000 would be needed for a population of two millions. Where did they get these tents? Had they been provided in expectation of marching, when their request was merely to be allowed to go three days' journey into the wilderness? They had not lived in tents in Egypt, for they were to strike the blood of the Paschal lamb on the two side-posts and on the lintel or upper door-post of their houses. How, again, were these tents carried? Their own backs were sufficiently burdened with the dough and the kneading-troughs, together with the grain needed for the first month's use, for they had no manna given to them until the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt. The cattle might, indeed, have been used for this purpose; and a single ox might perhaps carry four *canvas* tents of the lightest modern make. He could hardly bear more than one heavy tent made of skins; and thus 200,000 oxen would have been needed for the wants of the Israelites. But "oxen are not usually trained to carry goods upon their backs as pack-oxen, and will by no means do so if untrained."

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 45.

We thus find ourselves plunged into a narrative which is honeycombed with impossibilities; and each step does little more than reveal fresh difficulties or fresh marvels. The down-trodden victims of Pharaoh's taskmasters, who had crouched in abject fear beneath the driver's lash, suddenly appear as a nation with an armed force of more than 600,000 warriors. They are harnessed, and amply provided with weapons. If they had this armour and these weapons in Egypt, how had they been kept down, and how had they allowed themselves to be kept down? According to Herodotus the whole caste of all the warriors in Egypt numbered only 160,000 fighting men. If all these had gone out against the Israelites, if all had been drowned in the Red Sea, if, when dead, they had retained their weapons in their grasp, and if their armour and their weapons had all come into the hands of the fugitives, not less than 440,000 Israelite warriors would still have been without weapons or armour. Some orthodox critics have not been ashamed of resorting to the grotesque supposition that the Israelites borrowed both weapons and armour from their enemies on the night of the Exodus; but if they came out from the country known to us as Egypt, they came from a land where only the warrior caste was armed. But these men would belong to Pharaoh's army, and the surrender of all their arms would, as we have seen, leave very much more than half the Israelites unarmed. By this ludicrous supposition the Israelites, or at least 160,000 of them, would be armed, and their enemies absolutely defenceless. Yet the latter pursue, and the former cry out in panic terror, "sore afraid."

"If, then," the Bishop urged, "the historical veracity of this part of the Pentateuch is to be maintained, we must believe that 600,000 armed men (though it is inconceivable how they obtained their arms) had, by reason of their long servitude, become so debased and inhuman in their

cowardice (and yet they fought bravely enough with Amalek a month afterwards) that they could not strike a single blow for their wives and children, if not for their own lives and liberties, but could only weakly wail and murmur against Moses, saying, 'It had been better for us to serve the Egyptians than that we should die in the wilderness.'"

The difficulties connected with the institution of the Passover are of a still more serious kind, for we are now dealing with injunctions which are said to come from Jehovah Himself. We have here some passages which cannot on any supposition be made to match with the rest of the story. We have special charges about the choosing of the lamb, and other rites spreading over many days, and at the same time we have the repeated declaration that the first announcement relating to the Passover was made on the day preceding the night in which the Egyptian firstborn were destroyed. We have, therefore, to see what the narrative really implies.

"Moses called for all the elders of Israel. We must suppose, then, that the elders lived somewhere near at hand. But where did the two millions live? And how could the order to keep the Passover have been conveyed with its minutest particulars to *each individual household* in this vast community in one day, rather in twelve hours, since Moses received the command on the very same day on which they were to kill the Passover at even, Exodus xii. 6?

"It must be observed that it was absolutely necessary that the notice should be distinctly given to each separate family. For it was a matter of life and death. Upon the due performance of the Divine command it depended whether Jehovah should 'stride across' the threshold, and protect the house from the angel of death, or not. And yet the whole matter was perfectly new to them. The specific directions—about choosing the lamb, killing it at even, sprinkling its blood, and eating it with unleavened bread,

'not raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roast with fire, with loins girded, their shoes on their feet, and their staff in their hand,'—were now for the first time communicated to Moses, by him to the elders, and by them to the people. These directions, therefore, could not have been conveyed by any mere *sign*, intimating that they were now to carry into execution something about which they had been informed before."[1]

There would, however, be no great difficulty in conveying the information to the Hebrews (due time being allowed for the purpose), even if they lived in a city as large as London. But in this case twelve hours alone are allotted for this task, for the bringing together of the lambs for the Passover, and for the gigantic work of borrowing (as it is termed), which was to precede the rite. To make this borrowing the easier, we may, if we please, assume not only (as we are told) that they were living in the midst of the Egyptians, but that the latter, hating the mad folly of their king, had a friendly feeling, and even a deep respect, for the Israelites; that many of them lodged with Israelite householders; and (as Hengstenberg supposes) that these lodgers were persons of good property, who would give from their abundance gold and silver ornaments and clothes. In this way we may account for the Hebrews possessing not a little raiment and jewelry; but we can do so only on the hypothesis that under the guise of borrowing they were robbing and pillaging not their enemies but their friends. The difficulty of the supposition that the latter would be thus eager to lend to a people who were in the wild excitement of instant departure is one of which critics like Hengstenberg seem to think it needless to take any notice.

But the Hebrews were not living together with the Egyptians. They were owners of vast herds and flocks which they must have been tending over a wide extent of country. If we

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 56.

take the numbers of the Pentateuch, at least 150,000 male lambs would be wanted for that first Passover, and this according to the experience of sheep masters in Australia and Natal implies a flock of 2,000,000 sheep and lambs of all ages, of which two only could be supported by each acre of land. But even if five sheep be allowed to each acre, the Israelites would have required 400,000 acres of grazing land for their sheep alone, and, it may be, a larger space still for their oxen. They would, therefore, be scattered over an area equal to that of the counties of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire together. To all these people, then, so scattered, the warning to keep the Passover within twelve hours had to be conveyed, and with it the strict injunction that no one was to go out at the door of his house until the morning! But they were not allowed to obey this injunction even if they had willed to do so, for at midnight came from Moses the order for instant departure to families who had only just been told that they were not to think of stirring from their houses before daybreak.

We are not, in these incidents, dealing with marvels, miracles, and prodigies; but we are intangled in a perfect network of impossibilities. In an hour or two from the time of receiving the midnight order a population of two millions starts, without leaving one behind, together with all their flocks, herds, and goods.

"Remembering as I do," writes the Bishop, "the confusion in my own household of thirty or forty persons when once we were obliged to fly at dead of night—having been roused from our beds by a false alarm that an invading Zulu force had entered the colony, had evaded the English troops sent to meet them, and was making its way direct for our station, killing right and left as it came along—I do not hesitate to declare this statement to be utterly incredible and impossible. Were an English village of (say) two thousand people to be called suddenly to retreat in this way, with old people

young children, and infants, what indescribable distress there would be! But what shall be said of a thousand times as many? And what of the sick and infirm, or the women in recent or in imminent child-birth, in a population like that of London, where the births are 264 a day, or about one every five minutes?

"But this," he adds, "is but a very small part of the difficulty. We are required to believe that in one single day the order to start was communicated suddenly, at midnight, to every single family of every town and village, throughout a tract of country as large as Hertfordshire, but ten times as thickly peopled; that in obedience to such orders, having first 'borrowed' very largely from their Egyptian neighbours in all directions (though, if we are to assume Egyptians occupying the same territory with the Hebrews, the extent of it must be very much increased), they then came in from all parts of the land of Goshen to Rameses, bringing with them the sick and infirm, the young and the aged; further, that, since receiving the summons, they had sent out to gather in all their flocks and herds, spread over so wide a district, and had driven them also to Rameses; and lastly, that, having done all this, since they were roused at midnight, they were started again from Rameses that very same day, and marched on to Succoth, not leaving a single sick or infirm person, a single woman in child-birth, or even 'a single hoof' behind them." [1]

Such in all strictness is the Exodus story. Kurtz felt and admitted it to be in many respects impossible, although of its extravagent absurdity he says nothing. He, an orthodox critic, writing to uphold the historical accuracy and veracity of the Pentateuch, cannot bring himself to believe that they all meet at Rameses, many of them merely to retrace their steps. Although the narrative says plainly, "the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand [warriors] on foot," he insists that some only started

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 62.

from Rameses, the rest joining them on their road. The tale speaks of a distance of about sixty miles traversed in three days. Kurtz remarks :—

"Others may believe it, if they please. But I cannot believe that such a procession as we have described could keep up a journey of seventeen or twenty miles a day for three days running. Even if they only *travelled* three days, it would certainly be necessary to assume, as Tischendorf does, that there were periods of rest of longer duration—that is, actual days of rest between the three marching days. But had there been any such days, it can scarcely be supposed that a narrative so minute would have failed to notice them. But we have next to imagine this mighty throng moving through the open desert; let it be granted, as some have supposed, in a wide body, fifty men abreast. These, with only a yard between each rank, would form a column more than twenty-two miles long, and thus, far from starting at one and the same hour from Rameses or from Succoth, the last of the body could not have stirred till the first had advanced that distance, 'more than two days' journey for such a mixed company as this.'"[1]

So speaking, we leave out of sight the flocks and herds, the first of which might eat, while their followers would certainly trample down, such grass or herbage as might be found. How then were these two millions of sheep and cattle sustained on the march from Rameses to the Red Sea? But let Kurtz have the full benefit of the supposition that most of them joined the company after the Hebrews had left Rameses. Even this, as the Bishop remarks with irresistible logic, would not affect the difficulty of so many miles of people marching with so many miles of sheep and oxen.

"It would only throw it on to a further stage of the journey. For when, on the third day, they turned aside and 'en-

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 64.

> camped by the sea,' what then did this enormous multitude of cattle feed upon?"

How, again, were they fed when they had crossed to the other side? The people, we are told, were supplied with manna, and might also be sustained by their flocks and herds; but for the latter there was no extraordinary provision, and they were thus left to live on such fodder as they could find in the wilderness, and this for the long space of forty years. The story precludes the notion that they were scattered over indefinite tracts of country. The people had to keep together for self-defence; and the flocks, if scattered, must have been guarded by large bodies of armed men. Much has been said of changes of climate, caused by disappearance of vegetation, in the Sinaitic peninsula; but such notions are not countenanced by the old record. The story describes the region generally as being then, what it is now, "a waste howling wilderness," a land of "fiery serpents, scorpions, and drought," where there was "no water to drink."

Fully aware of the difficulties thus encountered on both sides of the question, Dr. Stanley admitted that the maintenance of the Israelites during their long wanderings could not be accounted for by a reference to miracles.

> "Except the manna, the quails, and the three interventions with regard to water, none such," he said, "are mentioned in the Mosaic history; and if we have no warrant to take away, we have no warrant to add."

But, again, he would not allow that such difficulties furnished a proof of the unhistorical character of the narrative; and he appealed to Ewald in support of his conclusion that

> "the general truth of the wanderings in the wilderness is an essential preliminary to the whole of the subsequent history of Israel."

The Bishop replied that, though Ewald had asserted, he

had failed to show, this; that the story of the Exodus is as much out of harmony with some parts of the later history as it is in harmony with others, and that it is at the least possible that the latter also may turn out to be unhistorical. Dr. Stanley fell back, further, on a supposed spread of the Hebrews "far and wide through the whole peninsula," and "on the constant means of support from their own flocks and herds." The latter point may be admitted, the real question being how the cattle were supported, the narrative saying nothing about any dispersal of the people, and distinctly implying that they had to keep together everywhere. He adduced the further fact that a population nearly, if not quite, equal to the whole permanent population of the peninsula, passes yearly through the desert on the way to and from Mecca. But the caravan of pilgrims numbers about five thousand, and carries ample stores on the backs of camels. The Hebrew population numbered two millions, and had hurried out of Egypt without "having prepared for themselves any victual," and had no means of carrying food, if they had it.[1] The caravan passes through with all practicable speed: the Hebrews remained a year in one most desolate spot, and spent forty years in wandering through other parts of the desert. They were encumbered with vast herds, needing daily supplies of water: the caravan hurries along with camels which can go for days without drinking. The reference to some climatic changes in the peninsula is, as we have seen, still more desperate. Whatever change there may have been, the story of the Exodus speaks of it as being then, what it is now, "an evil place," without fruits, without crops, without water. Groves of acacia-trees may have disappeared in the wadys or winter-torrent courses, and the lessening or concentration of the rainfall may have contracted somewhat the scanty area of grass; but the differ-

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 71.

ence would be inappreciable, when the question affects the sustenance of millions. The monks of St. Catharine have created a paradise of flowers, fruit, and grass. But the paradise extends over some four or five acres, and has been the work of centuries; and the attempt to explain the sustenance of a mighty multitude at a moment's notice on the stony soil of the plain beneath Sinai by the results of unremitting labour applied to a small garden is absurd. It is more to the purpose to refer to the Amalekites. There is no proof that they *lived* in the Sinaitic desert, which Jeremiah describes as "a land that no man passed through and where no man dwelt." There is, indeed, the ruined city of Petra; but Petra is in an oasis, not in the wilderness. As he approached it, Stanley found that he had "suddenly left the desert."

> "Instead of the absolute nakedness of the Sinaitic valleys, we found ourselves walking on grass sprinkled with flowers, and the level platforms on each side were filled with sprouting corn."

But compared with the population of the Israelites that of Petra was nothing. That a writer so able and earnest as Stanley would say all that could be said to uphold the general trustworthiness of the Mosaic narrative, we may be sure; but he was too candid to withhold the confession that, though these considerations might mitigate the force of the difficulty, they failed to solve it. To how slight an extent they even mitigate it, it can scarcely be necessary to say. Nor need we dwell on the ridiculous supposition that near the populous Mount Seir they must come into intercourse with rich nations and tribes who would supply them easily with all the necessaries of life. The tribes would at the outside be numbered by a few thousands; and we have to picture to ourselves one or two myriads supplying the needs of millions. The cattle must be thought of almost more than the people, who, though

they might in part live on their flocks, could not buy grass or other food for them. Such hypotheses may be indefinitely multiplied; but every hypothesis will do violence more or less to plain statements of the narrative. There remains another difficulty. The Israelites were under Sinai for nearly a year, and they kept the second Passover there in the first month of their ecclesiastical year, March-April, when the weather is bitterly cold. Whence did the people at this time obtain fuel, not merely for their daily cooking, but also for warmth? and how, under such circumstances, were the cattle saved from cold and starvation?

This nation with its vast mass of 600,000 warriors had been told that their mission was to displace the tribes of Canaan; but before they emerged from the desert they received a Divine assurance that hornets should drive out these tribes before them; that the work of expulsion should be done gradually, till the increase in their own numbers should enable them to inherit the land, the reason for not expelling them in a single year being the fear that otherwise the land might become desolate and the beasts of the field multiply against the new comers. But, according to the Pentateuch story, the inheritance of the twelve tribes, east and west of Jordan, covered about seven millions of acres. The acreage of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, is about half this quantity, and their population in 1851 was somewhat under 1,150,000—not greater, therefore, in proportion than that of the Israelites on their entering Canaan, without reckoning the Canaanites, who are described as seven nations, greater and mightier than Israel itself.

> "Surely," remarks the Bishop, "it cannot be said that these three eastern counties, with their flourishing towns . . . . are in any danger of their lying 'desolate,' with the beasts of the field multiplying against the human inhabitants." [1]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 83.

But the colony of Natal has an extent of 18,000 square miles, with a population, black and white included, which in 1861–62 did not greatly exceed 150,000. The numbers are scanty, and the land could bear vastly more; but the human inhabitants thirty years ago were well able to hold their ground against the beasts of the field, few of which could now be seen, while lions, elephants, and other species which had once abounded in the country, have long since disappeared.

"Natal, in fact, should have a population of three millions, in order to be compared for density of population with the land of Canaan, according to the story, after the entrance of the Israelites, without reckoning the old inhabitants."

The truth is that, without going further, we are dealing with records, which, regarded strictly as historical narratives, are wholly worthless. Whatever moral and spiritual beauty they may exhibit, whatever righteous lessons or warnings they may inforce, remains unaffected by the investigation; but the authority of the book as a history is reduced to a level not much higher than that of the beautiful apologue of Prodikos which describes the trial and testing of the youthful Herakles by Kakia and Arete. But although we have ample grounds already for setting down the narratives of the Pentateuch generally as untrustworthy, the perplexities connected with these stories are far from having been fully enumerated. Thus for the huge total of two million Israelites all the first-born males from a month old and upwards are given as 2,273, and these are distinctly named as firstborns on the mother's side, the proportion to the whole number of males being as 1 to 42.

"In other words, the number of boys in every family must have been on the average forty-two, and each woman who became a mother must have been the mother of this number of sons."

It is scarcely worth while to go through the attempts at reconciliation or explanation offered for statements which imply that there were only 60,000 child-bearing women to 600,000 men, so that only one man in ten could have a wife and children. Of orthodox critics some urge the prevalence, others the rarity, of polygamy, as helping us to account for these assertions. But the inquiry sends us now further afield. That the period of 430 years assigned for the sojourning or pilgrimage of the children of Israel is to be reckoned from the time of the covenant made with Abraham there can be no doubt. The time spent in Egypt after the descent of Jacob and his family would thus be 215 years. This conclusion removes some astounding perplexities, for, if we take the 430 years as the actual sojourn in Egypt,

> "Moses, who was eighty years old at the time of the Exodus, must have been born 350 years after the migration into Egypt, when his mother . . . must have been at the very least 256 years old." [1]

The shorter period is more in harmony with the narrative, which, as a rule, gives the contemporaries of Moses and Aaron as descendants in the third, and those of Joshua and Eleazar as descendants in the fourth, generation from some one of the sons or grandsons of Jacob, who went down with him into Egypt. But the comment involved in these statements on the value of other parts of the narrative is amazing indeed. The twelve sons of Jacob are said to have had between them fifty-three sons, or an average of four and a half to each.

> "Let us suppose," the Bishop writes, "that they increased in this way from generation to generation. Then in the first generation, that of Kohath, there would be fifty-four males; in the second, that of Amram, 243; in the third, that of Moses and Aaron, 1,094; and in the fourth, that of Joshua

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 93.

and Eleazar, 4,923: that is to say, instead of 600,000 warriors in the prime of life, there could not have been 5,000. Further, if the numbers of all the males in the four generations be added together (which supposes that they were all living at the time of the Exodus), they would only amount to 6,311. If we even add to them the numbers of the fifth generation, 22,154, who would be mostly children, the sum total of males of all generations could not, according to these data, have exceeded 28,465, instead of being 1,000,000." [1]

A further examination of the genealogical records reveals still greater extravagance. In Genesis xlvi. 23, Dan is spoken of as having one son. In Numbers xxiii. 42, the sons of Dan consist of only one family. Dan, therefore, had no more sons born to him in Egypt. He would thus in the fourth generation have had twenty-seven warriors descended from him; but in Numbers ii. 26, they are given as 62,700, and in xxvi. 43, as 64,000. Yet more, these descendants of the one son of Dan are represented as nearly double the number of the ten sons of Benjamin. The factors relating to the family of Levi give similar results. How are they to be dealt with? The problem is one of hopeless difficulty, and the efforts to solve it are not less desperate. Kurtz insists that Abraham and those who came after him all had hundreds, if not thousands, of servants, who, as being circumcised, were reckoned as his family, and that in Egypt his own immediate descendants intermarried with these servants. But with all such hypotheses the narrative of the Pentateuch is altogether in conflict. Nothing is said of this multitude of dependents as going down with Jacob into Egypt. Jacob has none such when he meets with his brother Esau. If he had possessed them, would he have sent his darling son Joseph, at seventeen years of age, to wander alone and unattended in search of his brothers? His brothers, again, are mentioned as feeding their flocks unattended; and

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 103.

indeed the presence of bands of servants would have been highly inconvenient for the execution of their designs against Joseph. Nothing is said of servants accompanying the sons of Jacob when they go to buy corn in Egypt. On the contrary, each man has his ass, and when they find their money in their sacks, their fear is that Joseph will confiscate their beasts, but they make no mention of any servants. They had, moreover, eleven asses, and eleven sacks; and the contents of these sacks would have yielded but scanty support for many starving thousands. The comments and explanations which deal with these perplexities are vain attempts to tear down the walls of a prison-house with the bare hand.

These difficulties of inconsistency, downright contradiction, and impossibility, are interwoven with the whole texture of the Pentateuch records. The Levitical legislation, purporting to be drawn up specially for the people during their sojourn in the desert, assumes that they are to be numbered by millions. But the entrance to the tabernacle is, as we have seen, so narrow that scarcely nine men could stand abreast in front of it; and the number of the priests, after the death of Nadab and Abihu, is only three. For each birth there was to be a burnt-offering and a sin-offering; and as the births for such a population would be 250 daily, 500 sacrifices would have to be offered up each day on this account alone. The rules show that scarcely less than five minutes could be allowed for each sacrifice; and if these offerings were taken separately, they would occupy not a single day of twelve hours, but forty-two hours consecutively. The notion of many simultaneous offerings receives no countenance from the statements of the Pentateuch, and there was but one altar, about nine feet square, on which, therefore, not many victims could be placed together. These victims might be lambs or pigeons; and the latter are permitted as a lighter and easier offering for the poor to bring during their sojourn in the wilderness. "They are, therefore,

spoken of as being in abundance, as being within the reach of every one, in the wilderness under Sinai."[1] It is absolutely impossible to resist the conclusion that these enactments were framed at some time when, and some place where, it would really be a boon to the poor to allow them to offer pigeons instead of lambs; but the time was not that of the sojourn in the desert, nor was the place the peninsula of Sinai. Doves, indeed, are supposed to be birds of the wilderness; but the wilderness is, probably, that of Judah, not the stony wastes of Arabia. If, however, by such pleas we fancy for a moment that we have escaped, or at least lessened, one difficulty, it is only to find ourselves face to face with another. The priests were enjoined to eat the sin-offerings in the most holy place. There were but three of them, and the number of the offerings would be 264 daily. Each, therefore, would have to devour eighty-eight pigeons every day. To the priests also belong the first-born of all cattle; and these would be reckoned by hundreds of thousands yearly. What were three priests to do with such an inheritance? The requirements on their powers during the feast of the Passover were on a scale vastly more gigantic. At the second Passover, under Sinai, 150,000 lambs were killed, it would seem, between the two evenings; that is, between the setting of the sun and the closing in of actual night. In other words, in about two hours each priest had to sprinkle the blood of 50,000 lambs, at the rate of 400 lambs every minute. But where were these animals slain? The court of the tabernacle, when thronged most densely, would not have held more than 5000 people; and how then

> "are we to conceive 150,000 lambs being killed within it by at least 150,000 people, at the rate of 1,250 lambs a minute?"[2]

Any slight reduction, based on the calculation that a lamb

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part I. p. 125. [2] *Ib.* p. 132.

may have sufficed for twenty people, instead of for eight or ten, has no appreciable effect on the difficulty. The amount of slaughtering and sprinkling to be done remains an absolute impossibility. Kurtz tries to get out of the snare by saying that "the place which Jehovah shall choose to place His Name there" means not the sanctuary but the city or camp, within which the sanctuary was situated—in other words, that, so long as they were anywhere within the limits of this city or camp, each father of a family might offer the lamb for his household within his own tent. But the narrative of the Pentateuch gives no warrant for any such supposition; and in the Book of Leviticus it is expressly commanded that all burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, sin-offerings, trespass-offerings, shall be killed "at the *door of the tabernacle* of the congregation, and the blood be sprinkled *upon the altar* round about."

Nor do we move more freely when we pass from the region of ceremonial enactments to incidents of the popular history. We have seen that the enormous numbers of the Israelites are made up from different sets of factors, all of which yield as nearly as possible the same results. The factors, therefore, have been as deliberately framed as the totals; and we cannot, then, take these totals as mere Eastern superlatives, as we certainly may when we are told that David slew 40,000 Syrian horsemen; or that Pekah slew in one day 120,000 "sons of valour" of the kingdom of Judah; or that the men of Judah, fighting with Jeroboam II., smote down of his warriors 500,000 chosen men. The Bishop is thus more than justified in saying—he was bound to say—that these numbers were woven as a thread into the whole story of the Exodus, and cannot be taken out without tearing the whole fabric to pieces. He was justified also in expressing thankfulness "that we are no longer obliged to believe, as a matter of fact, of vital consequence to our eternal hope, the story of the

Midianitish war."[1] The obligation had sprung simply from the hypothesis or assumption of the perfect veracity of the Mosaic history; with the fall of the hypothesis the supposed duty fades away.

A few minds might, it is true, put aside the obligation as imaginary and unreal; but the idea that there was such an obligation had exercised a most injurious influence on many. It had led Bishop Butler to urge that particular acts, which would otherwise be in the highest degree immoral, ceased to be immoral under a Divine commission to do them. It had led Dr. Arnold to regard robbery, pillage, burning, and massacre, as a merciful recompense to the Canaanites, who would be swept away to make room for tribes who are described as being not much, if at all, better than they. It had led to gross blasphemies against the Divine Nature, which was represented as sanctioning in one age or country that which was condemned or prohibited in another. But all these curious pleadings vanish into air when we really look into the story and there find

> "that 12,000 Israelites slew all the males of the Midianites, took captive all the females and children, seized all their cattle and flocks (72,000 oxen, 61,000 asses, 675,000 sheep) and all their goods, and burnt all their cities and all their goodly castles, without the loss of one single man, and then by command of Moses butchered in cold blood all the women and children"

with the exception of 32,000 girls who were kept as prizes for the conquerors. This alone is enough to show that we are reading a narrative whose veracity may be put much on the

[1] In a despatch dated November 16, 1878, Sir Bartle Frere urged as a plea for the raids and incroachments of the Boers against the Zulus that the former had "a sincere belief in the Divine authority for what they did," based upon "the old commands which they found in parts of their Bible to exterminate the Gentiles and take their lands in possession."

same level with that of the story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves; and it becomes a superfluous, as it is assuredly a loathsome, task, when we turn to calculate the numbers thus slaughtered, and find that they amount to 48,000 women and (say) 20,000 boys, and that to these must be added a like number of men put to death, all this being done by 12,000 Israelites, who must, further, have carried off 100,000 captives, eight at least to each man, and driven before them at the same time 808,000 head of cattle. In dealing with horrors, as compared with which the tragedy of Cawnpore sinks into nothing, it is satisfactory to find that the chronology of the campaign is as impossible as are its incidents. Aaron died, we are told, on the first day of the fifth month of the fortieth year of the wanderings, the year also of the Midianitish expedition. During the month of mourning which followed his death nothing was done. For the war in which they then engaged with the Midianitish king Arad another month probably must be allowed, and a fortnight at least for the journey from Mount Hor, by the way of the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom, when they were plagued with fiery serpents and Moses set up a serpent of brass. The nine encampments next mentioned must have taken up another month, while another must be allowed for the crushing of the Amorite king Sihon and the destruction of all his cities. Scarcely less than a fortnight would have been taken up with spying out Jaazer and driving thence the Amorites, and another month for the destruction of Og, king of Bashan, with all his cities and all his people, *not one* being left alive. This computation brings us to the first day of the eleventh month, the very day on which Moses is said to have addressed the people in the plains of Moab. But into this period must be, further, crowded the following events: the march to the plains of Moab, the journeys and prophesyings of Balaam, the sojourn of Israel in Shittim with its attendant debauchery, the death

of 24,000 by the plague, the second numbering, and the Midianitish war.

The picture revealed to us by this examination of the Mosaic narrative is, indeed, astonishing, and furnishes a marvellous comment on the words which the Bishop cites from its orthodox defender Hävernick.

> "If the Pentateuch would fully maintain its right to the position which it claims as the work of Moses and the commencement of the sacred records of the covenant people, it must fulfil the requisition of showing itself to be a work *historically true*—containing a history which shall vindicate itself by critical examination, as maintaining invariably the character of perfect truth in reference to the assumed period of its composition."

Instead of this, we find a series of incidents absolutely impossible in themselves, a series of narratives which contradict or exclude each other, and a reckoning of population in which several sets of factors have been very deliberately framed to suit certain preconceived totals. We have, further, a history which, professing to tell us of wanderings spread over forty years, is absolutely silent about thirty-seven of those years, and thus leads us to think that the forty years are as little to be depended on as the numbers, armour, and weapons of the 600,000 warriors who march from Rameses. In this mighty labyrinth of contradictions and impossibilities nothing has been said as to the suspicions which must attach to the ages reached by patriarchs and others. We have no warrant whatever for the fancy that the duration of human life has diminished or that it ever was greater than it is now; and this suspicion throws additional uncertainty over not merely a part, but the whole, of the history. There is, lastly, the obscurity attaching to the whole of the Egyptian sojourn. Where or what was Goshen? It lay far away to the east of

the river, and formed the best or fat of the land ; but in the country known to us as Egypt, the only fertile part is the strip affected by the annual inundations. This strip has no pasture ; and the Israelites were strictly herdsmen. From Herodotus it would seem that the region commonly known as Goshen was in his time, and had always been, little better than a salt marsh. The Misraim of the Pentateuch is a country of horses and horsemen : Egypt had none. The former had lions : the latter had none. In the former the tillage is described as that of laborious hand work with artificial irrigation : in Egypt the work was done by the river. The contrast might be carried much further ; and perhaps at the worst it may show only that the compilers of the narrative were but little acquainted with the country which they were professing to describe. But we may fairly suspect that there are difficulties in quarters where we may be least disposed to look for them, and all of them force us to the same conclusion that throughout the narrative of the Pentateuch we have no firm standing-ground.

But the very discrepancies which run through these books, as they have come down to us, are of themselves conclusive evidence that the books are not the work of one hand. It is quite impossible that one and the same man should at the same time write off a story which describes in parts the doings of a scanty band, and in others the doings of an immense multitude or even nation. The 600,000 warriors, implying a population of at least two millions, were not called into being by the man who speaks of a clan or tribe with three priests, a tabernacle with a length and breadth of only a few feet, and a court capable of accommodating, when most densely thronged, only some four or five thousand persons. If then the books, as we now have them, are composite, it is quite certain that the story which speaks of the Hebrews in Egypt as a very small society of slaves must be

much older than the record which represents them as a mighty people. It becomes, therefore, not less certain that, whatever portions may be the writing of Moses, he had nothing to do with the more pretentious descriptions; in other words, that he can have been concerned at the most with a very small portion of the Pentateuch. Were it otherwise, we should have to charge him with deliberate falsification in the numbering of the tribes and in all the records which are affected by this numbering. On the other hand, if he had nothing to do with these later additions, all that we need necessarily to conclude is that the original narrative, whatever it may have been, was not regarded by the later compilers as possessing a character too sacred to allow of their meddling with it. In their hands the earlier traditions have undergone a treatment precisely corresponding to that of the old Greek or Roman traditions which have been moulded into the narratives of Herodotus or Livy.

The contradictions in the story of the Pentateuch lead, therefore, directly to questions of authorship; and to these the Bishop had to address himself in the second and the subsequent portions of his work. There surely can be no need even to state that no one, having finished one account of any incident or event, would go on without the break of a line to give another and a totally different account of the same event. Yet this is just what we find in the first two chapters of the Book of Genesis—in other words, in the two accounts of the Creation. On almost every point the two narratives contradict each other. In the first, the earth emerges from the waters, and is therefore saturated with moisture: in the second, the whole face of the ground is dry and needs to be moistened. In the first, the birds and beasts are created before man: in the second, man comes before the birds and beasts. In the first, all fowls that fly are made out of the waters: in the second, they are made out of the ground.

In the first, man is created in the image of God: in the second, he is made of the dust of the ground and is merely animated with the breath of life; and only after his disobedience God is represented as saying, "The man has become as one of us, to know good and evil." In the first, man is made lord of the whole earth: in the second, he is merely placed in the garden to dress and to keep it. But more particularly, in the first, man and woman are created together,

> "as the closing and completing work of the whole Creation—created also, it is evidently implied, in the same kind of way, to be the complement of one another. In the second, the beasts and birds are created *between* the man and the woman. First, the man is made, of the dust of the ground: he is placed *by himself* in the garden, charged with a solemn command, and threatened with a curse if he breaks it; then the beasts and birds are made, and the man gives names to them; and lastly, after all this, the woman is made, out of one of his ribs, but merely as a helpmate for the man." [1]

Two narratives in more pointed antagonism could scarcely be found anywhere. They cannot, therefore, come from the same hand. But on looking further we see that in the first narrative the Creator is always spoken of by the name Elohim, in the second always as Jehovah-Elohim, except in one passage only, iii. 1, 3, 8, where the writer seems to abstain, for some reason, from placing the name "Jehovah" in the mouth of the serpent.

Contradictions of the same kind may be seen in the accounts of the Deluge. In the one, two of every sort of beasts, birds, cattle, creeping things, are to enter the ark: in the other, the number two is confined to unclean beasts, while all other creatures are to be taken by sevens. But here too we find that the former account exhibits only

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 172.

Elohim; the other has Jehovah as well as Elohim, though not the compound form Jehovah-Elohim. We thus have, at least, two writers, the Elohist and the Jehovist, of whom the former is manifestly the older. The noting of these facts leads us to mark, further, certain peculiarities of these writers. Thus the Elohist uses the expression El Shaddai, "Almighty God," which the Jehovist never employs. The latter repeatedly uses Israel as a personal name for Jacob: the Elohist never. So, again, where the Elohist speaks of Padan or Padan-Aram, the later writer speaks always of Aram-Naharaim. That the Elohistic document, as compared with the later additions, is one of very considerable antiquity, we may most reasonably infer; but it is certain that it was not regarded by the later writer, or writers, with any exaggerated or superstitious reverence. They dealt with it, manifestly, as they pleased. What, then, is the ultimate conclusion? Clearly this, at least, that Moses was not the later of these two writers. But is Moses himself an historical character? In great likelihood, yes. Traditions relating to his career as a deliverer of his countrymen out of captivity recorded, beyond doubt, the profound impression made on the national mind by the circumstances of that deliverance,[1] and we may well believe that the lessons taught by that simple narrative may have been to the full as striking, instructive, and edifying as any of those which Mr. Maurice found, or thought that he found, in the Pentateuch as it has come down to us.

But there is no lack of other signs which point to a later age than that of the Exodus for the composition of some parts, at least, of the Pentateuch. Before a sanctuary exists, we hear (Exodus xxx. 13, &c.) of the "shekel of the sanctuary." A mighty strong west wind—in the original Hebrew, a wind of the sea, that is of the Mediterranean Sea—takes away the locusts from Egypt, and casts them into the Red

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 185.

Sea; but the Mediterranean Sea winds would blow, not over the land of Egypt, but across Canaan. Hence this passage was written by some one settled in the latter country, and therefore not by Moses. In Deuteronomy xi. 29, 30, Moses speaks of the Canaanites which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal beside the plains of Moreh; but according to the Book of Joshua the name Gilgal was not given to the place till the people had been circumcised after entering the land of Canaan.[1] The same remark applies to the name Dan as a local designation; and from the Book of Judges we learn that the name was given at a time when there was no king in Israel. These words were, therefore, written by some one living after the establishment of the monarchy; and therefore the passage in the Book of Joshua which relates the changing of the name of the city of Laish into Dan was not written by Joshua. So in Genesis xxxvi. 31, mention is made of kings that reigned in Edom, before the reign of any king in Israel. This passage, therefore, could not have been written at the earliest before the days of Saul. In the first of the books which bear the name of Samuel, ix. 9, we are told that the person then called Roeh, a "seer," had in earlier times been known as Nabi, or prophet. But in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, the word Nabi alone occurs, Roeh being never found. Therefore, if the statement in the Book of Samuel be correct, these books cannot have been brought into their present shape before the days of Samuel. For the marvel of the sun standing still over Gibeon and the moon over Ajalon, Joshua x. 13 is said to refer to the book of Jasher. Is it possible that Joshua could appeal to another book as testimony for an event in which he himself was primarily and personally concerned? But the injunction of David to teach the men of Judah the use of the bow is also referred to the book of Jasher. Therefore the passage in Joshua referring to

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 200.

this book was written not earlier than the reign of David. In the Book of Numbers (xxi. 13–15) is a curious passage informing us that Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites, and referring to the book of the wars of Jehovah for what he did in the Red Sea and in the brook of Arnon. But the information about Arnon as the border of Moab would have been notorious for those for whom Moses was writing;[1] and the song referred to, evidently as an ancient one, could only just have been composed, since it refers to events which had happened, according to the story, only a few days before. This passage, therefore, was not written during the life-time of Moses.

The Bishop has thus clearly shown the history of the Pentateuch to be an impossible narrative, and exhibited unmistakably its composite character. The two accounts of the Creation and the Flood cannot have come from the same writer at the same time; nor is it conceivable that a leader and lawgiver, such as Moses is represented to have been, can have put together an artificial chronology, and invented a series of factors, inconsistent with each other, yet all yielding the same impossible total for the Israelites of the Exodus. Nor must it be forgotten that, for the position assumed by the more pronounced Bibliolaters who poured out the vials of their wrath upon the Bishop of Natal, the proving of a single contradiction or inconsistency is as fatal as the proving of a hundred. But, instead of occurring in units or in tens, they are as thick as autumn leaves in Vallombrosa. Historians writing in a later age can seldom play faultlessly the part of a contemporary eye-witness and chronicler. Some writer in Genesis (xii. 6, xiii. 7) is careful to state that the Canaanite and the Perizzite were then in the land; another in Deuteronomy reminds the reader that Moses declared the law in the land of Moab on the other side Jordan—both showing thus

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 205.

that they lived and wrote after the expulsion or destruction of the Canaanites, and after their settlement on the west side of Jordan. Another in Leviticus (xviii. 28), writing according to the story during the sojourn in the wilderness, warns his countrymen so to live that the land may not spue them out as it had spued out the natives which were before them. The name of the city of Kirjath-Arba was changed to Hebron after the conquest by Caleb in the days of Joshua; yet the author of the Pentateuch (Genesis xiii. 18) is acquainted with its later name. The blessing of the tribes by Moses is one of the most striking and not least important passages of the Book of Deuteronomy: yet it is introduced by a notice which cannot have been written by Moses himself, and which tends at the least to throw a doubt on the genuineness of the blessing itself.

Had the Bishop proposed to himself a work of destruction only, his task would have been at this point ended. He had shown that, as a history, the Pentateuch was untrustworthy from beginning to end, and that throughout it bristled with impossibilities. He had shown that a legislation which is set forth as applying to the wanderings in the desert must have been put together long after the settlement in Canaan. He had shown still more that frightful massacres done in cold blood under the alleged sanction and command of God Himself are historically impossible, and had their origin either in the extravagances of popular tradition or in the imagination of the compiler.

Thus far he had been moving on sure ground. The inconsistencies cannot be explained away: the contradictions cannot be removed, and therefore the superstition which worships the letter of the Bible rests absolutely upon nothing, and is, in fact, a wild and absurd dream. But the Bishop could not rest here. He was not bound to show how the Pentateuch assumed the shape in which it has come down

to us; yet, if the task were practicable, it would bring before us an instructive chapter in the history of the human mind. He felt, therefore, that he ought to see whether these books, when compared with other portions of the Old Testament, might not reveal the secret of their composition; but he was conscious at the same time that he was entering now on the field of conjecture, in which the conclusions reached must remain in greater or less degree matters of opinion.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PENTATEUCH: ITS COMPOSITION.

ON this portion of his task, the Bishop entered with cheerfulness as well as with energy; and on the whole the lapse of a quarter of a century has justified his confidence. The foundation of the inquiry was laid in the distinction traced between the Elohist and Jehovist writers of the Pentateuch. The matter contributed by the former amounted, as he believed, to about one half of the Book of Genesis, a small part of Exodus, still less of Numbers, a very small portion of Deuteronomy, and about the same of Joshua.[1] Now, it is perfectly clear that if in these portions of the Pentateuch the word used for God is Elohim, and that this word is adhered to until we reach the narrative of a special revelation of the name Jehovah, the writer of these portions must be older than other writers to whom this name is familiar. This special revelation we have in the third and sixth chapters of the Book of Exodus. The declaration that to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, God had made himself known under the name of El Shaddai, but that by the name Jehovah he was not known to them, cannot, he insisted, be explained to say

"anything else than this—that the name Jehovah was not known at all to the Patriarchs, but was now for the first

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 228.

time revealed as the name by which the God of Israel would be henceforth distinguished from all other gods."[1]

Of this, it is not too much to say, there can be no question. But it is astonishing to find that the declaration is not borne out by the record.

"We come at once," the Bishop remarks, "on the contradictory fact that the name Jehovah is repeatedly used in the earlier parts of the story."

It is used not merely in relating events which the writer might describe under forms familiar to himself and to his hearers.

"It is put into the mouths of the Patriarchs themselves. It is known to Eve, to Lamech, and to Noah; to Sarai, Rebekah, Leah, Rachel; to Laban and Bethuel; even to heathens, as to Abimelech, the Philistine king of Gerar; and, generally, we are told that as early as the time of Enos, the son of Seth, 'then began men to call upon the name of Jehovah,' though the name was already known to Eve, according to the narrative, more than two centuries before."

Attempts have of course been made to reconcile these discrepancies; and in the effort Kurtz can bring himself to say:—

"It is not expressly said that the name Jehovah was unknown before the time of Moses, but merely that in the Patriarchal age God had not revealed the fulness and depths of His Nature to which that name particularly belonged."

But it *is* expressly said, "By my name Jehovah I was *not* known to them." Even the learned Jewish critic and commentator Kalisch can speak of the following as the "only possible" explanation:—

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 230.

"My name Jehovah has not been understood and comprehended by the Patriarchs in its essence and depth, although it was even in their time occasionally mentioned."

It is mentioned, not occasionally only, but constantly, and in phrases which imply as full a connotation as any in the Book of Exodus. "Abraham believed in Jehovah, and He counted it to him for righteousness." "I am Jehovah, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it," &c. "And Jacob vowed a vow, If God will be with me, then shall Jehovah be my God." But wherever, throughout the Book of Genesis, this name is put into the mouth of any one, the writer is the Jehovist.

"In fact, the Elohist never uses the name Jehovah in his narrative till after he has explained its origin," and he "represents the name as having been first announced to Moses and the Israelites at the time of the Exodus. . . . The Jehovist uses it freely all along; and, without giving any account of its first introduction, he puts it in the mouth of Eve. . . . The question now to be considered is, which of these two writers gives the true account? Or, rather, is *either* statement correct? Does not the very existence of this discrepancy suggest the possibility of neither version being the right one? May it not be possible that the Elohist wrote at a time when the word was quite new and fresh-coined; when it had only just been introduced, perhaps by himself, as the *national* personal name for the Divine Being, with the view of drawing more distinctly the line of demarcation between the people of Israel—now first gathered under a king, and no longer living in scattered, separate tribes—and the idolatrous nations around them? May not the Elohistic writer, wishing to inforce the adoption of this strange name, have composed for the purpose this portion of the Mosaic story; while the later Jehovist—writing when the name, though not perhaps even yet in

every-day use, was beginning to be more generally known, and was, at all events, familiar to himself—uses it freely from the first; without perceiving, or at least *without feeling very strongly*, the contradiction thereby imported into the narrative."[1]

Without going further, the evidence already adduced seems to show that the name could scarcely have originated in the way described in the sixth chapter of Exodus; and it is indisputable that, whenever or by whomsoever it may have been introduced, it was not regarded as a sound so sacred that it could not be used or uttered. That is quite a late superstition; and when this extravagant notion had taken root, the word practically went out of use; but in all the earlier ages of the Hebrew history both Jehovah and Elohim were freely employed in the composition of proper names. The question of the introduction, or, rather, of the origin, of this name is of great interest, and, not less, of great moment. It may be part of the Hebrew verb "to be," "probably the third person present, or the same tense of the Hiphil form." But, if it be so, then it is a pure Semitic word, and the name is proved to be the inheritance of all tribes speaking Semitic dialects, and notably of all Canaanites and Phœnicians. Accordingly we find the name in common use among those tribes, and taken over from them by the Greeks, in many of whose mythologies Semitic names have been largely embodied, and so ingeniously transformed that the borrowing is not at first sight perceptible. But Melikertes is Melkarth, Adonis is Adonai, Athamas is Tammuz, Palaimon is Baal-Hamon; and with scarcely less certainty Jehovah, Jahve, is not only the Iau of cuneiform inscriptions, but the Iakchos of the Dionysiac mysteries. At the time of writing the Second Part of his work on the Pentateuch, the Bishop had concluded that Samuel was the first to

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 262.

form and introduce the name,[1] perhaps in imitation of some Egyptian name of the Deity which may have reached his ears. Later on, in his examination of the *New Bible Commentary*, he regards its connexion with the Greek substantive verb as established; and if the account of its introduction cannot be accepted as historical, the partial displacing of the name Elohim for that of Jehovah or Jahveh is precisely parallel to the displacement of the Vedic Varuna by Dyaus, and of Dyaus again by Indra. But the existence of the sixth chapter of Exodus as part of the distinctively Elohistic narrative in which that name has been used proves conclusively that there were reasons for giving a solemn sanction to the substitution of the new name; and the name, so introduced, was carried back by the later Jehovistic writers to the very earliest times. Some have affected to feel astonishment at the possibility of their doing this without perceiving the contradiction which they were introducing between their own statements and those of the Elohist. The answer lies in the frank admission that they should have seen it; and the author of the Jehovistic narratives of the Creation and the Deluge, or the revisers who pieced the Elohistic and Jehovistic narratives together, ought to have seen that they were going in the teeth of the Elohistic story. But they have not seen it. So, too, the immense body of devout readers of the Bible in later ages and in our own day ought to have seen these "obvious discrepancies." But they have not. It is no less wonderful that the Ptolemaic system of astronomy should have held its ground, although Aristarchus of Samos had set forth a heliocentric system differing inappreciably from that of Copernicus and Newton. But so it was. We cannot reason back from the discernment of the critical eye to dulness of vision which looks only for edification.[2]

These, however, are not the only difficulties connected with

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 339. [2] *Ib.* p. 265.

the alleged Mosaic introduction of the name Jehovah. From this time the word is employed in the historical books as the ruling name for God, and is clearly exhibited as the name by which the God of Israel would be especially and commonly known to His people. But in this case it would be found in common, if not in altogether exclusive, use, in those books which do not deal with history. Instead of this, we find it used very rarely, if at all, by

> "most eminent writers, who must have been familiar with the name and must have used it, if it was really common in those days,"[1]

and of these writers the most noteworthy are the authors of the Psalms, which in the Hebrew are divided into five books, and of which seventy-three are ascribed by their titles to David. Of the fourteen Psalms which have inscriptions referring to events in his life, eight are said to have reference to events in his earlier years; and six of them (the remaining two will be dealt with presently) exhibit the name Elohim forty times, and Jehovah six times. Surely the Bishop is justified in holding it to be inconceivable that such a man as David should during a large portion of his life have been writing Psalms in which the name Jehovah is hardly ever, sometimes never, employed, if the story of the giving of the name be historical, or if it was known to him that this name was first revealed to Moses by God Himself, as the name by which He chose to be addressed, the proper name of the God of Israel, "This is My name for ever; and this is My memorial unto all generations." If in addition to these six Psalms we take the other twelve of the Second Book which are ascribed to David, we find Elohim occurring in them seven times, on an average, to Jehovah once, and in nine to the exclusion of Jehovah altogether.[2] The phenomena of the

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 268. [2] *Ib.* p. 277.

sixty-eighth Psalm are still more significant. That it belongs to David's age, and not to any earlier one, is clear from the mention of the hill in which Elohim desires to dwell for ever, of the temple at Jerusalem, of the sanctuary, of the holy places, while its martial tone seems to prove that it cannot be brought down to the days of Solomon, and the expressions which speak of Judah and Benjamin as joined with the princes of Zebulon and Naphthali point not less clearly to a time anterior to the division of the kingdom.

> "This Psalm contains Elohim thirty-one times, and Adonai, lord, seven times, as well as the ancient name Shaddai once, while Jehovah appears only twice and Jah twice."[1]

But the emphatic way in which this name Jah or Jehovah is introduced in the fourth verse, seems to force on us the conclusion that it was only then for the first time coming into use, instead of having been employed generally for nearly half a millennium. Further yet, the Psalm opens with the very words which are said to have been used by Moses to greet the ark when it set forward on its march, the only difference being that in the Book of Numbers the name is Jehovah, in the Psalm it is Elohim; and surely the Psalmist could never have made this change had he drawn "his language from so sacred a book as the Pentateuch, according to the ordinary view, must have been."[2] But if the passage from Numbers was written after the Psalm, and at a time when the name Jehovah had come into common use, we can readily understand, and discern, the motive of the adaptation. The Psalm is, further, instructive as to the form in which the popular traditions of ancient events in Jewish history were still found—the dropping heavens, the clouds dropping water, the trembling of Sinai, and, still more, the flight of the armed warriors and bowmen of Ephraim, of which the Pentateuch

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 292. [2] *Ib.* p. 293.

seems to have preserved no record, unless the passage in Deuteronomy i. 44, is taken to refer to it. The whole Psalm is, indeed, a magnificent poem. By Hupfeld it is described as "the most spirited, lively, and powerful," by Ewald as "the grandest, most splendid, most artistic," of the whole series. But if it be such, it becomes "almost incredible that its author . . . . should have been willing to borrow two sentences from two ancient documents."[1] In short, the Psalm belongs manifestly to the time of the removal of the ark to Mount Zion, the only time which, according to Hupfeld, suits certain of its features. It must, therefore, be regarded, in De Wette's words, as "among the oldest relics of Hebrew poetry, and of the highest originality;" but on this very ground its evidence against the historical trustworthiness of the story in Exodus becomes the stronger. What, then, is to be said of the two Psalms, xxxiv. and cxlii. (out of the eight already mentioned), which are said to have been composed by David at a time long preceding the transference of the ark to Jerusalem, in which, together, the name Jehovah is used nineteen times, Elohim not once? Of these two Psalms the former is ascribed to the time of his expulsion from Gath by Achish; yet its tone, as Hengstenberg notices, is singularly quiet, and we have here the alphabetical arrangement which occurs only in those Psalms which are not called forth by particular occasions, but framed for the purpose of edifying others. But if the title be inaccurate, we have no reason for ascribing the Psalm to David at all. It is in all likelihood the composition of an old man who bids children approach and learn from him the fear of Jehovah. But we have, the Bishop adds,

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 297. The Bishop remarks that "both these passages are in close connexion with the context, and have all the appearance of being part of the original effusion," the conclusion being "in fact, that the Psalm was in all probability written *first*, and the passages in question copied from it by the later writers."

"a Psalm composed by David, according to the title, on this very occasion, Psalm lvi., and in a very different tone—one of anguish and fear quite suitable to it; and in this we have, as we might expect, Elohim nine times, Jehovah once." [1]

In the other Psalm, likewise, we have nothing to fix it, as the title affirms, to the time of David's sojourn in the cave of Adullam; but there is another Psalm, lvii., which seemingly was composed at this time, and this contains Elohim seven times, Jehovah not once; and it is surely most unlikely that

"on the very same occasion David should have written two Psalms, in one of which he never uses the word Jehovah, while in the other he never uses the word Elohim."

The general conclusion can scarcely be withstood.

"It seems absolutely impossible that, while other persons (as the history teaches)"—Eli, Samuel, Jonathan, ... Naomi and Ruth, Boaz and his reapers, Hannah, Abigail, nay, even the heathen Philistines, were using freely the sacred name Jehovah, yet David himself used it so sparingly that in several of his Psalms it appears not at all. It is true, the *history* puts the word in David's mouth much more frequently than Elohim—that is to say, the history represents David as using constantly the name Jehovah, and scarcely the name Elohim at all, *at the very time* when he was hiding in the wilderness, and writing, apparently, Psalm after Psalm in which Elohim occurs continually, and Jehovah scarcely at all." [2]

But the sixty-eighth Psalm suggests a comparison with the song which bears the names of Deborah and Barak, a conjunction which seems of itself to show that it cannot be, as the title avers, "the unpremeditated effusion of the moment of triumph." This song is thoroughly Jehovistic, and, if it be genuine, seems to render it inconceivable that

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 298. [2] *Ib.* p. 328.

"David should have used [the name] so sparingly till a late period of his life;"

but on the other hand there are signs pointing apparently to an early date. There is no mention of Judah, or of Levi, of the priesthood or of the sanctuary; but the disarming of the Israelites refers seemingly to the times of Samuel and Saul, and some passages of the song are identical with others in the Psalm. It follows

"that either the Psalmist was acquainted with the song of Deborah and borrowed expressions from it, or that the writer of that song drew his ideas from the Psalms of David. . . . Which, then, of these two poems was first written? We reply, without hesitation, *the Psalm*. For it is far more probable that a later writer might change Elohim into Jehovah, than David change Jehovah, the covenant name of the God of Israel, into Elohim; more especially in the last clause, in which he has actually written, 'before Elohim, the Elohim of Israel,' where the other has, 'before Jehovah, the Elohim of Israel.'"

The general result of the whole inquiry thus far is that the earliest portions of the Pentateuch—in other words, the first scanty beginnings of it—were written four centuries at least after the supposed time of the Exodus. In the framing of this sketch it is in a high degree likely that Samuel may have taken the chief part; but it is actually impossible that his narrative should be a mere invention of his own brain. The charges of fiction and pious fraud which, as some will have it, would thus be brought home to him, are ludicrous. We might with equal reason set down the early Greek and Roman traditions as the invention of Herodotus and Livy, or of the ruder chroniclers who may have preceded them. The discovery of the composite character of the Pentateuch is spoken of by Hupfeld as

"not only one of the most important, and most pregnant with consequences for the interpretation of the historical books of the Old Testament, or rather for their whole theology and history; but it is also one of the most certain discoveries which have been made in the domain of criticism and the history of literature. Whatever the anti-critical party may bring forward to the contrary, it will maintain itself .... so long as there exists such a thing as criticism."

This discovery, and therefore this fact, the Bishop adds,

"it becomes us as true men, and servants of the God of Truth, to recognise, whatever may be the consequences, however it may require us to modify our present views of the Mosaic system, or of Christianity itself."[1]

The share of Samuel in the work may not be great, but it is none the less important; and those portions of the first four books and of the Book of Joshua, which do not belong to him, or perhaps it should rather be said to the Elohist, were composed by one or more writers living

"in the latter days of David and in the early part of Solomon's reign, with the exception of some interpolations, of which a few smaller ones occur in Genesis, but larger ones in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Joshua; and these interpolations belong to the Deuteronomist, who may fairly be regarded as one of the most remarkable personages in all Jewish history."

At the outset a comparison of his work with that of his predecessors forces on our notice the fact that, whereas in the earlier books the priests are invariably called the sons of Aaron, never the sons of Levi, in Deuteronomy they are always called sons of Levi or Levites, never the sons of Aaron; and, in fact, in this book Levi, not Aaron, is mentioned as the root of the priestly office and dignity. Is it

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 355.

conceivable that, in the inappreciable interval which separates the time of the Book of Numbers from that of the Book of Deuteronomy, Moses should have changed so completely,

> "not only his tone and style, but his very phraseology, so as up to this point of time to have called the priests invariably by one particular designation, and then suddenly to drop it, and call them ever afterwards by another"?[1]

This fact connects itself with others. Not one of the prophets speaks of the priests as the sons of Aaron, and the first Jeroboam is censured not for making priests which were not of the sons of Aaron, but because he made priests which were not of the seed of Levi. It is, then, at once clear that the Deuteronomist and the prophets felt themselves in no way bound to abide by the statements or the terms of the first four books of the Pentateuch. A signal instance of this disregard occurs in the Deuteronomistic version of the fourth commandment, which gives a wholly different reason for the observance of the Sabbath, although both the Deuteronomist and the earlier writer profess to give the identical words spoken by Jehovah Himself at the very same point of time.

The Bishop concludes his summary of results obtained in his first two Parts with the assertion that the main conclusions are established beyond doubt, although

> "as to the details we can only feel our way along with the utmost caution, with continued labour, and constantly repeated survey of the ground travelled over."

Few fallacies are more widely spread, few more mischievous, than the notions which infer the general worthlessness of critical methods from differences of opinion among the critics. The fact of their differing is enough for their opponents; the subject-matter of their differences is prudently and carefully kept out of sight. This plan has been diligently followed in

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 360.

almost all controversies—in those which are concerned with the age and authorship of the so-called Homeric poems, with the Greek and Roman myths and traditions, not less than with those which have gathered round the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus Mr. MacCaul would triumphantly dismiss as rubbish all the investigations of writers whose opinions were opposed to his own, on the ground that they were not unanimous.

> "Hupfeld condemns Knobel. Ewald condemns Hupfeld and Knobel. Knobel condemns Ewald and Hupfeld. If Knobel's criticism is correct, Hupfeld is worthless. If Ewald be right, the others must be deficient in critical acumen. They may all be wrong; but only one of the three can be right."

He forgot, as the Bishop remarked, to draw attention to the fact that these critics are all agreed as to the main points, and differ only as to details.[1] Still less did he care to admit that the fact of their differing is a strong proof of their independence of each other and of the truth of that judgement in which they are all agreed. The argument may be turned with equal ease against those who maintain the ordinary view. Kurtz condemns Hengstenberg, and Hengstenberg condemns Kurtz.

The alarm felt as to the results of these investigations is perhaps not so deep as it was when the Bishop published his own thoughts about them. Certainly, it is not so widely spread. It is, therefore, the less necessary now to reproduce his earnest and cheering counsels to those who were charging him with robbing them of the Bible; but it is as necessary as it was then to mark their true charity and tenderness.

> "It is not I," he said, "who require you to abandon the ordinary notion of the Mosaic authorship and antiquity of the Pentateuch. It is the Truth itself which does so."

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 366

The internal evidence is absolutely conclusive against any idea of the inviolable sacredness of any part of the Hebrew Scriptures, down, at least, to the time of the Captivity. There is no sign of the Mosaic Law having been venerated, obeyed, or even known for many centuries after its alleged promulgation. The Decalogue is never quoted by any one of the psalmists and prophets. The Levites are mentioned only once in the Psalms, once in the late Isaiah, thrice in one chapter only of Jeremiah, and in no other of the prophets before the Captivity.

"Aaron is mentioned once only by all the prophets. Moses is named twice only before the Captivity, and referred to, though not named, in Hosea."[1]

As to the main conclusion he had no hesitation.

"It may be—rather it is, as I believe, undoubtedly—the fact that God Himself, by the power of the Truth, will take from us in this age the Bible as an idol, which we have set up against His will, to bow down to it and worship it. But while He takes it away thus with the one hand, does He not also restore it to us with the other? not to be put into the place of God, and served with idolatrous worship, but to be reverenced as a book, the best of books, the work of living men like ourselves—of men, I mean, in whose hearts the same human thoughts were stirring, the same hopes and fears were dwelling, the same Gracious Spirit was operating, three thousand years ago, as now."[2]

But here the inquiry has brought us to a point at which the scene is shifted. A mass of evidence has shown that the Tetrateuch, or first four books which bear the name of Moses, contains passages which cannot have been written for many ages after the supposed time of his death. How is it with the fifth book? Have we any reason for thinking that this book

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part II. p. 375. [2] *Ib.* p. 381.

is more strictly and completely Mosaic than those which precede it? To a certain extent the question is simplified by the fact that it is beyond all doubt the work of one and the same hand, the exceptions being so small as to be insignificant. The introductory discourse is interrupted here and there with geographical and other details, which look like pieces of patchwork, and with remarks which treat events of the previous weeks as incidents of a long past age; but otherwise the unity of the book remains unbroken, while in matter and in style it is as unlike any of the so-called Mosaic books as any two books on the same subject could possibly be. The other books are filled with long historical narratives, with directions for the construction of the sanctuary and its furniture, with the functions of priests and the ritual of the altar. But, lacking almost wholly all such details, the Book of Deuteronomy,

> "almost from beginning to end, is one magnificent poem, or collection of poems, wholly devoted to inforcing, in tones of earnest and impassioned eloquence—now with the most persuasive and touching tenderness, now with the most impressive and terrible denunciations,—the paramount duties of morality and religion."[1]

When Mr. Rawlinson speaks of "plainness, inartificiality, absence of rhetorical ornament, and occasional defective arrangement" as being the chief characteristics of the Pentateuch, he certainly cannot be speaking of the Book of Deuteronomy. What he says applies strictly to all the other books; but it is precisely the contrast between the commonplace style of those books, and the "spirit and energy, the fire of holy zeal, the warmth of imagination," running through the whole of Deuteronomy, which impels us irresistibly to the conclusion that it cannot be the work of the author, or authors of

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 393.

the Tetrateuch. It is of no use to plead as an argument for its Mosaic authorship that, as his long life's work drew towards its close, the guide and lawgiver of the Israelites may, while he stood on the verge of the unseen world, have risen to a higher discernment of spiritual realities and have been carried away by thoughts which found their natural expression in one unbroken strain of sublime and most earnest eloquence. It is useless, because all the other books of the Pentateuch contain a multitude of passages which could not have been written during the age of Moses, or for many generations later, and because the same remark applies to the Book of Deuteronomy also; so that, although the substantial unity of that work is proof of its having come, with these exceptions, from one author, that author certainly was not Moses. In the other books the priests are always, as we have seen, styled the sons of Aaron, never the sons of Levi; in Deuteronomy they are always the sons of Levi, never the sons of Aaron. It is impossible that any one author could on such a subject as this so completely change his form of expression in the interval of a few days, or weeks at most. Again, the Deuteronomist confines all sacrifices to one place; the other books prescribe their being offered in all places where Jehovah records his name. The former, although enjoining the observance of the other three great feasts and the Passover, makes no mention of the feast of Trumpets, or of the Day of Atonement, although the directions in Numbers xxix. are said to have been laid down by Jehovah Himself only a few weeks before this address of Moses. There are, further, a number of sentiments, statements, and expressions, occurring repeatedly in Deuteronomy, which are found very rarely, many of them nowhere, in the rest of the Pentateuch, while many expressions common throughout the other books are never found in Deuteronomy. Thus the Bishop gives thirty-three expressions, each found on the average eight times in that book, but

not occurring even once in any of the other four books. Without going further, therefore, this fact at least is proved, that the author of Deuteronomy, whoever he may have been, was not concerned in writing the main portions of the rest of the Pentateuch.[1]

That he lived after the other writers is manifest from his references to passages in the story of the Exodus recorded in the other books, and especially to the laws about leprosy in Leviticus. If, then, the Elohistic and Jehovistic portions of the Pentateuch could not, as we have seen, have been written earlier than the days of Samuel, David, and Solomon, the Deuteronomist cannot have lived earlier, and may have lived later, than the time of Solomon. Are there, then, any others of the later books of the Old Testament which exhibit any striking agreement with the language and the spirit of the Book of Deuteronomy? If the latter speaks only of the priests the sons of Levi, never of the sons of Aaron, the same formula is invariably used by Jeremiah. Both Jeremiah and the Deuteronomist use the word *Torah* in the singular only, and apply it to the whole Law: both confine all sacrifices to the one place which the Lord chooses. Of twenty-three expressions, again, which occur on an average eight times each in Deuteronomy and never once in the Tetrateuch, all but six are found repeated more or less frequently in Jeremiah, and of these remaining six four are *partially* repeated.[2] Already, then, we have evidence enough to justify a suspicion, perhaps a strong suspicion, that the author of Deuteronomy and the author of the prophecies of Jeremiah was one and the same person.

But the history of the reign of Josiah brings before us an astonishing and mysterious event, which, if it occurred in the history of any other people of the ancient world, we should certainly submit to a very rigid scrutiny. The Book of the

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. pp. 404-6. [2] *Ib.* p. 411.

Law, we are told, was found in the House of Jehovah—a book either unknown or forgotten. Of its contents the king knew nothing, and it was evidently to him a new revelation, when he read in the ears of the people all the words of the Book of the Covenant which both king and people had all along been bound to keep but of which both had thus far lived in total ignorance. A multitude of questions come crowding upon us. The book was found in the Temple; but if it was written by Moses, where had it been lying during the interval of more than eight centuries? Not certainly in the ark itself. There the priest Hilkiah could not have found it, inasmuch as he dared not to look into it; and we have, further, the plain statement in the history (1 Kings viii. 9) that there was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone. Nor could it have been lying outside the ark, for then surely it would have been named among the things brought into the Temple by Solomon.

> "At all events," the Bishop adds, "it would have been well known to David and Solomon and other pious kings, as well as to the successive high priests, and we should not find them so regardless of so many of its plain precepts as the history shows them to have been, *e.g.* with respect to the worshipping on high places and the neglect of the due observance of the Passover." [1]

But the book, further, itself gives the command, "Take the Book of the Law and place it beside the ark of the covenant of Jehovah your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee;" and the suspicion thus grows almost to certainty that the writing of the book, the placing it, and the finding it were pretty nearly contemporaneous events, and that if there was no king before Josiah who turned to Jehovah with all his heart and soul and might according to

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 416.

all the Law of Moses, it must have been because there was no king before him who had ever seen this portion at least of the Pentateuch. No one probably will venture to say that the whole Pentateuch was now found, or that the whole could have been lost. It was clearly some book which could be read off at a single sitting. The scribe Shaphan read the whole of it to the king, and the king read the whole of it in the ears of the people. The whole Pentateuch certainly could not be read in a day; but the book now found is called the Book of the Covenant; and in Deuteronomy we read, "These are the words of the covenant which Jehovah commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab."

But the whole narrative of the finding of the book shows that a searching reformation was needed, that there were some few at least who were determined to carry this reform, and that a resolute attempt was made to carry it out. The popular and national religion (whatever may have been that of David, or Solomon, or even of Hezekiah) had been thus far a gross, sensual, and cruel idolatry, under which familiar spirits and wizards found a shelter and a home, and the people abandoned themselves to images, idols, and all abominations. On this vast system of superstition the earnest and passionate denunciations of the prophets had made no real impression. Something more, therefore, must be done, if the social and political order of Judah was to be saved from the catastrophe which had swept away the kingdom of Israel. The Mosaic and Levitical codes, if known at all, were a dead letter; or, rather, we have no warrant whatever for declaring that the main body of the people knew anything about them or had ever heard of their existence. But immediately after the discovery of the book a strong effort was made to put down the popular idolatry, and to celebrate a Passover as a means of bringing together the whole body

of the people. With singular and studied minuteness we are told that never from the days of the Judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the Kings of Israel, nor of the Kings of Judah, was such a Passover held as this of the eighteenth year of King Josiah. But not less astonishing than the discovery of the book is the fact that no such Passover, so far as we can see, was ever held again, even by Josiah;

> "nor is there the least indication that the other two feasts were kept by Josiah with similar solemnity in that same year."[1]

What reason can be given for this fact except the further fact that the people were not prepared to accept the religion of the prophets, and that the zeal of the king himself had been cooled by his becoming acquainted with the real circumstances of the discovery? Anyhow, neither king nor people received anything more than a mere passing impression of the Divine authority of the law set forth in the Book of the Covenant. The latter, like the book of Exodus, insisted on the Divine command that all the males of the Jewish nation should appear thrice each year before Jehovah their Elohim; and this command was never obeyed at all even by Josiah. From all these circumstances what conclusion is to be drawn? Five years only before the discovery of the Book of the Covenant Jeremiah had felt himself called to undertake the prophetical office; and certainly no prophet had ever entered on his life's work with a deeper sense of responsibility, and a more overwhelming assurance that unless there were a change for the better, the fabric of Jewish society must speedily be overturned altogether. But what could he do? The prophets Joel, Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Micah, had all spoken, and seemingly to little purpose.

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 419.

"Their words had not availed to keep back the people from those deadly sins which had already brought down upon the Ten Tribes a fearful judgement, and threatened before long a yet more terrible woe upon Judah and Jerusalem. What if the authority of the great Lawgiver should be brought to bear upon them? And since the Law Book, as it then existed, was not well suited for the present necessity, with its long details of the lives of their forefathers, . . . as well as its minute directions about artistic and ceremonial matters—what if the very *spirit* of the older Law should be summed up in a powerful address . . . such as he would have delivered if now present with his people, and put into the mouth of the departing lawgiver."

But if such a thought arose, as we are bound to suppose that it did arise, in the mind of the prophet, this thought would most assuredly assume for him the form of a Divine command.

"All question of deception, or *fraus pia*, would vanish; and Huldah too, in like manner, if she knew of what was being done, would consider, not whether it was right or wrong to speak to the Jews in the name of Moses, but what might happen, since those threats of coming judgement, thus spoken, were uttered by Divine inspiration, and, therefore, were certainly true." [1]

This, if the report of the narrative may be received as correct, is precisely what she did. Her words make no reference to Moses. She does not even refer, as Josiah refers, to the disobedience of their forefathers. She speaks merely of the judgements impending for the present misdoings of the people and their rulers, and without implying that the book discovered was an old one, the work of Moses, she confines herself to declaring that the evil threatened should surely come to pass. The step, accordingly, was taken. The book thus found was read to the king, and by the king read

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 428.

to the people. The impression made was vivid and keen; but it was not lasting, and, as we have seen, the zeal even of Josiah himself seems to have been chilled by the discovery that the warnings and promises of the Deuteronomist came from a teacher of his own age and not from the lawgiver of whom the book spoke as having died upon the mountain of Nebo.

But if the Book of Deuteronomy is not the work of the author or authors of the Tetrateuch, we may safely infer that an examination of its contents will exhibit contradictions with the earlier narratives; and this is, in fact, the case. The discourses of this fifth book are said to be uttered in the hearing of all Israel, a population, according to the older story, of some three or four millions; and beyond doubt the phrase is not to be interpreted as denoting only the chiefs and elders of the people, for the lawgiver himself in his address is represented as saying, "Ye stand this day, all of you, before Jehovah your God, your captains of your tribes, your elders and your officers and all the men of Israel, your little ones, your wives, and the stranger that is in thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood to the drawer of thy water." The writer never thought of historical impossibility, as he never thought of geographical incongruities, when, speaking of an unknown country traversed for the first time, he mentions that "there are eleven days' journey from Horeb by way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-barnea." But, further, he makes Moses address the generation which came out from Egypt, whereas, if the Tetrateuch is to be trusted, they had all died during the forty years' wanderings. In the earlier story, the appointing of the seventy elders to lighten the toil of Moses takes place before the giving of the law at Sinai: in Deuteronomy it takes place a year later, when they are just about to leave Horeb.[1] In Deuteronomy, again, the sending of the spies is a suggestion

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 433.

of the people, which pleases Moses well: in the Book of Numbers (xiii. 1, 2), it is an express command of Almighty God. Of the long sojourn in the wilderness the other books have very little to tell us; in Deuteronomy a period of seven-and-thirty years is dismissed in the single phrase that they "abode many days in Kadesh" (i. 46). In all the books the Israelites are depicted as an idol-loving people; but the character of their idolatry in the Tetrateuch is not the character of their idolatry in the Book of Deuteronomy. In the latter they are mentioned as being addicted to the worship of the hosts of heaven, which in the historical books (2 Kings xvii. 16) is first named as one of the sins for which the Ten Tribes were carried into captivity,[1] and seems to have been first generally practised in Judah in the reign of Manasseh, the grandfather of Josiah. The latter king made, indeed, a vigorous effort to suppress it; but the denunciations of Zephaniah and Jeremiah show that it revived again even during his life-time. Nor must it be forgotten that this worship is nowhere mentioned in the Tetrateuch, and that the phrases which describe it are found only in the Book of Deuteronomy.

But, in truth, the mind of the Deuteronomist was not set upon the avoiding of discrepancies. He is thinking of his own time when he represents Moses speaking of the Israelites as dwelling in a land from which great nations had been driven out before them, "as it is this day"; and again and again he insists that the men who listened to the recapitulation of the Law were the very men who had witnessed the giving of the Law at Sinai. The covenant, he says, was made "not with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day" (Deuteronomy v. 2-5); and again, "I speak not with your children, which have not known His miracles and His acts which He did in the midst of Egypt, ... but your

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 444.

eyes have seen the great acts of Jehovah which He did" (Deuteronomy xi. 2-7).

Nor is the writer careful about other things, as to which it might be supposed that the popular feeling would be most sensitive. He gives the Decalogue as it is given in Exodus: but he assigns a totally different reason for the observance of the Sabbath day. If some of the marvels mentioned in the other books are not to be found in Deuteronomy, others are introduced which are not found in the Tetrateuch, among these being the wonderful preservation of the shoes and clothes of the Israelites. Later superstition hit upon the notion that the garments of the children grew with their growth: it is sufficiently remarkable that such durability was imparted to their raiment that the men of one generation could hand them on as good as new to those of another. In Deuteronomy ix. 3, the writer speaks of the rapid extermination of the Canaanitish tribes, forgetting that a little while before (vii. 22) he has forbidden this destruction.[1] In Exodus (xxxiv. 29), the two stone tables with the Decalogue graven on them are in the hands of Moses before any receptacle has been made in which they may be placed. In Deuteronomy (x.), the ark is actually made before Moses goes up into the mount to receive the second tables. But the Bishop urges that the account in Exodus renders this impossible.

> "Not only is there nothing said about the ark in Exodus (xxxiv. 1), where he is commanded to make the tables; but it is only after coming down with the second set of tables that Moses summons the wise-hearted to come and make the ark."[2]

In Deuteronomy (x. 6, 7), the death of Aaron is described as happening before the separation of the Levites; according to the Book of Numbers the separation takes place nearly forty

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 452. [2] *Ib.* p. 454.

years before his death.[1] In the former Aaron dies at Moserah: in the latter he dies on Mount Hor, some five stations beyond Moserah. In the former the tribe of Levi are set apart to bear the ark: in the latter the duty belongs to the sons of Kohath, not to the Levites generally. While, again, the Deuteronomist (xi. 6) mentions the destruction of Dathan and Abiram, he says nothing of Korah, manifestly because he knows no distinction between priests and Levites, and therefore sees no great wrong in a Levite seeking the priesthood also.

But it is in Deuteronomy that for the first time we hear of Jehovah choosing one special place out of all the tribes to put His name there. The earlier kings, no doubt, thought of attracting the affections of the people to Jerusalem; but the idea of making attendance at Mount Sion compulsory three times a year could hardly have arisen in an age when Solomon sacrificed and burnt incense on the high places, and especially at the "great high place" of Gibeon. The great prophets of Israel are never spoken of as going up to Jerusalem to keep the Passover; and the most pious kings (Asa, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, and others) brought their offerings to other altars than that erected in the Temple, which they could not have done if this exclusive law had been then in existence, or if, on the supposition of its existence, it had been regarded as of Mosaic origin.[2] The growth of a tendency to visit Jerusalem on occasions of extraordinary solemnity is undeniable. The erection of the tabernacle on Mount Zion seems to have been contemporaneous with the discontinuance of the older sanctuaries at Ramah, Bethel, Mizpeh, &c.; and the acts of Jeroboam show with sufficient clearness how great for him was the need of counteracting the impulse which might draw his subjects to the sanctuary of the rival kingdom. The command that all males should go up to Jerusalem yearly at each

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 456. [2] *Ib.* p. 467.

of the great feasts seems rather to point to a time after the fall of the Israelitish kingdom, when there remained only the small centralised kingdom of Judah. In fact, there is only one indication of the rule having ever been acted upon; and this solitary instance was, as we have seen, at the great Passover of King Josiah, when this very Book of Deuteronomy had just been found in the Temple. Nay, further, the best kings of Judah, after the setting up of the ark at Jerusalem, are spoken of in the Books of Kings, without any very strong words of censure, as allowing the people still to sacrifice in the high places.

> "It can hardly, therefore," the Bishop urges, "be believed that the strongest commands of the Book of Deuteronomy to utterly destroy all the high places of the heathen and sacrifice to Jehovah only at Jerusalem could have been read and studied by these pious princes, much less copied (as Deuteronomy xvii. 18–20 directs) by each of them with his own hand, when seated on the throne of his kingdom. More especially does this apply to the case of Joash, who began to reign when seven years old, and for the greater part of his life was directed wholly by the high priest Jehoiada."

The condition of the Levites in the Book of Deuteronomy is another point which presents a perplexing contrast with the pictures of the Tetrateuch. In the latter they are spoken of as about to be settled in forty-eight cities as their exclusive possession, and as being abundantly supplied from the free-will offerings and sacrifices of the people. In Deuteronomy they are depicted as being likely to be in a very necessitous condition and living as stragglers in the land, in "any of the gates of the people," in a state of utter poverty and dependence,[1] which is compared with that of the widow, the stranger, and the fatherless. The Book of Numbers speaks of them as intitled by the command of God Himself to all the tenth of

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 473.

Israel for an inheritance. No such claim is ever even hinted at in Deuteronomy, where the Levite is pointed out as an object for pure compassion, as, in short, a stranger and sojourner within the gates of others.

> "And all this . . . . is supposed to be said by Moses only a few months after the laws had been laid down by Jehovah Himself, which provided for them abundant supplies of food, and cities of their own with their suburbs, thirty for the Levites, twelve for the priests."

With this picture of the impoverished state of the Levites, the statements of the historical books are in close agreement. In the Second Book of Kings the number of the priests is extremely small. In the days of Josiah there was a "chief priest," some "priests of the second order," and "others who are keepers of the door." In the time of his son Zedekiah there were only five priests ministering in the Temple; nor is this surprising when we remember that three temples of Solomon might have been placed on the ground now occupied by the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in London.[1] It is true that the Chronicles speak of David as attended at Hebron by 4,600 Levites and 3,700 priests of the sons of Aaron (1 Chronicles ii. 26–28); but it is also true that the historian of the Book of Kings (1, iv. 4) makes mention only of two priests after the transference of the ark to the tabernacle on Mount Zion. The fact is that the chronicler cared nothing for truth whenever it clashed with his purpose. His very design was to exhibit as real a state of things which had no being except in his own brain; and it was as easy for him to attach ten thousand, as to attach ten, priests to the Solomonian temple. He could, therefore, with the utmost complacency, speak of David as collecting for the temple which his son was to build a hundred thousand talents of gold (£500,000,000), and a million

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 485.

talents of silver (£353,000,000), and at the same time declare with cool effrontery that these vast sums (which, with the contributions of David's great men, reach the stupendous total of not much less than £900,000,000, a sum far exceeding the national debt of Great Britain) were gathered together by David in his trouble; nay, more, that this enormous mass of gold and silver, which could have little or no value except as a purchasing power, was exclusive of vast stores of timber, and of brass and iron without weight,—and all this for a building which the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields could contain three or four times over.[1]

But the priests and Levites, though their numbers were thus scanty, were miserably poor and almost starving. The earlier laws of the Pentateuch assign for their support the tithes and firstlings. There is not the slightest sign that these were paid; and the inference follows either that these laws were unknown to the people generally, or that, if known, they were not regarded as of any special authority. Not only, indeed, were the priests wretchedly indigent, but the Temple itself was often either disused or closed. The chronicler himself, not heeding the inconsistency of his words with his other pictures of priestly greatness, draws a pitiable picture (2 Chronicles xxix. 7-16) of the uncleanness and desolation of the Temple, thus admitting that the worship and the house of Jehovah were, to say the least, very thoroughly unpopular; and he admits further that Ahaz actually shut up the Temple, which

[1] *Lectures on the Moabite Stone*, p. 341. This volume, published in 1873, is an excellent summary of the Bishop's critical work, prepared especially in the hope that it might be found useful to teachers in day schools and Sunday schools, as well as to parents among the more educated laity, who may wish to show their children the real nature of these books which have had so prominent a part in the religious education of the race. The account of the Moabite stone in the concluding lecture would, at least, show them that there were other versions of the narratives found in the more trustworthy of the historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures.

he could hardly have done if the Levites had possessed the power which the chronicler ascribes to them. The reforms of Hezekiah brought about a change for the better. The priests now allowed that they had enough to eat (2 Chronicles xxxi. 10), and, in place of the tithe which seemingly had never been paid to them, they were suffered to share in the sacrificial offerings of the faithful, in strict accordance with the language of the Book of Deuteronomy, the composition of which seems thus again to belong to a period later than that of Hezekiah.

Differences between the statements of Deuteronomy and those of the preceding books meet us, indeed, everywhere. The writers in Exodus (xxiii. 11) and Leviticus (xxv. 1-7) enjoin that in every seventh year the whole land shall be allowed to lie fallow, and enjoy its Sabbath without being troubled by either ploughing or sowing; but not one word is said about the cancelling of debts for those who at the end of the six years have been unable to pay them. The Deuteronomist (xv. 1-11) enjoins the release of insolvent debtors in the seventh year, but says nothing of the duty of suffering the land to lie idle. In short, the whole history of the Hebrew people gives no indication that the law relating to the Sabbatical year was ever once obeyed.[1] Critics who wish to uphold the traditional view plead that the Sabbath year was prescribed by all lawgivers, although it was first carried out in the post-Captivity time; but this still leaves us facing the alternative either that up to that time this law was unknown, or that, if known, it was not looked upon as authoritative.

It is true that Bishop Harold Browne faces such difficulties with an almost light-hearted cheerfulness. The Israelites had a strange way of hearing commands of the most solemn kind, and not heeding them.

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 496.

"We know that circumcision, the very bond of the covenant, the initiatory rite of Judaism, was neglected till the people came to Gilgal."

But the negative in this case is not confined to the people. The Bishop of Natal may well express his amazement at such a plea as this.

"As if this fact itself, which Bishop Browne states so quietly, did not involve a stupendous difficulty, as great as any which I have set forth in Part I. For who can believe that Moses, after having actually written the account, in Genesis xvii., of the solemn institution of the rite by Almighty God Himself; . . . . after having been expressly warned in person of the danger of neglecting the rite by the occurrence recorded in Genesis iv. 24-26; after having been again reminded of his duty in this respect by the words pronounced to him by Jehovah, on the occasion of the Passover, on the very night of the Exodus, ... would yet, under the holy mount itself, fresh from his daily communings with God—when they rested for nearly twelve months together in one place, and everything, place, time, circumstances, combined to assist the discharge of this primary duty—have allowed the people entirely to neglect having their children circumcised, during all his life-time for forty years together. The thing is utterly incredible; and no stronger proof of the unhistorical character of the Pentateuchal story can be produced than the very fact itself to which Bishop Browne appeals as helping him partially out of his difficulty."

If, however, there is any one thing which in the historical books is spoken of as a deliberate lapse on the part of the Hebrews, it is the substitution of a visible and earthly monarchy for the theocracy under which they are supposed thus far to have lived. The thought of and the desire for this change are spoken of by Samuel as a great sin, "Your wickedness is great which ye have done in the sight of Jehovah in asking for a

king;" and his words extort from the people the confession that they had added to all their sins this evil, "to ask us a king."

> "Nay, Jehovah Himself is introduced as saying to Samuel 'They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me, that I should not reign over them.'"[1]

But on the supposition that Deuteronomy is Mosaic, both Samuel and the people had before them a law with which they were bound to be acquainted, which spoke of this change as one likely or sure to come, and which did not denounce the thought of it or the desire of it as sinful or wrong at all. All that the lawgiver does (Deuteronomy xvii. 14–17) is to add certain cautions as to the policy which the Jewish kings ought to follow, while there is not a word to imply that the institution of monarchical government would in itself be an offence in the sight of Jehovah. It is inconceivable that Samuel should have spoken as he did, if the Deuteronomistic Law had been known to him; and inconceivable also that the people, if acquainted with it, should not have adduced it as a complete justification of their conduct, instead of abasing themselves before him in an agony of humiliation; and if it was unknown both to the seer or judge and to his people, is it possible to resist the conclusion that in their age the Book of Deuteronomy was not written?

But not only did the Deuteronomist speak of the establishment of the monarchy as a certain event of the future; not only did he prescribe the lines of their policy and forbid them to form any connexion with Misraim: he further imposed on each king the solemn duty of writing with his own hand "a copy of this Law in a book," "and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life." Well may the Bishop ask:—

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 509.

"What sign is there that either David or Solomon each made a copy for himself of this Law, or that any of the best kings did so—even Joash, as a youth, under the 'direction' of the chief priest Jehoiada? If they did, pious kings as they were, how is it to be explained that they completely neglected its precepts in so many points, as we know they did,—for instance, in sacrificing at Gibeon and other high places, and in not duly keeping the Passover? On the other hand, if they did not make a copy of the Law, why was this? Can it be believed that they knowingly omitted to do so—that is to say, that, having the Law itself, as is supposed, in their hands, with prophets and priests to remind them of their duties, they wilfully or negligently passed by so solemn, and indeed so essential, a part of their duty to themselves and to their people."[1]

The supposition is not merely wild but ludicrous. Not less than seventeen kings reigned over Judah before Josiah; therefore, there should have been seventeen manuscript copies of the Law preserved in the temple, or in the Royal archives; and if the ungodly kings had disregarded the command, these were but a small minority as compared with the number of those who sought to obey the Lord all the days of their life. There must, therefore, have been at least some ten or twelve copies of the Law written out by the hands of their kings; and perhaps not even the great Alexandrian library in its palmiest days was so rich in manuscripts of any one work. But the point is, not that the copies were fewer than they should have been, but that the book which enjoined the making of these copies was so lost as to be forgotten, or unknown. Nothing can be more genuine than the expressions of grief and shame on the part of Josiah, when he hears for the first time words which had never fallen on his ears before. As he listens to them, he rends his clothes. He is,

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 512.

in fact, as well he might be, utterly bewildered; and he gives his charge to Hilkiah the priest and others, to go and inquire of the Lord on his behalf, and on that of the people, concerning the words of this book that is found,—a charge that could not possibly have been given with reference to a book of which a large number of copies had already been made by the hands of his predecessors. His mind is not troubled with any historical difficulties; nor does he pause to reflect on the astonishing and seemingly incredible fortune which had attended a Law, or rather a series of discourses on law, uttered in the ears of some three or four millions of people,—discourses forgotten, it would seem, almost the moment after their utterance, and, to say the least, passing away without making the faintest impression either on them or on their rulers. To his amazement, he must have found, as he read the book in the presence of his subjects, that he was reading words with which, as King of Judah, he was bound, as his predecessors had been bound, to be familiar; but even this pain was not equal to the agony with which he discovered that this book imposed upon him a gigantic work of reform, going down to the very roots of the national life. If he had any regard for the Divine Law thus made known to him, he must strike down abuses and abominations which were rampant everywhere. He must put a ban on practices which the most righteous of the kings who had reigned before him had either allowed, or by their own acts sanctioned. The task was urgent: it was also all but overwhelming. The young king braced himself to it with heroic courage. The reforms enjoined were carried out to the uttermost of his power; but it must soon have become mournfully evident that the general establishment and the permanent maintenance of the new state of things was hopeless; and the certainty of eventual failure seems to have weighed like lead on the zeal even of one whose heart, in the words of Huldah, was so tender as that of Josiah. The effort was made to hold

a Passover in strict accordance with the injunctions of the Deuteronomist; but it was not followed by another, and it was left to the priestly minds of the exilic or post-exilic time to draw out the ideal picture of a sacerdotal state which is depicted in the impossible narratives of the Books of Chronicles.

As then the Book of Deuteronomy belongs to an age later by many centuries than that of Moses, it is merely absurd to claim the authority of his name for particular passages in it, as, for instance, for the promise that God would raise up a prophet for His people like to himself. This utterance thus becomes simply the expression of a conviction that God will supply them with counsel and comfort, when they needed it, by sending some prophet such as Moses, and that they will never be without a Divinely instructed teacher, if only they obey Him.[1] We are, in truth, dealing in this book with imaginary commands issued in an imaginary past. Like the writer in the Book of Numbers, the Deuteronomist enjoins on the Israelites the setting apart of six cities of refuge after their work of conquest shall have been accomplished; but in a previous passage the lawgiver is represented as having himself set apart three of these cities, and so some critics have been led to suppose that there were really nine cities of refuge. In the history there is no indication that any such cities ever existed;[2] and therefore we may infer that many injunctions contained in the book were rather intended to convey a lesson and a warning to his countrymen than to be regarded as commands coming with a Divine sanction. Among these are the terrible sentence to be inflicted on conquered cities (Deuteronomy xx. 10-15), and the treatment of stubborn and rebellious sons (Deuteronomy xxi. 18-21). The idolatry of the one, the obstinacy of the other, typified sins of which the Jews of Josiah's age were especially guilty;

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 517. [2] *Ib.* p. 521.

and these passages might serve at least as a warning that their offences deserved judgements not less severe. The same ideal painting is seen in the narrative of the blessings and cursings pronounced from the heights of Ebal and Gerizim. This passage is, indeed, singularly confused and perplexing, and the Bishop expresses his inability to explain it without some extravagant assumption as to what the writer has omitted to state. On the whole, he thinks it most probable that the Deuteronomist departed from his original intention.

> "In xi. 29, he meant the *tribes* to pronounce the blessings and curses, and made the arrangement for that purpose in xxvii. 11-13; but he then decided to place them in the mouths of the priests, and make the people say 'Amen'; and this he actually did with the curses. But instead of limiting himself in this way with respect to the blessings, he has insensibly been carried away by his subject, and poured out his full heart in the glowing and vehement words of chapter xxviii. This chapter he has now left without any introduction or explanation, without any intimation of its connexion with the matter before or after."[1]

Much speculation has been bestowed on the question of the physical possibility of such blessings and curses being, in such a position, so uttered as to be heard by the people and duly responded to; but it is obviously a superfluous task so to treat details in the picture of an ideal scene.

The blessing of the tribes (Deuteronomy xxxiii.) and the song of Moses (Deuteronomy xxxii.) are full, in like manner, of statements pointing to the late age of the writer and exhibiting marked points of resemblance and agreement with the expressions and the style of Jeremiah. There is no separate blessing for Simeon, because at the time when the book was written the tribe of Simeon had long since been

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 547.

absorbed in that of Judah;[1] and Levi receives a eulogy singularly at variance with the censure passed upon him in the judgement of Jacob. Giving up the Mosaic authorship of this song, Knobel holds that it was composed during the lifetime of Saul and David; but there is nothing in the position of the Levites in that age to account for the language here addressed to them.

"They are nowhere even mentioned in that history, and, indeed, if we were only to form a judgement from the more authentic records of that age, there is no trace even of the existence of the *tribe* as one set apart for religious duties. Even when David had been ten years on the throne, we find that the Levites were *not* employed at the removal of the ark—at least not on the first attempt to remove it, as appears on the testimony of the chronicler himself (1 Chronicles xv. 2, 12, 13)."[2]

But the song seems to be the work of a priest, and Jeremiah was a priest, the son probably of the chief priest Hilkiah; and he would naturally hold the Levites, if known as earnest and devout men, in high estimation,

"as the guardians of the true faith amidst an idolatrous and gainsaying generation. Well might the writer—a priest himself—utter for his own brethren the prayer, 'Let Thy Thummim and Thy Urim—Thy truth and Thy light—be ever with Thy holy one, *whom Thou didst prove at Massah* (temptation), *whom Thou didst justify at the waters of Meribah* (strife)'; *i.e.* whom Thou dost expose now, as Thou didst then, to the rebellious, trying tempers, the angry strife and turbulence, of an unthankful, unbelieving people."

The composition of the Book of Deuteronomy is thus brought down to a late age, and is restricted within narrow

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 578; see also above, p. 224.
[2] *Ib.* p. 585.

limits of time. If it was not written in the reign of Josiah himself, it must have been written in that of his father or grandfather. But in that case it must have been composed by some one who hid the book away in the Temple a quarter of a century perhaps before it was discovered there, and who left the fruit of so much labour to the chances of the future.

> "He must also have *died* without betraying his secret; . . . . nay without even making any provision against the possibility of the book itself being neglected, destroyed, or lost, while it lay unknown and unheeded in the Temple during the latter part of Manasseh's idolatrous reign." [1]

It is scarcely necessary to say that if the book had been found and brought to Manasseh, its immediate destruction would have followed as certainly as that of the roll which was cut to pieces and burnt by Jehoiakim (Jeremiah xxxvii.). But if we allow that it may have been written in the life-time of Manasseh by some one who outlived that king, it then seems even more

> "difficult to account for the long and total silence with respect to the existence of this book which was maintained during *seventeen* years of Josiah's reign, when the king's docile piety and youth would have encouraged the production of such a book, if it really existed, and there was such imperative necessity for that reformation to be begun as soon as possible, with a view to which the book itself was written." [2]

These considerations seem to prove that the book was in process of composition during these seventeen years. The youth of the king, his docility, and his deep religious earnestness, gave special encouragement for any attempts to bring about the indispensable reforms. It may not indeed have been begun for some time after the death of Amon; and

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part III. p. 616. [2] *Ib.* p. 617.

although two or three years would more than suffice for the actual work of composition, it was subjected, we may be sure, to repeated revisions; and the corrections thus made, as fresh ideas occurred from time to time to the writer, may in some measure explain the frequent repetitions by which it is characterised. But who then was the writer? The question is one of subordinate importance, so long as the time of its composition is precisely ascertained. That one who, in the words of Knobel,

"took upon himself to make so free with the Law Book"

must have been an eminent man there can be no doubt; and

"he can hardly have disappeared so completely from the stage of Jewish history, without leaving behind any other trace of his existence and activity than the Book of Deuteronomy."

But we know that Jeremiah lived in this age, and that he began to prophesy about four or five years before the book was found in the Temple; and it is impossible for us to shut our eyes to the many and striking points of likness and even of identity between the words, phrases, style, and tone of thought in the writings of the prophet and those of the Book of Deuteronomy.

The time of the composition of the book is thus brought into very close proximity with that of its discovery; and the question thus closed cannot be opened again on the plea that evidence may yet be produced which points in another direction. Such evidence, however, is furnished, it is said,

"by the fact that the Samaritans, while rejecting all the other canonical books of the Jews, yet received the Pentateuch *complete*, though, it is true, with very many and important variations from the Hebrew copies."[1]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 3.

The inference drawn is that the Pentateuch in its entirety must have existed long before the separation of the two kingdoms, as otherwise the Samaritans would never have acquired possession of it; and therefore that the Book of Deuteronomy must have been written probably some ages before the time of Samuel and Saul. The assumption is really both arbitrary and groundless; but, even if it were granted, it would still leave a gap of some centuries before we can reach the age of Moses. It is further argued that the antagonism of the Jews and Samaritans is itself proof that the acknowledgement of the Pentateuch as an authoritative code by the latter must be a fact belonging to a time preceding the revolt under Jeroboam.

These arguments, however, are of no force. The Samaritans, or inhabitants of the central district of Palestine, were a mixed population, settlers introduced by the Assyrian king (2 Kings xvii. 24) being mingled with such Israelites as had not been carried into captivity. This mixed population, we are told, did not "fear Jehovah," and a captive priest sent to them by the Assyrian king taught them how to fear Him; but nothing is said about his teaching them to keep the Law. To this Law, as it was understood in his day, Hezekiah, according to that chronicler, did what he could to bring them into subjection. But his invitation to the Passover which he sent throughout the country from Beersheba to Dan was, within the borders of the old Israelitish kingdom, rejected for the most part with contemptuous mockery, although it was accepted by some belonging to the tribes of Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulon. But if this story, coming as it does from the chronicler, is in a high degree suspicious, and seems to be altogether discredited by the fact that no mention is made of these efforts of Hezekiah in the other historical books, still there can be little doubt as to the reality of the reform attempted by Josiah. This king, according to the more

trustworthy historian (2 Kings xxiii.), assailed the sanctuary of Bethel itself, breaking down and burning the high place, and treating after the same fashion the other high places of the Samaritan cities made by the Kings of Israel.

Thus, then, up to this time there is no sign of the Law of Jehovah being practised or even known in Samaria, or of any feeling of mutual animosity between Jews and Samaritans.[1] The first symptoms of such a feeling were provoked about two centuries later, when the Jews refused the offer of the Samaritans to take part in the work of rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem. The strictness with which the Law was now inforced in the latter city prompted missionary efforts to inforce it also on the Samaritans; and perhaps with the sanction of Sanballat himself the missionary priests were enabled to introduce among them the Pentateuch, the only part of the Bible recognised by them to this day. That the Samaritan text was not constituted till after, and perhaps long after, the return of the Jews from the Captivity, seems to be proved by the fact that their text contains only the Pentateuch.[2] In other words, it was received at a time when the Book of Joshua had been already separated from the five Books of the Law, and this separation is supposed to have been first made in the time of Ezra. But, further, the Samaritan text, where it differs from the Hebrew, resembles in many instances the Septuagint version, the inference being that the Samaritans obtained their copies from the Alexandrian Jews of Egypt, and that their text was not composed until nearly three centuries had passed away from the time of Ezra.

If nothing more had been needed than to show that the

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 7.

[2] The subject is further examined by the Bishop, in the *Pentateuch*, Part VI. chap. xxv. But his position is so completely established that it is unnecessary to enter on the analysis of additional evidence, which can only add strength to conclusions already incontrovertible.

Pentateuch has in no part the characteristics of genuine contemporary narrative, that the story is full of contradictions and impossibilities, that it contains an elaborate civil and ecclesiastical legislation which does not belong to the age to which it is ascribed, and which was never carried out, the Bishop's work would at this point have been practically at an end. All this he had done with a completeness which left scarcely a loophole for objections, and certainly none for objections of any cogency. But it was necessary, further, to show that the Pentateuch was in every part a composite work.

Even in the Book of Deuteronomy, which, as a whole, was beyond doubt the production of one master-mind, insertions of other hands are plainly discernible. But in the Book of Genesis there is no such harmony of plan or of style. It is a patchwork of materials contributed by different writers in different ages; and it became necessary, therefore, to prove this in refutation of theories and notions which regarded it as from beginning to end the composition of Moses. That the two chief contributors are the Elohist and the Jehovist, the former characterised by the constant use of the name of Elohim for God, the other by the intermixture with it of the name Jehovah, we have already seen. The narratives of these two writers seldom harmonize, and often directly contradict each other. The variations between the Elohistic and the Jehovistic accounts of the Creation have been already noticed; and, except for the strange traditional notions which blind men's eyes to facts, it would be scarcely necessary to say anything about the conflicting details in the two stories of the Noachian Deluge. In the Elohistic tale Noah is ordered to take two of every living thing; in the Jehovistic every clean beast and every clean fowl is to be taken by sevens. On this contradiction it is enough to cite the words of perhaps the most learned of Jewish critics of the present century.

'All the attempts," says Dr. Kalisch, "at arguing away this discrepancy have been utterly unsuccessful. The difficulty is so obvious that the most desperate efforts have been made. Some regard the second and third verses as the later addition of a pious Israelite, while Rabbinical writers maintain that six pairs were taken by Noah, but one pair came to him spontaneously. Is it necessary to refute such opinions? We appeal to every unbiased understanding. The Bible cannot be abused to defy common sense, to foster sophistry, or pervert reasoning, to cloud the intellect, or to poison the heart with the rank weeds of insincerity."[1]

Such contradictions as these are glaring; but the task of analysing a composite document, in which, although two writers may have had the chief part in it, many fragments from other sources have been imbedded, is both intricate and subtle; and those who would appreciate the force of the Bishop's method, and the general correctness of his conclusions, must work their way patiently and carefully through his chapters. But of the method it must be noted that it starts with no assumption of the existence of characteristic differences of style, followed by the assigning to one writer those passages in which the name of Elohim occurs predominantly, and those marked by the name Jehovah to the other. In fact, the peculiarity has been deduced from inspection of the two sets of passages already separated; and these passages have been discriminated, and assigned to their respective authors by a rigorous process of deduction from a great variety of similar peculiarities, detected upon a minute examination and careful comparison of each passage.[2] But although the handiwork of two writers can thus be traced, there is no valid reason for supposing that the Jehovistic narrative ever formed an independent connected

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 32. [2] *Ib.* p. 49.

whole. The diligence of Hupfeld has recovered to the Jehovist, by means of the internal evidence, many passages which former critics had assigned to the Elohist; but all these taken together cannot be regarded as anything more than fragments. They are not parts of a compact whole. The Jehovistic passages about the Flood furnish no complete narrative. They say nothing about the original order to make the ark, about the collection of food, about the entry of the animals into the ark, or their exit from it; and if there are inconsistencies between this account and that of the Elohist, there is nothing surprising in this. They

> "might be looked for under the most favourable circumstances, if the interpolator had had the prime narrative before him in clear Roman type, in a printed volume. How much more, it may be said, when we take into account the difficulty of studying that narrative out of a long roll, consisting of many sheets, stitched together, of papyrus and parchment manuscript."[1]

Placing thus before the reader the whole of the Elohistic narrative in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, followed by the Jehovistic insertions in these chapters, the Bishop finds himself compelled to compare both with the great book of facts spread before us in the phenomena of the sensible world. The legion of subterfuges and fictions by which the traditionalism of the last generation was kept up are now for the most part dead. We may remember with amusement rather than indignation the pleading that the strata of the earth were simulations of age, purposely designed to mislead those who might refuse to accept the chronology of Archbishop Ussher; that fossils instead of having been animated structures had been formed under planetary influences; and that the mammoth which towards the end of the last century was

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 56.

found in the ice of the polar regions, in such preservation that dogs and bears fed upon its flesh, had never been a living creature, but had been created under the ice, and there preserved instead of being transmuted into stone, and that all organisms found in the depth of the earth are models created in the first day to typify the living plants and animals to be produced in the subsequent days of the creative week.[1]

It is neither so profane nor so absurd to assert that the Bible was intended by its writers to teach science. The books of the Pentateuch assuredly claim to do so, and do teach it to the full extent of the knowledge and the ability of the writers. The argument that the Bible is exclusively a religious book is characterised by Dr. Kalisch as a bold fallacy.

> "With the same justice it might," he says, "be affirmed that the Bible, in describing the rivers of Paradise, does not speak of geography at all, or in inserting the grand list and genealogy of nations (Genesis x.) is far from touching the science of ethnography. Taken in this manner nothing would be easier, but nothing more arbitrary, than Biblical interpretation. It is simply untrue that the Bible avoids these questions. It has, in fact, treated the history of Creation in a most magnificent and comprehensive manner; it has in these portions, as well as in the moral precepts of the theological doctrines, evidently not withheld any information which it was in its power to impart."[2]

We have here then such chronology, such archæology, such geography, such ethnology, such history, as the writers had acquired, or thought that they had acquired. What they had, or thought that they had, they imparted; and it would be astounding indeed if their views and conclusions harmonized with the knowledge gained during the millenniums which have since passed away. It is not as though we had to reconcile with this knowledge one statement only or two in

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 85. [2] *Ib.* p. 87.

these ancient records. The process must be gone through with all, and when we fancy that we have harmonized one, we find that we have only made the contradiction more glaring in another. The very plea that the Hebrew Scriptures were not intended to teach science shows, if it be worth anything, that the notions of Jews stood on the same level with those of Greeks or Romans. The distinction of the waters above from those below the firmament, the governing of day and night by the sun and moon, the stars being thrown in without any special design at all, are fancies as truthful and instructive as the speculations of Ionic and other philosophers that the stars were lamps lit every night, and put out again in the morning, and that the sun was a disk of heated metal somewhat bigger probably than the Peloponnesos. Of the real magnitude of the sun, of the real distances of the fixed stars, neither Jew nor Greek had the faintest conception. It would therefore be a miserable waste of time to examine any of their statements, were it not that these statements are made still to serve as foundations for a mighty mass of superstitions. We read the seemingly simple declaration, "To every animal of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, ... I have given every green herb for meat." But we forget to ask how the beasts and birds of prey were on their creation to be supported, their teeth, stomachs, and their whole bodily conformation being quite unsuited to the eating of herbs; nor do we heed the geological record which shows us that ravenous creatures preyed upon their fellow-creatures and lived upon flesh in all ages of the world's past history just as they do now.[1]

But if in Genesis we have a history, or rather two accounts, of the Creation, it is not the only history of this mighty work which has come down to us from ancient days. Egypt, India, Persia, Greece, had each its story of Creation, and most of them also of a deluge; and we commit ourselves not only to a

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 108.

perilous but to a ludicrous position, if we assert that they were all borrowed from the Jewish Scriptures. It is manifest that they were not so; and of intercourse between Jews and Canaanites and some of these countries there is not a shadow of evidence. The Bishop cites from Von Bohlen the Zend representation of Creation;[1] and it is quite open to any one to say that the Hebrew story is grander and more impressive. Longinus considered as sublime the expression, "Let there be light, and there was light;" but Von Bohlen remarks that the Vedic phrase, "He thought, I will create worlds, and they are there," is not less sublime. It is, in fact, a phrase re-echoed in the words of the Hebrew psalmist, "He spake the word, and they were made." If in some few points the Hebrew cosmogony seems to correspond with the geological record, the same remark applies with greater force to some parts of the *Theogony* which bears the name of Hesiod.

If, however, the geographical, ethnological, or other statements in Genesis, or any other of the Old Testament Scriptures, become absurd and contemptible when they are brought forward as the highest scientific standards, they are neither contemptible nor absurd when viewed in reference to the knowledge of the writers. We shall not be greatly tempted to laugh at the notion that the moon was probably of the size of a large plate or salver, when we remark that it was an hypothesis put forward to account for phenomena, and that these hypotheses pointed to and insured the true growth of mind, and led to the accumulated knowledge which is our inheritance.

According to Kosmas Indicopleustes, the earth was an oblong, with a mountain inhabited by gods in the north, the sea flowing round it on all four sides, with the Paradise in India beyond the sea, toward the east. Under the intervening sea, which was caused by the Flood, and crossed by Noah, the

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 113.

Euphrates and Tigris continue their course, and appear again in the western world, while Gihon, the Ganges, becomes the Nile in Egypt. In its essential features the geography of the second chapter of Genesis is the geography of Kosmas.

Nor is the zoology less hopelessly out of joint with facts now known to all. In the Jehovistic narrative all living creatures without exception are brought before Adam to be named by him.

> "But how could the white bear of the frozen zone, and the humming-bird of the tropics, have met in one spot? or, being assembled, how could they have been dispersed to their present abodes?"[1]

The Bishop may well speak of the handling of such a question as this as both a painful and ludicrous task; but he felt that he had no alternative when the "harmony" of Scripture with science was supposed to be established by the surmise that those parts of the earth which are "far from the boundaries of man's first residence," have become the scenes of creative power at epochs subsequent to the six days' work, in the teeth of the assertion that on the sixth day the heavens and earth were *finished* and all their host; and that the animals brought to Adam to be named must have been those only in the neighbourhood of Paradise, in the teeth of another assertion that he gave names to *all* the cattle and to the fowl of the heaven, and to *every* animal of the field. The same necessity compelled the Bishop to deal with the question of the origin of species. All recent geological researches establish, for instance, the fact that the sloths, armadillos, and large ant-eaters, have, in Professor Owen's words, "ever been, as they are now, peculiar to America," as likewise "the two species of orang are confined to Borneo and Sumatra," and "the two species of chimpanzee to an inter-tropical tract of the western part of Africa."

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 131.

But, if this be so, what grounds have we for holding that all types of the great human family are resolvable into one only? For such a notion there is absolutely no warrant, apart from an old Hebrew tale which is shivered into fragments as we handle it. To adduce in support of it the statement of St. Paul, that God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the earth, is to bring in a wholly irrelevant consideration. No one disputes this truth; but it would be not less true to say, that God has also made of one blood all the brute beasts of the world, and that we owe duties to them. No one denies the humanity of the Bushman, the Andaman islander, and the Australian savage, and assuredly they have a right not less than that of Englishmen or Germans to be treated as men; but the assertion of this fact is not the assertion that they all descend from Adam, or rather, it should be said, from Noah.

The superstitions which traditionalism has raised on the story of the third chapter of Genesis are not less ludicrous and painful, but immeasurably more repulsive, than any others. Without attempting to determine the meaning of the very peculiar phraseology of this chapter, the influences under which it must have been written, and the lessons which it is intended to inforce, the readers of the narrative jump to the conclusion that it speaks of some ophidian creature, or of the devil as disguised under its form. The Bishop cites at some length the remarks of the highly orthodox critic Delitzch on the subject. Few criticisms could be more contemptible. Delitzch says that in the Elohistic story the brute animals and other creatures are made before man, while man in the Jehovistic tale is made before the animals. To reconcile or get rid of these contradictions he actually commits him-to the following astounding assumptions: (1) "the Creation was a struggle between the Divine Creator and the might of evil"; (2) the Evil one prevailed so far as to "mislead" the

animals created in the fifth day (i. 21), and in the sixth before the creation of man (i. 25); (3) hence all these animals were to be swept away with the vegetation created on the third day (i. 12); (4) a new creation of plants and beasts and birds took place on the sixth day after the creation of man; (5) the evil spirit tried to corrupt this last creation also, and therefore "made use of a beast" in order to deceive the woman.

On such principles of interpretation the Hebrew Scriptures, or any other writings, may be easily made to yield whateve results we please; and there is no answering for the conclusions into which the speculators may be drawn. Delitzch acknowledges that the descriptions given of the Deity are anthropomorphic; that he walks in the shade in the cool of the day, and puts together aprons from the skins of beasts; and that this anthropomorphic intercourse, which is itself the consequence of the Fall, "culminates in the Incarnation." Having so stated, he plunges into a weedy sea. He has already treated brute animals as moral beings: he now goes on to say that sin may deform the body of a brute beast even though it has been only the instrument of a spirit.[1]

> "The serpent," he goes on to say, "was before made otherwise; now . . . . it is, as it were, the embodiment of the diabolical sin and the Divine curse."

But there is no "as it were" in the matter. It either is this embodiment, or it is not. He has only just before said that the serpents brought into existence before the creation of man were all swept away, and another race was formed after man came upon the scene, so that with these, at all events, there was a second failure. But there is absolutely nothing more than impudent assertion in the statement that the serpent was not made as it is now. There is no deformity whatever

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 140.

in the serpent, and its shape is as wonderful and beautiful an instance of adaptation of means to ends as is to be found in any created organism. But we may multiply words to any extent on the habits or the shape of serpents, and we shall be as far away as ever from catching even a glimmer of meaning from the narrative of Eve's temptation. If the tale is not genuine history, it may be symbolical; and if ever there have been such things as symbolical narratives, this surely is likely, or rather certain, to be one of them. We are well enough aware that there has been, and that there is still, tree and serpent worship in the world; and they who have bestowed any thought upon the subject, are also well aware that the tree so worshipped is a stem or stock—in other words, it is a symbol or sign; that the tree is the serpent and the serpent is the tree in different aspects; that the garden is not only a geographical paradise, but the garden of the human body, the field in which the enemy sows tares; and that the tree is the Asherah or grove for which the Jewish women wove hangings in later generations. But if these are symbols, then the whole language of this narrative is symbolical. The transgression cannot be committed by the man or the woman alone, and it is the serpent which leads to the Asherah, the Phallos, or the Linga. It follows that the biting of the heel and the bruising of the head are also symbolical phrases, which like the nudity of the serpent are somewhat disguised, perhaps not without purpose, in the Septuagint, the Latin, and the English versions; and further that the death which is the consequence of the transgression is not the physical change which we denote by that word. In this instance Mr. Maurice's method of dealing with the Old Testament led him right. He could not bring himself to believe, he could not allow any others to believe, that when Adam received the warning of immediate death, the sentence was not to be executed for many centuries. The writer was not therefore speaking of that which is called the

death of the body; he was speaking of the only real death, the death which is the wages of sin, of disobedience and self-will.[1]

With this story of the temptation the Bishop had to deal to show that, whatever it might be, it was not an historical narrative. It might have been a happy thing for the progress of English religious thought if he had been led to apply his perfectly straightforward and incisive critical method to the symbolism as well as to the history of this passage. But the subject is one from which we may be glad to escape, although sooner or later a thorough examination of it cannot be avoided. Dr. Donaldson has thrown over it the veil of what is supposed to be a learned language; but they who would have the origin and meaning of the tale fully drawn out will find the task admirably done in the pages of his *Jashar*.[2] Seen in this light the narrative becomes a subject of supreme interest. It is found to be the expression of a theological philosophy which has slowly taken a very definite shape. This philosophy has its own difficulties; and the difficulties of the subject itself may be insurmountable. We have, however, nothing which is either ridiculous or contemptible. For utterances which may excite a stronger feeling than that of mere disapproval we have to turn to the comments of modern critics. Thus Delitzch tells us that

> "Man in consequence of sin needs a covering to hide his nakedness. He himself has made the attempt to cover his nakedness by his own contrivance: however, he has not succeeded; before God he cannot present himself with his vileness. Only God prepares for him a covering which may serve for man to appear in before God, and that from the skins of slain animals, and therefore at the cost of innocent

[1] See p. 300.

[2] I may also refer the reader to my *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, Book II. chap. ii. section 12.

life, at the expense of the shedding of innocent blood. This blood was an image of the blood of Christ, this clothing an image of the clothing of righteousness in Christ."

Talk such as this may be meant to be orthodox; but it is (whatever the motive of the writer may be, and of this we do not judge) rank blasphemy, and they who love the truth may be grateful to those who provide the antidote. It is not here only that the Bishop cites the words of Dr. Thomas Burnet, long Master of the Charterhouse. Of the fig-leaf aprons Dr. Burnet says:—

"Here we have the first step in the act of sewing, but whence had they a needle, whence a thread on the first day of their creation? These questions may seem to be too free; but the matter itself demands that we act freely when we are seeking the naked truth. When, however, they had made to themselves girdles, God gave them, besides, coats made, forsooth, out of the skins of beasts. But here again we run into difficulties. To soften the matter let us substitute in the place of God an angel. An angel, then, slew and skinned the animals, or stripped the skin from innocent or living animals. But this is the business of a slaughterer or butcher, not an angel. Besides, through this slaughter whole races of animals would have perished, for it is not believed that more than two of each kind were created at first; and one without the other would have had no offspring."[1]

But in truth it is not a stray sentence here and there in the book of Genesis which becomes in the hands of modern commentators a fountain of perennial nonsense. The old Hebrew book speaks throughout of men who start with living for something like a millennium; but the span of human life has grown, and so has the standard of human size and weight. It is absurd to waste time on attempts to explain or to reconcile. The wall is plastered up in one part, only to reveal

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 151.

many more and worse rents in another. The duration assigned for human lives renders utterly uncertain the whole history, down at least to the establishment of the Jews in Canaan, even if all other difficulties could be removed. In fact, however, the Jewish stories are found for the most part everywhere else, and it is amusing to find Virgil fancying that the process of diminution in the human height and bulk is to go on, and that the Pharsalian ploughman centuries hence would be astonished at the relics of men who had fallen in the ranks of Cassius. The Great Pyramid may look like a work of giants; but the entrance admits a man with difficulty, and in the centre is, or was, a sarcophagus about six feet long.

Of the Noachian flood it is useless to say anything except in reference to the strange temper which delights to waste time by attempts to reconcile plain contradictions and account for sheer impossibilities. The Bishop has examined these attempts[1] with his usual patience, and shows that on any hypothesis the whole story falls to the ground. No command is given for the preservation of the fish; but the fresh-water fish must have died as soon as the salt water of the sea broke in, and the sea fish must have likewise perished as soon as from the preponderance of the rain water the waters of the sea began to lose their saltness. The same ignorance of facts is shown by the incident of the olive-leaf which is brought, plucked apparently fresh and green, from a tree which had been immersed eight or nine months, under water many thousands of feet in depth, if it was found by the dove at the greatest height ever reached by a myrtle plant. We may be forgiven if we turn with a feeling of loathing from the lucubrations of Dean Wilkins, who coolly calculates the animal food needed by the beasts of prey at 1825 sheep, which are accordingly to be stowed in the ark along with the pair or

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. chap. xvii.

pairs to be taken in for the preservation of their kind. Others in our own day, who have no difficulty in multiplying marvels or natural impossibilities, have seen no reason why the beasts of prey should not have been preserved in the ark in a state of torpor; but neither, if this be so, is there any reason why all other living things should not have been preserved in the same condition, and thus all trouble in gathering food have been spared to Noah and his children. If we turn to the chronology, we find that there are forty days of rain at the beginning, and forty days during which the ark rests after grounding; and this number of forty meets us everywhere—in the fast of Moses, in the searchings of the spies under Joshua and Caleb, in the forty years' wanderings in the wilderness, in the reigns of David and Solomon. The figures are not real in any instance, and it is but wasted toil to prop up a history which has no foundations. This is the fate of all attempts to show that the Deluge was partial, not universal.

> "It is," the Bishop says, "just as inconceivable that the worms and snails and grasshoppers should have crawled into the ark from different parts of some large basin in Western Asia as from different parts of the world. One small brook alone would have been a barrier to their further progress."[1]

But the language of the story points unmistakably to a universal flood, in the destruction of all flesh and every living thing, in the covering of all the high hills under the whole heaven. Modern traditionalists go on to "reconcile" laws of gravitation or any others with this old tale, and it is as easy for them to suppose that a universal or partial deluge might pass away leaving no signs of its occurrence behind it as to assert that the appearances of stratification in the earth are

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 202.

mere snares placed by God Himself to deceive geologists. But let the Deluge be reduced within the smallest limits, let the species taken in be limited to twenty of clean animals and sixty of unclean, and what is the result?

"Let any person picture to himself what would be the condition of a menagerie, consisting of four hundred animals, confined in a narrow space under these circumstances for more than twelve months! We must first suppose, of course, that Noah and his wife and children were occupied every day, and all day long, incessantly, in taking to these four hundred creatures, two or three times a day, their necessary supplies of dry food and water, bringing fresh litter and cleansing away the old. But shut up together closely in this way, with scarcely any light and air, is it not plain that in a very short time every part of the ship must have been full of filth and corruptive matter, fever, and pestilence? But the ship may have been kept clean, and the air pure, and the animals healthy, though shut up without light and air, by a miracle! Yes, certainly, by multiplying miracles *ad infinitum*, of which the Bible gives not the slightest intimation—which, rather, the whole tenor of the story as plainly as possible excludes—if this is thought to be a *reverent* mode of dealing with Scripture, or at all more reverent than a course of criticism of the kind which I am now pursuing, while thus endeavouring to set the plain facts of the case in a clear strong light before the eyes of the reader."[1]

The modern traditionalist deserves no indulgence. For the old Hebrew writer it should in all justice be remembered that he was innocent of all conscious offence against truths or facts of science; that he lived in a world of which he knew nothing; and that he fancied it to be a flat surface of no very great extent, round, square, or oblong. But the story of the Flood, like that of the Creation, is found in many lands, in

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 207.

some points resembling, in others wholly unlike, the Noachian narrative. The dove and raven incident is found in the legends of the Mexicans and the islanders of Cuba; and Delitzch seizes on this circumstance as showing that these legends are all most probably derived from one primæval historical fact. The inference, the Bishop adds,

> "would be justified, if the other chief details of the story were found repeated in the legends; otherwise it might be just as fairly argued that the primæval fact involved also the changing stones into men, which appears so prominent in these South American legends as well as in that of the Greeks."[1]

But, leaving the subject of the Flood and all that relates to it, leaving also the lists of tribes and nations which give the ancient notions of ethnology, we come to a point of greater importance in the Hebrew language. The Pentateuch is written throughout in pure Hebrew. When then was it written? and could it possibly have been written in this dialect before, at, or soon after the time of the Exodus? What, in short, was the Hebrew language? It was not allied to the Egyptian, for Joseph's brethren when they stood before the supposed Egyptian ruler, address him through an interpreter; but

> "we find Abraham conversing freely with the Canaanite King of Sodom, and with Melchizedek, the Jebusite King of Salem."[2]

So Rahab, in Jericho, is represented as talking freely with the Hebrew spies, and the Hivites of Gibeon with Joshua. Could this language, then, have been the speech of men who had been for many generations exiles in Egypt? It certainly had not been the language of Abraham when he came out from Aram; nor was it the language of Laban, who gives an

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 218. [2] *Ib.* p. 247.

Aramaic name to the stone set up by himself and Jacob, while Jacob gives to the same stone a Hebrew name of like signification. But this shows that in Abraham's new home Hebrew had become the mother tongue of his children and descendants, that Jacob had retained it during his sojourn with Laban, and used it again on his return to Canaan. But here difficulties come thick and fast. His wives, and all the servants, male and female, which he brought with him, must all have been Aramæans, and therefore must have spoken the Syrian or Aramæan tongue; and the young children, the eldest not then above twelve, must have spoken Aramaic also. Thirty years later they are settled in Goshen. In this short time, then, they must have changed their language altogether, and the Hebrew tongue must have taken upon them a hold so marvellous that, going down into Egypt, and living there under the circumstances described in the Book of Exodus, they maintained this dialect for two centuries at least in perfect purity; inasmuch as the books which are said to have been written before, or soon after, this time, exhibit no intermixture of any foreign element. Indeed, if we allow that the seventy souls who went down with Jacob into Egypt spoke Hebrew, we can scarcely suppose that they spoke pure Hebrew. Yet the story of the Exodus, which is asserted to be a contemporary narrative, is written in the purest Hebrew; and this purity has been maintained through a long period of exile, in which they would be peculiarly exposed to the influence of Egyptian speech, and afterwards through a long period of servitude.

"It may, perhaps," the Bishop remarks, "be alleged that the language of the Pentateuch is sufficiently explained, if Moses spoke and wrote Hebrew perfectly. Yet, how should Moses—who for the first forty years of his life was brought up in Pharaoh's house, in all the learning of the Egyptians—who may of course have spoken Hebrew as well as Egyp-

tian, but could only have learnt it from the speech of his fellow-countrymen when they had already been living in Egypt under the circumstances above described for 130 years to the day of his birth—and who spent the next forty years of his life in the deserts of Midian—have maintained all along the perfect Hebrew tongue, pure and simple, without the slightest adulteration from any foreign influences, neither vocabulary nor syntax being in the least degree modified?"[1]

That they should have maintained a speech learnt in Canaan only during thirty (*Pentateuch* thirty-two) years,

"amidst the joys of their prosperous and the oppressions of their miserable days in Egypt, without adopting a single idiom or a single term, even the name of a common article of food or dress, tool, implement, &c., from the Egyptians,"

must seem fairly incredible. But the special miracles invoked by the defenders of the Noachian flood story may be introduced here also. Nothing is said or hinted about any such miracle; but, if it was wrought, for what end, the Bishop asks, was it wrought?

"To maintain in its purity among the Hebrews the language, not of the primitive home of the Hebrew race, but of the idolatrous tribes of Canaan,"[2]

whom it is said they were solemnly commissioned to extirpate. The Bishop notes this fact as a strong confirmation—many no doubt will regard it as most cogent proof—of the conclusion that the Pentateuch was written

"not at a time when the tribes were just fresh from their long Egyptian sojourn, but at a much later period of their national history, when the language of Canaan had become after several generations the common tongue of the invading Hebrew, as well as of the heathen tribes whom they deprived

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 261. [2] *Ib.* p. 262.

of their possessions in Canaan, and whom they were unwilling to acknowledge as brethren, although it is plain the language of the Canaanites belongs to the same group as that spoken by the collateral branch of the Hebrew family in the 'city of Nahor.'"

Philological facts, like most others, are stubborn things. The evidence of artificial chronology is not less conclusive. The Book of Genesis professes to give the life-time of the so-called Patriarchs. According to the details thus furnished,

"Noah, Shem, Arphaxad, &c., in fact *all* of Abraham's progenitors, were living during many years of Abraham's life, and Shem, Saleh, and Eber outlived him. Shem, Arphaxad, Saleh, Eber, Serug, Terah, were living at the birth of Isaac; and Shem and Eber lived, the one during fifty, the other during nearly eighty, years of the life of Jacob. Yet we do not find the slightest intimation that Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob paid any kind of reverence or attention to any of their ancestors, more especially to their great ancestor Shem, who had gone through that wonderful event of the Deluge (except indeed on the strange supposition that Melchizedek was Shem), or that Abraham ever paid a visit to Noah, who, however, is supposed by some (without the slightest warrant from Scripture) to have colonised the extreme East, China, &c., and so to have gone out of his reach."[1]

More than this, while the Patriarchs of the Deluge still live, the kingdoms of Assyria and Egypt have risen to be large, powerful, and populous. In fact, this chronology was set down (we can scarcely say that it was put together) simply by way of magnifying the ancestors of the Hebrews. It shows no method and no skill, and thus stands out in marked contrast with the very skilfully framed chronology of the early Roman kings.[2]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 282.

[2] Lewis, *Credibility of Early Roman History*, vol. i. p. 528.

On the supposition that we have in the Pentateuch a really contemporaneous history, the treatment of these five books in the later Hebrew literature becomes astonishing indeed. The primæval history of the Book of Genesis, on which according to modern traditionalism the whole of the so-called "scheme" of Christianity is made to depend, seems to have passed clean away from the memory of the Hebrews. Of the first man and of his fall, of the garden, of the forbidden fruit, of the expulsion from Paradise, and of the Deluge, we never hear again.

> "One single certain trace of the story of Adam's fall is," in Langkerke's words, "entirely wanting in the Hebrew canon. Adam, Eve, the serpent, the woman's seduction of her husband, are all images, to which the remaining words of the Israelites never again recur."

> "At all events," the Bishop adds, "there is not the slightest indication that in the teaching of the Hebrew prophets the account of the Fall was quoted and dwelt upon. . . . And, as to Noah, his name is never once mentioned, nor is any reference made to the Deluge by any one of the psalmists and prophets, except in the latter part of the Book of Isaiah, and in Ezekiel, by writers undoubtedly living after the Captivity." [1]

It is not here only that we have this same phenomenon of a general belief or dogma resting on no foundation. The Pentateuch is supposed to have been the written Bible of the Jews from the time of the invasion of Canaan, familiarly known to the people, and beyond all things precious to their teachers and rulers; and we have seen that the former were wholly unacquainted with it, and that the discovery of the Book of the Law filled Josiah with humiliation and shame. So we have grown up with the idea that the poems to which we give

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 286.

the name of Homer existed in their present form from prehistoric ages, and that our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were, in short, the Bible of the Greeks. According to Colonel Mure, they were the acknowledged standard or digest of early national history, geography, and mythology. In the judgement of Baron Bunsen they formed "the canon regulating the Hellenic mental developement in all things spiritual, in faith and reason, worship and religion, civil and domestic life, poetry, art, science." The claim advanced for Homer here is the same precisely with the claim urged for the Pentateuch; and for it there is no more warrant in the one case than in the other. Writers before the age of Perikles refer to a poet whom they call Homer, but the poems of which they speak are not our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Of these the Greek lyric and tragic poets know nothing. The versions which they give of the ancient mythical history are altogether different from those of the poems to which we give the name "Homeric." Only in the rarest instances do the Greek dramatists take their subjects from episodes included in our *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* and with the pictures of personal character there given their own are quite inconsistent. This fact could not escape the notice even of Homeric traditionalists; and to account for it they have resorted to assumptions substantially identical with those of the self-styled orthodox Biblical commentators. The Greek Bible was too sacred a thing to be wantonly touched; and the Greek lyric and tragic poets refused from a mere feeling of reverence to draw their inspiration from the "acknowledged standard or digest of early national history, geography, and mythology." This is a complete contradiction and a not less complete delusion; but the method followed by those who seek to maintain it is as little creditable as that of Dr. McCaul, or of Kurtz, or of Delitzch.[1]

[1] I may refer the reader who wishes to see the evidence for these conclusions to my *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, Book I. chap. ix. ed. 1878.

In neither case however is there any difficulty, if we will but look facts steadily in the face. Thucydides quotes from "Homer," but he cites passages found in poems which are not now commonly called Homeric. It could not be otherwise, as our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* assumed their present form after his time. So with the evidence before us on the composition of the Pentateuch, it is

> "impossible to believe that the devout prophets, priests, and kings, and pious people all along, were thoroughly conversant with the written Law, were deep in the study of it, and practising its precepts daily, were reminded annually of its existence by the sacred ordinances, which the more religious minds among them faithfully observed, and were also summoned once in seven years to hear the whole Law read at the feast of Tabernacles."

But the fact of their ignorance is at once accounted for when we remember that the story of the Fall was written not earlier than the latter part of David's reign,

> "and was known to them as only a narrative, written for the edification of the people, by some distinguished man of that age. Probably one or two copies may have been made of it, or perhaps only one, which remained in the charge of the priests, and may have been added to from time to time."[1]

But a great fascination leads some men to kick against the pricks. The Pentateuch came in a late age to be regarded as the work of Moses: therefore it was his work. Moses, so Mr. Kingsley would have it, was

> "far the most likely man to have written them of all of whom we read in Scripture"; and "if Moses did not write the Pentateuch, who did?"[2]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 291. [2] *Ib.* p. 294. See also above, p. 450.

The authority which came to be ascribed to the so-called Mosaic books has nothing to do with this question. The book of Enoch was composed, according to Archbishop Laurence, in the latter half of the century immediately preceding our own era. But this book, even in so late an age, could

> " acquire among the Jews in a very short time—within perhaps fifty, or at most a hundred and eighty years—the reputation of a veritable authentic document, really emanating from the antediluvian patriarch, and either written originally by his own hand, or at least handed down by tradition from those who lived before the Deluge."

This is a matter really of vast importance for those who adhere to the position taken by Bishop Gray and his supporters. The judge and his assessors, with the accusing clergy at the so-called Capetown trial, all spoke in vehement indignation against the reckless criticism—or, rather, profanity—which dared to question the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, when this authorship was vouched for and guaranteed by Christ Himself. To doubt this was to impute deliberate falsehood to the eternal Son of God. The references to Moses in the New Testament settled the question of the genuineness and authenticity, as well as the canonicity, of the Pentateuch. But the Epistle of St. Jude distinctly quotes a passage from the book of Enoch as a prophecy of "Enoch the seventh from Adam";[1] and St. Jude was, of course, in Bishop Gray's belief an inspired Apostle. The book of Enoch is therefore both genuine and authentic; and being thus apostolically attested, it ought to be included in the Canon of Scripture. Unfortunately it is not; and Bishop Gray is therefore at variance with those by whom the Canon was determined.

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 311.

This is the conclusion on the hypothesis that the Epistle of St. Jude itself is genuine. Otherwise

"It would follow that a book (that ascribed to St. Jude) received in the Church as canonical, could be regarded also as apostolical, under a mistaken opinion as to its authorship, and therefore that the fact of other books (as the books of the Pentateuch) having been received as canonical and ascribed to a certain author (as Moses) is no guarantee of their having been really written by him."

It is scarcely necessary to say that the Second Epistle bearing the name of St. Peter[1] must follow the fortunes of the Epistle of St. Jude. Both the Epistles contain a considerable amount of matter, of a most peculiar kind, which is *verbatim*, or as nearly as may be *verbatim*, the same. But the influence of the book of Enoch is not limited to these two Epistles.

"In the language attributed to our Lord Himself, in that of St. Paul, especially in his early Epistles, . . . we can distinctly trace an intimate acquaintance with it and recognise its forms of expression. But, above all, this is true of St. John in the Revelation, where, it is plain, very much of the imagery has been distinctly adopted from that of the book of Enoch."[2]

Nay (and this fact is of the greatest moment),

"almost all the language of the New Testament in which the judgement of the last day is described,—the eschatology, as it is called, of the New Testament,—appears to have been directly derived from the language of the book of Enoch. The 'everlasting chains' in which the fallen angels are 'kept under darkness,—the 'everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels,'—the 'Son of man sitting on the throne of His glory,' choosing for the

[1] See p. 288.

[2] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 323.

righteous their 'countless habitations,' and destroying the wicked with the word of His mouth,—the 'Book of Life' opened before the Judge,—earth, hell, and the grave 'giving up their dead,'—the joy of the righteous, the shame and confusion of the wicked, who are led off by the angels to punishment,—the 'new heaven' and the 'new earth,' old things having passed away,—the 'furnace of fire' and the lake of fire,'—all these appear in the book of Enoch; and the last, the 'lake of fire,' is manifestly a figure introduced with distinct reference to the Dead Sea; and accordingly, in the same connexion, we find the angels which kept not their first estate coupled with 'Sodom and Gomorrha and the cities about them.' Nay, those awful words spoken of Judas, 'It were good for that man if he had never been born,' find their counterpart also in the language of this book."[1]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part IV. p. 326.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PENTATEUCH: ITS GROWTH.

So far as the work of proving the composite and non-historical character of the early Hebrew records is concerned, the Bishop's task had been substantially brought to an end. But other points remained which a truth-loving critic could not allow himself to neglect. If several writers have had a hand in shaping the Book of Genesis, the signs of the Deuteronomist are also stamped on the Book of Joshua; and therefore the Deuteronomist must have lived after the days of Moses.[1] Words and expressions of a most marked and striking kind occur in the Book of Joshua and in Deuteronomy, and nowhere else in the Pentateuch.[2] But these formulæ occur only in certain portions of the former book, and in the other parts we have the peculiar phrases of the older writers of the Pentateuch, which are never used by the Deuteronomist.[3] In the original narrative of Joshua there is a good deal of matter interpolated by the Deuteronomist, and some also by other writers. It is impossible to reproduce here the tables in which the Bishop has disentangled the conglomerate mass of the Pentateuch. What has been said already can scarcely fail to give a sufficient idea of the irresistible cumulative force of his whole analysis and argument; and it is therefore unnecessary,

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 4. [2] *Ib.* pp. 4, 5. [3] *Ib.* p. 6.

even if it were practicable, to go into the minuter details of the investigation.

The results are very remarkable. More than a hundred different formulæ, each occurring on an average more than ten times in Genesis, are found only in those portions of it which remain after the removal of the Elohistic passages, while with a curious accuracy these very formulæ pass by all the sections belonging to the Elohist; and these in their turn exhibit also their own peculiar phraseology, which we never find repeated in the rest of Genesis.[1] There is, further, a wide moral difference between the several writers. With a deep sense of sin and of its fatal consequences, the Elohist speaks of a renewed blessing on the earth, and knows nothing of any woe inflicted permanently on either man or woman. The Jehovist multiplies curses and speaks of the sweat of the brow, the very privilege and pledge of human health and happiness, as a sign of man's guilt and shame.[2] We are not surprised therefore, to find that those stories of impurity which blot so many of the chapters of Genesis are all due to the hand of the Jehovist. But from the Jehovist comes the story of Joseph; and the story of Joseph has been lauded by Mr. Maurice as a fountain of the highest spiritual instruction, while Joseph himself is for him all but the highest embodiment of unselfish love. Yet it is hard to see this, the Bishop remarks, in those parts of it which represent him as having lived for the seven fruitful years in possession of all the power of Egypt, yet never having sent during that time a single messenger into Canaan to comfort his father's heart with the tidings of his own existence, or to learn whether his father still lived, and how he and his brother Benjamin fared.[3]

"It is just as difficult," the Bishop adds, "to explain consistently the fact that, when Joseph knew by his brothers'

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 33. [2] *Ib.* p. 39. [3] *Ib.* p. 41.

report that his father still lived, he, such a dutiful and loving son, allowed his old father to remain for twelve months longer in entire ignorance of his own fate, and made no provision whatever to supply him or his family with food during all that time amidst the straits of that terrible famine, except by sending them, free of expense, as much corn as the ten asses could carry. It is still more impossible to believe that such a tender-hearted son and brother could have left it to the mere chance of his brothers' coming again in the following year, whether he should ever hear of his brother Benjamin again, or, when they did come again, could have made the attempt, by lying himself and teaching his steward to lie, to steal Benjamin from his father, as he himself had been stolen, and to send his brothers back to Canaan to carry to the aged Patriarch the heart-breaking tidings that his darling son was seized by the Governor of Egypt and condemned to be treated as a slave for theft."[1]

What the Bishop says is, indeed, all true; but we can scarcely blame the Jehovistic writer for not having perceived it, when the eyes of critics thousands of years later are closed to the real character of the tale. When he came to the story of Joseph, he came within the charmed region of mythical narrative. He found here certain materials ready to hand, which the laws of mythical history would not suffer him to set aside. The youngest and the darling son, the child of the wife who was the heart's love of his father, Joseph is, like David in his youth, unheeded, despised, or hated, by the crowd of his elder brethren; but, like David, he is the man born to be prince or king. His coat of many colours, his visions of future greatness, his temptations, the seducements of the maiden to whom tradition gave the name Zuleika, the selling into slavery, the false tidings of his death, his wisdom and sagacity, his exaltation,—are all features which appear in a hundred popular tales of all lands, of which the most familiar type is the youth

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 42.

who sits among the ashes, destined in the issue to dazzle all men with his wisdom, his benignity, and his splendour. Seemingly weak and often despised, he has keener wit and more resolute will than all who are opposed to him. Slander and obloquy are to him as nothing, for he knows that in the end his truth shall be made clear in the sight of all men. His brethren's sheaves shall be made to bow down before his own ; the sun, moon, and the eleven stars shall be brought to do him honour. This could not be, if he should be made known to his kindred before the great manifestation. He is the revealer of secrets ; but his main function is to provide food from the earth, to nourish, and to sustain. This is his mission from his birth. He is Joseph, the "multiplier," and his life-work is to give fertility to a dry and thirsty land. This is the character assigned to him from the first in the blessing of the heaven above, the blessing of the flood that lies below, the blessing of the breasts and of the womb.[1]

In the Joseph story there is, then, the difficulty arising from the laws of mythical narrative, to which the tale-teller finds himself compelled to adhere ; but in most of the other narratives in the Book of Genesis there is the further difficulty which arises from two or more sets of interpolations by later writers.

"We often hear, for instance," the Bishop says, "the character of Abraham set forth as a model of excellence for the imitation of all ages. But *what* Abraham? *Which* of the Abrahams whose doings are mixed up in such utter confusion by the different writers concerned in the composition of the story in Genesis? How perplexing it is to find in the account of the father of the faithful the record of conduct so mean and unworthy as that narrated in xii. 11–20, and then to find, after an interval of twenty years, the very same base act repeated by him. . . . But all this confusion and

[1] Goldziher, *Mythology of the Hebrews*, p. 166.

contradiction is explained, when we consider that the story of Abraham, as we now read it in the Bible, is not a simple story by one single writer, but the composite work of two or three, or it may be . . . . of even four or five minds, writing each from his own point of view in very different ages. The original Elohistic story, in its grand simplicity, represents the Patriarch . . . . without any flaw. He migrates of his own accord, ... carrying out merely the purpose of his father; . . . . he dwells in the land of Canaan, and there appears as the highly honoured servant of Elohim; . . . . he receives the promised son, and circumcises him. His wife dies, and, with inimitable courtesy, he makes the purchase from the sons of Heth of the burying-place in the field of Machpelah; and then he dies and is buried by his two sons. . . . And this is all the genuine original story of Abraham. This is the real Abraham of the Bible, the Abraham of the Elohist. . . . Abraham receives no promise for his seed of all the land. But then, on the other hand, his character is not lowered by having ascribed to him the miserable subterfuge in the case of Pharaoh, or the still more reprehensible repetition of this fault in the case of Abimelech. All the additions which are made by the writers to the original story are mere refractions and distortions of the character of Abraham as viewed through their own atmospheres."[1]

But although there is abundant and irresistible evidence of the fact that the Book of Genesis is a composite structure, there is none for the notion that the several authors whose hands may be traced in it were independent original writers. The matter which they added was in each case merely supplementary to the Elohistic story.[2] But when was this Elohistic story put together? Certainly not by a writer older than Moses, for the first chapter of Genesis is beyond doubt the work of the same writer who records the revelation of the name Jehovah to

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 44. [2] *Ib.* p. 67.

Moses in the sixth chapter of Exodus. If the latter narrative had been written by Moses himself,

> "it is impossible," the Bishop remarks, "to believe that any other writers would have dared to obscure that fact, much less to contradict it by inserting narratives in which the name is put into the mouths of all the chief persons in the history, from Eve downwards, and by observing"

that men began to call on the name of Jehovah in the days of Seth.[1] It follows that, if the Elohist was not (as he cannot have been) Moses himself, he must have lived later than Moses. Still the style of the narrative shows the simplicity of the age in which he lived. He nowhere speaks of houses, or of a priesthood, of a tabernacle or temple, or of regular sacrifices. He mentions the precious metals only once, when Abraham weighs out the silver for the Hittite Ephron.[2] In his day Ephraim was the dominant tribe, and its power was steadily growing. We are brought thus very nearly within the limits of Samuel's life-time ; and to him certainly tradition points as having concerned himself in writing history.[3] At the same time these very facts seem to show conclusively that it could not have been written in an age later than that of Samuel. In the writer's time the Hebrews had no weapons, no blacksmiths, no art. In David's reign we find ourselves in a state of comparative wealth and splendour. But the tribes are still all united. There is no enmity between Joseph and his brethren. If the history could not have been written in the days of David or Solomon, it must have been written in those of Saul—that is, in the age of Samuel.[4] For the fact that Samuel himself was the Elohist there is thus the strongest likelihood ; but the rejection of this surmise in no way affects the conclusions reached by the investigations of the Bishop.

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p 70.
[2] *Ib.* p. 73.
[3] *Ib.* p. 76.
[4] *Ib.* p. 77.

The Elohist may have lived in Samuel's age, and yet have left no name behind him. It is possible, but it is by no means likely. Nor are these the only signs which point to this time. There is in his day no enmity between Esau and Jacob—that is, of course, between Edom and Israel. In Genesis xxxvi. the Elohist

> "enters into a long account of the progeny of Esau, and the different clans which sprang from him; and .... exhibits an amount of interest in their affairs only second to that which he felt in respect of those of his own people. And it seems impossible to suppose that such labour would have been expended on the annals of these tribes .... at any period after the time of David, when the feeling between the Edomites and Israelites must have been very bitter."

But further, in Genesis xxxvi. 31, the Elohist speaks of kings who reigned in Israel. This implies that when he wrote a king *was* reigning in Israel, and also that he was reigning over *all* Israel, and we are thus again restricted to the days of Saul, David, or Solomon, and the reasons which debar us from assigning him to the reign of Solomon or the later days of David have been already noticed. There are other subsidiary arguments, most of them very strong. One, especially, not merely points to the same time, but absolutely demonstrates that the Book of Deuteronomy was unknown to him. His narrative speaks of the change to monarchical government as a great sin on the part of the people. The language of the Deuteronomist is entirely different, and it was part of the special blessing upon Abraham and Jacob that kings should be born to them.[1]

With equal power and exactness the Bishop brings together the evidence indicating the age of the Jehovist. He is later than the Elohist, for he speaks of houses, and he gives to the ark a window, roof, door, and three stories;[2] and the style of

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 90; see also above, p. 560. [2] *Ib.* p. 96.

these details, as compared with the directions given for making the tabernacle, leaves little room for doubting that both sets of directions have been recorded by the same author. The great length at which he gives the story of Joseph, and the generosity which he evidently means to ascribe to him, seem to show that he must have been a man of the tribe of Ephraim; and in the latter part of David's, or the earlier part of Solomon's, reign, an Ephraimite might easily be strongly attached to the house of David.[1] Over the Bishop's analysis of Jacob's blessings, which are full of indications of time, all pointing in one direction, we must pass rapidly. The blessing on Judah seems to have been written with reference to David's time, and at a period when he was still exposed to danger from within and without.[2] That on Simeon and Levi looks much more like a curse than a blessing. Both are to be separated and scattered; and as a tribe the Simeonites gradually dwindled away, until in the time of David they can scarcely be said to have had any geographical existence.[3] The sentence on Levi from Jacob's lips is as different from the blessing by Moses as it can possibly be;[4] but the latter comes from the Deuteronomist, and was therefore written at a time when the house of Levi was really held in high esteem and honour, and was composed, perhaps, by one who was himself a Levite and a priest. It is true indeed that there is one passage in the First Book of Samuel, vi. 15,

> "which seems at first sight to be a plain recognition of the official position of the Levites according to the Mosaic Law. . . . But it will be seen that the Levites appear here upon the scene very strangely and suddenly. Not a word is said to introduce them, nor are they named in the history for some centuries before, or for a century after this event. Only in this one single verse they appear at the critical

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 112.
[2] *Ib.* p. 123.
[3] See above, pp. 224, 564.
[4] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 145.

moment to take down the ark, which it was unlawful (according to the law in Numbers i. 51) for any mere layman to do. But it was just as unlawful for common Levites to *touch* the ark."

If it be said that these Levites were also priests, how did they, if they knew the Law, dare to offer sacrifice in an unconsecrated place? If it be said that the presence of the ark made this exceptional act allowable, then how did they dare to offer *milch* kine as a burnt-offering, when the Law (Leviticus i. 3) declared that it must be a male without blemish? The whole account is thus seen to be full of difficulties. In looking down to the connexion of the verse with the context we shall find that

"it is a later interpolation into the original story."

In the preceding verse the men of Bethshemesh cleave the wood of the cart, and offer the kine a burnt-offering to Jehovah.

"And then after this, after the cart had been broken up and burnt, we are told that the Levites took down the ark from the cart, and placed it on the great stone on which apparently the kine had just been offered, and it is added, the men of Bethshemesh offered burnt-offerings and sacrificed sacrifices the same day unto Jehovah, when we have just been told that they had 'offered the kine.' In short, the verse about the Levites quite obstructs the flow of the narrative, and has plainly been inserted by a later hand, in order to avoid the appearance of a sacrilegious act in the original story." [1]

But what bearing has the name of Jehovah on the date of the several books of the Pentateuch? On the one side we have a writer in Genesis who uses for "God" only the name Elohim, and who on reaching the sixth chapter of Exodus

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 155.

gives an account of the way in which a new name, Jehovah, was revealed *for the first time* to Moses. On the other hand we have the Jehovist not merely using the name from the first, but using it as a name known to Canaanites and Philistines, as well as to the Hebrews. It follows that there are at least two writers concerned in the composition of the Book of Genesis, and, further, that the Jehovistic writer did not believe the incidents of the manifestation at the burning bush related by the Elohist. But what was the motive of the latter in framing this narration? Can it have been anything but his knowledge that the name *was* comparatively new to the Hebrews, and that they did not really know it before the Exodus; that, although known at the time when he wrote, it was still not in very general use; and that he wished to commend it to the people by means of this story? This much is admitted by those modern critics who have given most attention to this special subject. Among these the foremost are Hartmann, Von Bohlen, and Von der Aa. Ewald holds that in times anterior to the Exodus it was used only in the family of the ancestors of Moses on the mother's side. The qualification is ludicrously improbable, but it is an admission of the unhistorical character of the story of the incidents at the burning bush. He admits, further, that although Moses,

"according to a beautiful legend,"

changed the name of Hoshea into Joshua,

"in order to retain more firmly the remembrance of the new religion, it still remained for some centuries not very much used"

in the common speech of Israel. The fact, as the Bishop insists, is incredible if Moses had really urged solemnly upon his people the adoption of this name, if he had used it habitually in his legislation, and encouraged or required

its use by others.[1] If Ewald be right, it follows that the name was introduced in some age later than that of Moses; and we have seen to what age all the evidence seems to point. As to the name itself, Ewald admits that "it has no clear radical signification in Hebrew," and there is something like a complete consensus of critics that the Israelites after their settlement in Canaan adopted the Phœnician name, just as they also spoke, however they may have acquired it, the language of the Canaanitish tribes. Whatever be its origin, it was the most sacred and mysterious name of the Phœnician sun-god; and it is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that the Israelites actually worshipped the Phœnician Baal under this designation. Otherwise,

> "what is the meaning of Jephthah's offering his daughter as a burnt sacrifice unto JHVH? or how can we explain otherwise the fact that they worshipped JHVH with idolatrous rites and impure practices, not only in the high places of Judah and Israel, but even in the very Temple at Jerusalem?"

The marvellous confusion in their religious history, as given in the Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, is really due, in the Bishop's judgement, to this cause:

> "that while a few of higher mind among them had clear views of the service which the Living God required, and worshipped Jehovah in spirit and in truth, yet to the eye of the multitude the name JHVH represented only the chief deity of the tribes of Canaan, the 'god of the land,' and so they defiled their worship with all manner of impurities."[2]

It is indisputable that even during the first eighteen years of the reign of Josiah there were in the Temple itself at Jerusalem vessels made for the sun and moon (Baal and

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 275. [2] *Ib.* p. 284.

Ashera) and for the host of heaven. There was also here a grove (in other words a Phallos or Linga), for which the women wove hangings ; and in the worship of these symbols, the priests, as a body, took part—nay, rather, we must say that they maintained it. These abominations, on the discovery of the Book of the Law, Josiah manfully set himself to suppress. He hewed down the pole, or tree, or stauros, which served as the sign of the fructifying power in Nature ; broke to pieces the altar, or foundation of stone, answering to the Hindoo Yoni, on which the Ashera rested ; and at Samaria, and elsewhere (though not at Jerusalem), he slew the idolatrous priests, after a fashion which must have been a terrible recompense for the human sacrifices offered up by those priests themselves. Josiah's reform, short-lived though it was, was trenchant, and it was short-lived because it was a very shambles of butchery which he sought to cleanse. The worship of the Phœnician sun-god demanded hecatombs of human burnt-offerings, and the Israelites were not to be outdone in the zeal with which they fed his altars with human blood. That the *passing through* of children is, in every case where it is spoken of, to be interpreted of their slaughter, the words of the prophets leave not a shadow of doubt. With an earnestness amounting to agony, Jeremiah speaks of the children of Judah as building the high places of Tophet to *burn* their sons and daughters in the fire (vii. 30, 31) ; as filling the Temple courts with the blood of innocents ; as raising high places to Baal, "to burn their sons with fire, for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spoke it, neither came it into my mind" (xix. 4, 5). This was in the days of Josiah. Unless we refuse all credit to the words of Ezekiel, things were not much improved during the Captivity.[1] The prophet charges them with sacrificing their sons and their daughters to be devoured (xvi. 20, 21) ; with slaying their children to

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 289.

their idols, and then coming red-handed to the sanctuary of God (xxiii. 37, 39). We should know therefore what is meant when we read that Ahaz and Manasseh made their sons to pass through the fire, even if Josephus had not told us plainly that they made holocausts of them. We turn with loathing from the pictures given of the fiendish brutality of Mexican worship; but we have scanty grounds indeed for thinking that the religion of the Israelites as a nation, even in the time of Josiah, was much less cruel and bloodthirsty. What, moreover, are we to say when amongst the Levitical laws in the Pentateuch we find statutes which imperatively insist on the slaughter of human victims? On the traditional theories they are emphatically a scandal as great as any which Jeroboam the son of Nebat set up in Bethel or Dan; but that the statutes are there is certain. The devoted things, it is said, shall not be sold, and shall not be redeemed.

> "Every Kherim, which shall be devoted out of *man*, shall not be redeemed; it shall surely be put to death" (Leviticus xxvii. 28, 29).

The Bishop's analysis has shown conclusively that the so-called Mosaic legislation consists of enactments framed in different ages and lands, many, if not most, of them having never had any existence except on paper. These particular enactments are perhaps among the oldest, and they were carried out with ruthless exactitude, although prophet after prophet pleaded that God had never issued any such commands, and that it had never entered into His heart to do so. But these very expressions prove incontestably that the people must have alleged some authority for the practice, emanating as they declared from Jehovah Himself; and in these Levitical statutes they had this authority. That the practice should have gone on with lavish ferocity even after the men of Judah found themselves captives on the flats of

Babylon is melancholy and conclusive proof indeed that the teaching of the Book of Deuteronomy had not been left as an inheritance for the people nigh a thousand years earlier. In short, we have really no adequate warrant for supposing that the subjects of Solomon or Josiah were much, if at all, better in this respect than those of Jeroboam or Ahab. The Bishop cautions us against forgetting that

> "we have no account of the doings of the people of Israel from their own point of view, but only one written from the point of view which would be taken by a man of Judah, betraying often political as well as religious animosity." [1]

The fact that Josiah himself, while he mercilessly slew the idolatrous priests of Samaria, merely inhibited those of Jerusalem from performing sacred offices, can be explained probably only on the supposition that he wished to be rid of the priesthood as well as of the high places in Israel, so as to concentrate the religious regards of the people more thoroughly upon the Temple at Jerusalem. But while the true state of religion amongst the children of Abraham is thus brought before us, how startling a light is thrown on the laws and discourses of the Book of Deuteronomy! The injunctions to throw down the altars, to burn the Ashera, to defile the high places, instead of being commands issued to an obedient people many centuries before, are seen to be passionate pleadings for a reformation most urgently needed still. The abominations denounced were not those of long past ages, but impurities and iniquities which made the hearts of all good and true men sink within them, even in the Babylonish exile. With the bloodthirsty worship and foul orgies of the people, the language of the prophets (*i.e.* of the insignificantly small minority which lifted up its voice against all these abominations) presents, in the Bishop's words,

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 297.

"a most wonderful and amazing contrast, and by that very contrast, more forcibly than any blind dogma of Scriptural infallibility could, they spoke God's word to man, and taught Divine truth as they were 'moved by the Holy Ghost.'" [1]

The efforts of the Elohist to raise his countrymen by attaching higher thoughts of God to the name Jehovah was a distinct step onwards in the education of the world; and in the sincerity and purity of this effort there were very few who came up to him.

"The Jehovist in the next age appears to have had less grand and becoming views of the Divine Being, using frequently very strong anthropomorphisms, and ascribing continually to Jehovah human actions. Still later writers of the Pentateuch appear to have made the worship of Jehovah to consist chiefly in the punctilious performance of outward forms and ceremonies, lustrations, and sacrifices, and the due payment of tithes and firstlings. At last the Deuteronomist breathed a new life into the dead letter of the Law, and wrote the words of the second covenant, 'the covenant in the land of Moab,' which were to the records of the Pentateuch, as then existing, what the writings of the New Testament are to those of the Old."

The Pentateuch thus became the record of a nation's thought and life through many centuries. No portion of it, perhaps, was brought into its present shape before the time of Saul and Samuel, and its latest parts were not put together before the age of Manasseh or Josiah. To have proved these facts is, of itself, to have done a great work; and the Bishop might well have been contented with the thought that he had disentangled the twisted chain of narratives interlaced one within the other by the additions and insertions of successive writers. But he has done much more. He has brought together the

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 300.

immense mass of evidence which points personally to Samuel as the author of the Elohistic narrative. He has shown between the thoughts and words of the Deuteronomist and those of the prophet Jeremiah a closeness of agreement which could not be exceeded if the Deuteronomist and the prophet were one and the same person. The task taken in hand is thus practically achieved. The Pentateuch is in no part the work of Moses, and in no part is the narrative thoroughly historical. It becomes therefore rather a matter of curious inquiry than of necessary investigation to carry the analysis further with the view of ascertaining whether there may, or may not, have been more than two writers occupied with the reduction of the Pentateuch to its present form. The Bishop has carried on the analysis, with the result of finding, as we have in part seen already, that, besides the Elohist and the Deuteronomist, there was a Jehovistic writer distinct from both, who is probably the same person as the second Elohist, and a second Jehovist who made certain additions to the book of the first. The Bishop shows the result in the following tabular form:—

	B.C.	*Contemporary Prophet.*
Elohist	1100—1060	Samuel.
Second Elohist } Jehovist }	1060—1010	Nathan.
Second Jehovist	1035	Gad.
Deuteronomist	641—624	Jeremiah.[1]

A discussion has been raised as to the date of the second Jehovist, some critics contending that he belongs to a time long subsequent to the Captivity. With the perfect candour which characterises all his work, the Bishop, in the concluding chapter of his Fifth Part, gives the whole of the argument and evidence adduced for this conclusion. He returns to the question again in the twenty-sixth chapter of his Sixth Part,

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 181.

premising only that, as regards the great main question of his work, viz. the non-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, and the unhistorical character of its narrative,

> "it would be of no consequence whatever should a more searching criticism decisively demonstrate the later origin of some portion at least—if not of all—of the Jehovistic passages in Genesis, or show that their composition extended over two or three centuries."[1]

A more searching and patient examination than that which the Bishop devotes to this theory could not well be imagined. His conclusion, resting on evidence which seems to leave no room for doubt, is, that

> "the Jehovistic passages, which form the main substance of the original story of the Exodus,"

were written between 1060 and 1020 B.C.,[2] and that the Elohistic passages are the oldest portion of the Pentateuch, and the foundation, in fact, of the whole story.[3]

But he in no way bound himself to the assertion that these contemporary prophets were actually the writers of the corresponding sections of Genesis, although it is certain that some such men must have written them.

If, however, the Pentateuch can no longer be regarded as a contemporary historical narrative, its historical value is greatly increased from other points of view. Bishop Browne had charged Dr. Colenso not merely with denying the sojourn in Misraim, the Exodus, and the conquest of Canaan, but also with hostility to the Pentateuch itself. To these assertions the Bishop gave "a direct and emphatic contradiction."[4] He had not denied any one of the points specified by Bishop Browne. He had distinctly and repeatedly asserted them.

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 539
[2] *Ib.* p. 574.
[3] *Ib.* p. 588.
[4] Part V. p. 307.

The charge of hostility to the Pentateuch resolved itself into a charge of hostility to Bishop Browne's particular view of the Pentateuch.[1]

To this view he was indeed opposed utterly, as to a view which distorted everything, and did full justice to nothing, which made it impossible to avoid shiftiness of interpretation, if not downright evasion and falsehood. The amount of historical or other instruction to be derived from the Pentateuch by Bishop Browne's method is poor indeed, as compared with that which may be drawn from it by an application of the true critical method.

"The beggarly condition of the Levites in the early days of David as revealed in Genesis xlix.; . . . . their increased influence in Josiah's time, as implied in the Book of Deuteronomy; the minute specifications for the building of the Tabernacle, which read almost as if they were taken from the working drawings of the Temple itself, by some one who was personally concerned in the execution; the injunction which commands human sacrifices (Leviticus xxvii.), and the narrative in Genesis xxii., which, while not condemning—rather approving—yet seems intended to discourage them,—all these, and a multitude of other similar notices, require only to be freed from the restraints of conventional, traditionary interpretations, and they will at once become instinct with life and meaning. In short, the whole Pentateuch, to the critical eye, is pregnant with history; and the driest details of the Levitical law may yield somewhat of interest and importance, or illustrate the course of religious development in Israel.

"Thus I reverence with all my heart the Pentateuch as containing some of the most ancient . . . writings in the world, . . . though it contains also some of much later date; as conveying to us, directly, or by reasonable inference, a knowledge of some of the earliest facts in human history; . . . . above all, as recording, apparently, the first movements of

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 308. See also above, pp. 415 *et seq.*

a higher Divine life in the hearts of men of the Israelitish race, from which our own religious life has been to a great extent derived; the kindling of that spiritual flame, which in Israel's worst days was never suffered to be quite extinguished, but, fed from time to time with fresh supplies from the Eternal Source, blazed out at length upon the nations, bright and clear, in the full glory of the teaching of Christ."[1]

The Bishop had, in short, achieved a work which entitles him to the gratitude of his countrymen for all time. He had brought light where traditionalists could only spread mist and darkness. By them he was naturally opposed. The extreme zealots of the party insisted that

"we must either receive the Verbal Inspiration of the Old Testament, or deny the veracity, the honesty, the integrity of our Lord Jesus Christ as the Teacher of Divine Truth."[2]

The more moderate could urge, as Bishop Browne urged, that

"without overlooking the difficulties which modern science has raised, we still may say that far more formidable problems occur in life and in religion than the apparent inconsistency of the first chapter of Genesis with the now generally acknowledged antiquity of the universe."

The statement is not true, and it is unfortunate that most of the assertions of such critics have to be met by a flat denial. To these words the Bishop of Natal replies by saying

"that there is no analogy whatever between the things compared,—on the one hand, moral and religious difficulties which perplex us in life; on the other hand, statements in the Bible, which are flatly contradicted by scientific facts,

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 310.

[2] Canon M'Neile, cited in Part V. p. 314. See also *The Great Dilemma*, above, p. 303.

and which yet are believed to be Divinely and infallibly true."[1]

Bishop Browne, however, had no scruple in arguing as follows:—

"You know that your religion is of God; and, if so, most probably some of it may not be quite clear to man. . . . If the very subject makes it likely that there will be difficulties, the mode of delivery, the way in which it all comes down to us, make it also likely that there will occur parts and passages which may be puzzling, and in which the puzzles may be even inexplicable."

The puzzles of which Bishop Browne is speaking refer to such difficulties as are met with in the stories of the Patriarchs; in the process which in some four or five generations expands a troop of seventy persons into a nation of three or four millions; in the mystery attaching to the maintenance of this nation, with its millions of cattle, for forty years in a waterless desert. But it must be repeated again and again, and too great stress cannot be laid on the fact, that these, and any other like, things have nothing whatever to do with "our religion,"[2] and do not in the remotest degree affect it. The remark is, therefore, altogether irrelevant; but this is not all. The Bishop of Natal rightly adds:—

"The parts and passages of the Bible with which we have here to do are not 'puzzling' at all, except on the fallacious theory of their infallible accuracy. Once allow that in all matters of this kind the Bible must give account of itself—of its contents, its age, its origin—just like any other book, and the mind will no more be harassed . . . . with these innumerable and inexplicable 'puzzles.' But what a fearful responsibility do those take upon themselves who, in an age like this of earnest inquiry and progress, not only do nothing

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 314. [2] See p. 310.

themselves to remove these dangerous fallacies, but by half-uttered insinuations encourage—if they do not actually by plain outspoken words lead on—the unreasoning multitude to deride the honest endeavours to reconcile religious truth with the certain results of science, as the work of 'minute and clever criticism,' near akin to the folly of atheism."[1]

We shall have to notice more fully, later on, the critical method of Bishop Harold Browne, and more particularly the spirit in which he deals with the subject. For the present we need only cite the words quoted from him by Bishop Colenso.

"Who would think of reading Nature only through a microscope? The eye that was so cramped would be quick to find flaws in the emerald and dust on the wings of a butterfly; but it could not look out on all the fair proportions of the universe, nor see the harmony of God's creatures round it. The lens of microscopic criticism is useful in its place of duty; but blinding, rather than enlightening, when it is the chief avenue by which light can find its way to the eye."

So far as these words have any meaning (and some of the clauses look very much like nonsense), this statement also is utterly untrue. It is the naked eye only, surveying a multitude of objects at will, which discerns, or may be tempted to fancy that it discerns, blots and flaws. The microscope, directed to some single object,

"will detect no flaws in the perfect works of God, and may therefore be applied to them without fear. It does not find dust on the butterfly's wings, but finds the apparent dust to be beautiful feathers; whereas in *man's* workmanship it does detect roughness and defect, and other signs of human imperfection. Nor will it detect flaws or imperfections in the infallible, eternal Word of God. Rather, the 'lens of

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 315.

microscopic criticism' has never been applied to reach into the moral and spiritual truth contained in the Bible,—how absurd, or else how misleading, to reason as if it could be!—but merely to examine the human element, the earthly framework, of the Scriptures; and in being used to prove *its* imperfections, it may be the means of delivering us from an idolatrous worship of the mere letter of the Bible, others (and how many in this day!) from rejecting altogether the Divine teaching of God's Word in the Bible, on account of its supposed identity with what is manifestly false."[1]

But the upholders of traditionalism seem to be driven by an irresistible necessity to settle a controversy as to past facts, or to free themselves from the duty of foresight, by sheltering themselves under the authority of our Lord Himself. On this subject, as the Bishop of Natal notices, the Bishop of Ely made large admissions.

"If our Lord was perfect man, . . . His human mind could have possessed only a certain amount of knowledge: the absence of knowledge is ignorance, . . . and, therefore, our Lord as man must have been partially ignorant."

But the Bishop of Natal had said that our Lord "may have shared in the *mistakes* of the age in which He lived, as regards the authorship of the Pentateuch"; and this statement provoked a vehement protest from Bishop Browne.

"Ignorance," he urged, "does not of necessity involve error. . . . And there is not one word in the Bible which would lead us to suppose that our blessed Lord was liable to error, in any sense of the word, or in any department of knowledge."

Bishop Browne speaks as though the term "error" might have a hundred meanings. He was bound in such a case as this to give an accurate definition of the meaning which he attached to the word. That ignorance involves liability

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 316.

to mistakes in any matters as to which a person is ignorant there is no sort of doubt; and if Bishop Browne means that our Lord's ignorance did not extend to any matters on which He might be suddenly called to give an opinion, or that He could reach full knowledge on any subject without paying to it the amount of attention which the subject needed, or without means of information or the power of getting it, then assuredly he is asserting that our Lord was not perfect man. If then He had been questioned as to the authorship of the Pentateuch, He could not have given an answer without studying the subject, and for this there was no opportunity. But He was not questioned on the subject; and if, on the hypothesis of this fact, He had spoken of the Pentateuch as non-Mosaic, or of the Book of Deuteronomy as the work of Jeremiah, His words would have been utterly unintelligible to His hearers, and He would have been frustrating hopelessly at the outset the very object of His mission.[1] But Bishop Browne insists that our Lord was subject to all human infirmities, "weakness, weariness, sorrow, fear, suffering, temptation, ignorance," while from this list he excludes error and mistake. But what are error and mistake but the merest human infirmities? Is there in them any deliberate choice of evil?

> "Is there sin," the Bishop of Natal asks, "in a mistake? When a savage mistakes a string of beads for articles of value, or a civilised Englishman mistakes mere paste for diamond, is there any sin in this?"

To say that a man has "made a mistake" is to acquit him of all moral blame; but, although Bishop Browne does not say it in so many words, he evidently thinks that any mistake with regard to the authorship or date of the Pentateuch must be morally culpable.

[1] See, further, p. 307, *note*.

> "Christ was . . . sent for so high a purpose that we cannot believe Him to have been in error as to that which concerned the truth and the ground-work of the religion which was before them."

Neither the one nor the other was concerned in any questions relating to the composition of the Books of Deuteronomy or Joshua. In thinking that it is so concerned, Bishop Browne is, in the strictest sense of the term, in error. He is wandering away from a right path into regions of fog and mist, where he must become more and more liable to make mistakes as to the meaning and nature of religion. Rather, in the Bishop of Natal's words,

> "that intense longing, which pervades so many earnest hearts in this our day, in all countries and in all classes, to find a way for ourselves and others out of the narrow dogmatic systems in which in our different Churches we have all been more or less trained, into that Christianity of which Dean Milman speaks, 'comprehensive, all-embracing, catholic, which knows what is essential to religion, what is temporary and extraneous to it,' . . . is to my own mind a certain proof that the Divine Educator Himself is here, and the Spirit of God moving even now upon the face of the waters."[1]

Of his fifth volume, which has now been passed briefly in review, the Bishop might well speak in his preface as the most important part of his work. It dealt to the traditional theories a blow which will be found to be irretrievable; but to these irresistible arguments he added a task of immense labour, in a complete analysis of the whole Book of Genesis, appended to this Part. The toil spent on this analysis would not, he felt, be spent in vain. The document was at least a record of facts which must be taken into account by all future

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. 320.

labourers in this field, and which could not fail to afford some help to others in the prosecution of their inquiries.[1]

The Bishop's letters to be cited hereafter explain the way in which his task in its later portions expanded before him; so that two large volumes came to be needed when he had supposed that one would suffice. Those of his opponents for whom the use of all weapons was lawful or allowable were not slow to avail themselves of this circumstance in order to throw ridicule on his work. The commercial success which repaid his toil in the earlier parts had tempted him on, they said, further and further into ventures more and more rash, and to oppress a dwindling number of readers with bulky tomes which would not repay their cost. In some respects they were not very wide of the mark. If the later volumes repaid their expenses, they did not much more. The Bishop was perfectly aware that he could expect no other result financially; but few things throughout a life full of honour are more to his credit than the devotion with which he did what he found necessary to the full accomplishment of his undertaking, without pausing to consider whether he himself should derive any personal advantage from it. The excitement of the war which followed the publication of his First Part had long passed away; and he had no expectation that many outside the scanty company of genuine students and scholars would grapple with these later investigations. But, in spite of this seemingly forbidding prospect, he persevered; and the thinkers—by whom, after all, the intellectual activity of the nation is directed—will be grateful to him for having done so.

His Sixth and Seventh Parts are indeed volumes of formidable size; but those only who take the trouble to examine the conditions under which he worked, and the objects which he set before himself, are qualified to judge whether they

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part V. p. ix.

could without injury have been made much smaller. It was, he saw, far better not to do the work at all than to fail to do it thoroughly. He had undertaken at starting to show that the narratives in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua were not, as a whole, historical; and the conclusion to which each step in the inquiry brought him compelled him to extend his examination to the whole body of the Hebrew Scriptures. The general result is, indeed, astonishing. While traditionalists of every school are cheating themselves with the notion that in these Scriptures they possess records absolutely trustworthy, and dare to propound their notions as decrees to be accepted by the world at large, the analysis of these documents reveals not merely that predominance of myth which marks the so-called early history of all nations, but a vast array of deliberately garbled facts, and, in more than one instance, the dissemination of stories whose fictitious character stands out as clearly as the noonday sun in a cloudless sky. Nor can it be too often or too strongly repeated, that these fictions are brought to light, not in reference to signs, wonders, prodigies, portents, miracles, or to any events or incidents of an unusual sort, but in the most ordinary matters of every-day life, which betray the working of very human and very interested, as well as very unworthy, motives? It would be a mistake, therefore, to suppose that in these concluding volumes the Bishop reaches results which materially modify his previous judgements. His readiness, nay, his eagerness, to admit a mistake, so soon as the mistake has been clearly pointed out, leads him occasionally to withdraw or to qualify some statements already made; but on the whole the amount of retractation or correction is insignificantly small, and the general result is simply that assurance is made doubly sure, by the rigid scrutiny to which, in these concluding volumes, the documents already examined in the earlier volumes are subjected.

In the eyes of traditionalists, the Pentateuch exhibits a most minute and elaborate legislation, political, religious, and social, which challenges acceptance on the authority of Moses, and of the Elohim in whose name he speaks; and which therefore is held to be older than the conquest of Canaan, older than the rule of the Judges, older than the establishment of the monarchy, older than the fall of the kingdom thus established. The Bishop's earlier volumes have shown that this impression is in complete antagonism with facts, that this legislation was unknown to the exiles who came out of Egypt, unknown in the time of the Judges, unknown under the early Kings, and known only in the slightest degree under the sovereigns who ruled in Judah after the downfall of the kingdom of Israel. His investigations proved that the Book of Deuteronomy was composed, possibly in the later years of Manasseh, but with immensely greater likelihood in the earlier part of the reign of Josiah, and that the author of it was a man whose tone of thought, whose language, and whose religious convictions, were, to say the least, astonishingly like those of the prophet Jeremiah. The path is still more cleared by the discovery that portions of the Levitical legislation may be traced home to the prophet Ezekiel;

> "that the account of the construction of the ark, tabernacle, &c., in Exodus xxv. &c., connot possibly have formed part of the original (Elohistic) story, but must have been written at a later age than Deuteronomy, and, therefore, during or after the Captivity;" [1]

that, further, this original story did not contain the Decalogue; that the latter is probably due to the Deuteronomist, who is the author of both the versions of the precepts of the Two Tables; and that the later Levitical legislation is later by many centuries than even the Babylonish captivity. This

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. vii.

legislation therefore claims an authority which does not belong to it. It is not a code of laws imparted by God Himself to Moses, and therefore it can impart no sanction to the elaborate ritualism which it enjoins. But on this sanction depends confessedly the ritualism of the whole Christian Church; and thus with these investigations the whole ritualistic system, as a system of Divine institution, falls to the ground.[1]

It has been said that the Bishop's conclusions are merely negative; that the old records are pulled to pieces, and nothing is put in their place. It is not so. The notion that negative conclusions are not a positive addition to our knowledge is a thorough delusion.[2] They are so in every instance in which the negative conclusion is established on fairly adequate evidence. Every such conclusion is in all likelihood a death-blow to some groundless fancy and belief, or even to some mischievous and even deadly superstition. No garbled history has been more potent for harm than that of the Hebrew chronicler, and the exhibition of the process by which this history has been garbled is no work of mere wanton demolition. It is a most righteous effort for the suppression of error and the advancement of truth. To the reproaches freely uttered against his supposed destructive criticism, reproaches uttered as vehemently by men like Mr. Stopford Brooke as by narrower thinkers, the Bishop contented himself with replying that

> "the central truths of Christianity—the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the revelation of God in man— . . . . are confirmed by the witness which the Pentateuch, when stripped of its fictitious character, gives of the working of the one Divine Spirit in all ages." [3]

But if some decried the Bishop's work as merely negative,

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. x. [2] See p. 441.
[3] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. xv.

there were others who would gladly dismiss it as effete, if not childish. It was convenient for some to do this. It was especially convenient for the Bishop of Capetown, who assured his clergy that the Bishop of Natal's books had been "refuted by one writer after another" in England, so that "we now hear no more of them." He found comfort in the reflexion that these books

> "which, from their novelty and from the position of their author, made at first some stir, have in fact sunk into *oblivion*."

He here allows them at least the merit of novelty. He had denied it to them before. The main contention of the so-called Capetown trial had been that the Bishop's criticisms were a farrago of old and worthless objections which had been met and answered a thousand times. But to write such books as those which Bishop Colenso wrote was in Bishop Gray's opinion the easiest thing in the world.

> "It costs little," he said, "to start an objection,—to make an assertion or a denial; but it might require a volume to refute objections and establish the truth of an asserted position; and who has the time for writing such books, or who would purchase them and devote days and weeks to lengthy discussions on the details of a thousand difficult questions?"[1]

> "No one, surely," are the Bishop's dignified words of reply, "but he who believes that he is serving God faithfully, by using diligently the means which may have been at his disposal for ascertaining, as far as possible, the truth of 'those things in which he has been instructed'; no one but he who knows that he must 'buy the truth' at all costs of toil of body or mind, of worldly loss, it may be, and of anxiety and reproach; . . . no one but he who, in dependence on

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. xvi.

Divine support, is prepared, if need be, to make the sacrifices which the highest law of his being demands."

The fact is that the sacerdotal crusaders, who were resolved on trampling him down, were ready to take up any cry which might answer their purpose. When the first Parts of the *Examination of the Pentateuch* came out, it pleased Bishop Wilberforce to treat their contents as merely "speculations," and to characterise them as both "rash and feeble." Later on he declared that

"the ever-changing play of life gives such new colour to old difficulties, that old answers will no more meet new objections than old firearms will suit modern battles."[1]

But the Bishop of Natal's orthodox antagonists felt and said that whatever difficulties might be involved in the arrangement or even in some of the statements of the Pentateuch, they could fall back on an impregnable fortress in the historical and prophetical books of the Old Testament. To these books accordingly, in the concluding Parts, the Bishop more especially applied himself; the result being that these books are shown to form a vast storehouse of evidence proving that when most of them were written the Levitical legislation was not yet in existence. The chronicler, indeed, stands self-refuted. Dr. Irons with sufficient self-assurance insisted that "the sacred author of the Chronicles" repudiated the notion that he was writing history, and declared that they who sought mere history must look for it elsewhere. No supposition could be more groundless. His work is, for the most part, a history of the driest kind; and if it be not a history, it is nothing. It is, however, history hatched in the writer's brain, and put forth to further a particular cause which could not be furthered otherwise,—in plain English, to deceive. There is no use in attempting to shut our eyes to this fact.

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. xxii.

"With the Books of Samuel and Kings before him," says the Bishop, "he cannot be freed from the great crime of deliberately falsifying parts of history, except by supposing that he did not believe them to be facts, while no reason can be assigned for this disbelief, except that he did not choose to believe them." [1]

The chronicler belongs to a very late day indeed, to a time not very long preceding the Christian era; and the Levitical legislation, which it is his whole aim to inforce, was put together when the stream of living prophecy had well-nigh ceased to flow. The quenching of the prophetical spirit after the Captivity is "a patent peculiarity of Jewish history;" but the whole course of the post-exilic history renders this fact

"intelligible and highly instructive, instead of its being, as it used to appear, while it was supposed that the Levitical system had all along co-existed with the prophets, an unaccountable mystery." [2]

A generation or two may yet pass before the traditionalists are compelled to admit this explanation; but it is more likely that the acknowledgement will come much sooner. The free utterance of the Divine Spirit was, the Bishop adds, stifled beneath the mass of minute ritualism imposed by the later legislators in the name of God.

In making this assault on the supposed authority of "the Church" the Bishop was indeed doing the most important part of his work. He was proving that the true history of the Jewish people might be most clearly and effectually traced, but that this could be done only by reversing the notions drawn from the traditionary systems of interpretation. The greatness of this work it would not be easy to exaggerate, although, in the first exuberance of his animosity, Bishop

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. xxviii. [2] *Ib.* p. xxix.

Wilberforce had affected to dismiss it as "in all essential points but the repetition of old and often-answered cavils." Such, emphatically, was not the opinion of the most eminent among the Continental scholars and critics. Speaking of the views prevailing in Germany, Professor Kuenen said with justice that, when men like Ewald, Bunsen, Bleek, and Knobel had one by one been brought by the English Bishop to the necessity of revising their theories, there was "no reason truly for calling his method antiquated, or his reflexions obsolete." Kuenen's judgement is, indeed, in its gravity and its power, one which in mere fairness to the Bishop cannot be suppressed. Having admitted that the first effect of the Bishop's criticisms was to show the unhistorical character of the Pentateuch, by showing that its narratives contradicted the general laws of time and space to which every fact is subject, he further allowed that the questions thus raised were not to be settled by any suppositions that the accounts about the Mosaic time were only exaggerations of half-historical legends. His method, in fact,

> "showed that just exactly those notices were the most unhistorical which professed to be authentic documents, and were distinguished, to all appearance, by the greatest accuracy. In other words, it is just the narrative of the 'Grundschrift,' or Book of Origins, which appeared least able to withstand such a criticism as his. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as Colenso, in producing his difficulties, took no account whatever of the distinction of different documents. He was engaged exclusively with the answer to the question whether the representation which the Pentateuch gives us agreed with the demands of reality; and lo! it is just the 'Grundschrift' in which he finds them [*i.e.* the difficulties]. . . . . The prevailing view as to the origin of the Pentateuch had not prepared us for this: in the oldest document we expected to find the truest copy of the reality. But, more than this, how is Colenso's result to

be reconciled with the form of the notices of the 'Grundschrift'? When I read that the Israelites numbered 600,000 warriors, and it appears afterwards that this number must be exaggerated, I set this datum to the account of the embellishing and hyperbolical legend. But when there are laid before me two lists of musterings, as in Numbers i. and xxvi., which define accurately the numbers of each separate tribe, and at the end give nearly the same sum-totals, then the state of the question is entirely changed. Then I must choose between one of two things. Either my difficulties must disappear before the prime-document which lies before me; or, if this cannot be, then I must deny that it *is* a prime-document, and must call it by its proper name, *a fiction.*

"There is no third course possible. Well, then, Colenso's criticism places us right in front of this dilemma. He himself does not feel what, as a legitimate consequence, follows from his demonstration: in the subsequent parts of his work he subjects himself, as far as regards the age and character of the 'Grundschrift,' to the prevailing view. But so much the greater impression does his criticism make upon the attentive reader who is able to judge the weight of his arguments. So, at all events, has it been with me. I had myself formerly noticed some of the difficulties presented by him. But, as they are here put together and set forth with imperturbable calmness, they gave me at once a presentiment, and brought me by degrees to the conviction, that our criticism of the 'Grundschrift' had stopped short half-way, and, in order to reach its end, must go through with its work."[1]

The attempt to analyse the enormous amount of materials sifted and tested by the Bishop in these concluding volumes would be a futile task. Nothing less than a careful and thorough scrutinising of the whole can possibly bring home to the reader the full force of the evidence on which his con-

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. xxxii.

clusions are in every instance based. But, without going at length into details, we may follow him through the several stages of the inquiry, and convince ourselves that the traditional notions regarding almost every portion of the Hebrew Scriptures are at least as far removed from the facts as is the Ptolemaic astronomy from the actual movements and relations of the heavenly bodies in the Kosmos.

The very surprising likeness in style and language between the Book of Deuteronomy and the prophecies of Jeremiah threw a wonderful light on the alleged discovery of the Book of the Law in the Temple, and rendered it in a high degree likely that Jeremiah was the author of at least one of the books of the Pentateuch. But the same likeness may be seen between other books. Ezekiel lived in the same age and moved in the same circle with Jeremiah.[1] It was therefore to be expected that the styles of the two would exhibit certain points of resemblance; and this is, indeed, the case. But Ezekiel was by no means a servile imitator of the Deuteronomist; and

> "a careful analysis of Leviticus xxvi. shows that almost every peculiar expression in this chapter finds either its counterpart, or even its exact parallel, in Ezekiel; while many of these occur *nowhere* else in the *whole Bible*, and others are found nowhere else in the Pentateuch."[2]

The reader who will examine the list of those parallelisms given by the Bishop will see that they are of a most remarkable kind. What inference can be drawn except that the prophet Ezekiel is the writer of this chapter in Leviticus?

> "It is surely," he argues, "extravagant to suppose that a writer so profuse and so peculiar, as this prophet is acknowledged to be, should have studied so very closely this *particular* chapter of Leviticus, out of the Pentateuch, as to

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 3. [2] *Ib.* p. 5.

have become thoroughly imbued with its style and familiarised with its expressions,—so thoroughly indeed as to have actually adopted nearly fifty of them as his own, of which eighteen, at least, occur nowhere else in the Bible."[1]

A further examination shows that other portions of Leviticus are due to the same hand, or, at least, to writers of the same age and in close connexion with Ezekiel;[2] and of these passages, Graf (a writer whom the Bishop never names without an expression of high respect, and whose early death he deplored as a very serious loss to the world of modern thought) declared that the points of likeness so laid bare could not be accidental, but must lead "necessarily to the assumption that Ezekiel himself was the writer," as otherwise we must infer

"that a writer, who is so peculiar throughout, has adopted the style of these sections, or rather of one single chapter only, to such an extent that he reflects this style in the whole of his long work, without being for a single moment untrue to himself."[3]

But, if this inference be admitted, the further conclusion is found to follow,

"viz.: that the whole of the priestly legislation of Leviticus and Numbers, together with the description in Exodus of the construction of the ark and tabernacle, &c., has been written either in Ezekiel's time or after it; that is, during or after the Captivity."[4]

This conclusion is without any reservation maintained by Dr. Kalisch, a Jewish scholar and critic whose authority on all questions relating to the literature of his own people stands pre-eminent. The Book of Leviticus, Dr. Kalisch asserts, cannot *possibly* be the work of one author and of one

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 9.
[2] *Ib.* p. 11.
[3] *Ib.* p. 15.
[4] *Ib.* p. 16.

age, but is composed of various portions, written, enlarged, and modified by different authors, in harmony with the necessities and altered conditions of their respective times. Still more pertinently, Dr. Kalisch adds,—

"The question then arises—Did Moses lay down any distinct laws for public worship? And if so, are the precepts imbodied in the three middle books of the Pentateuch traceable to his authority? It is difficult to reply categorically to the first point: history gives an *unequivocal denial* to the second. It proves that many centuries after Moses the Levitical ordinances were neither practised nor known."

It is, indeed, abundantly clear that, so long as the traditional notions of the *early* origin of the Levitical law are retained,

"the whole history of Israel must be confused and contradictory; and clearly it will be impossible to reconstruct that history with any confidence until it is decided whether the Levitical legislation dates from the time of the Exodus or not,—whether, in short, it is to be ranked amongst the earliest, or amongst the latest, portions of the Bible. . . . . In the one case we shall have, as in other nations, an orderly progress, the people making gradual advancement in religion and morals, ... and their history will now become rational and intelligible, being stripped, not of all that is supernatural and Divine, but of all that is miraculous, perplexing, and contradictory. In the other case it will be full of marvels and prodigies, profusely lavished on a favoured people or individual, performed oftentimes . . . . without any adequate object or any proportionate results, as when . . . . the sun and moon stood still to allow of Joshua's slaughtering more of the Amorites, when, after all, we are told, 'there were more which *died with hailstones* than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.'" [1]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 18.

Either, then, the institutions and practice of the Levitical law originated in the time of Moses, or they did not. If they did, how are we to explain the fact that we find not a trace of these laws being observed or existing either in the more authentic history or in the pre-Captivity prophets? We find, indeed, full-blown stories of their observance in the Books of Chronicles; but we may, even at starting, take the Bishop's word for it that the Chronicles

> "are utterly untrustworthy in respect of matters of historical fact, when not supported by other evidence, and were written long after the Captivity, when we find Dr. Kalisch maintaining that they are certainly the work of one author because they disclose throughout the same systematic rearrangement of history, and that this author deserves no authority whatever, as a source of history, at least on points connected with public worship."[1]

But this systematic rearrangement of old materials ought surely to teach us a conclusive lesson as to the power of the historical sense in the Jewish people as a whole. We need say this with no invidious meaning. Greeks and Romans may not have been, and probably were not, much better. But this much at least such facts must make clear to us, that nothing which earlier writers had set down was sacred in the eyes of those who came after them. Nothing that they said or could say was invested with such authority as to make others hesitate before they tampered with it. Thus the Deuteronomist was certainly acquainted with the main narrative of the Book of Exodus. In his own book, after describing his descent from the mount with the two tables of stone which he broke when he saw the people's idolatry, he goes on to say that Moses fell down as at the first forty days and nights, neither eating bread nor drinking water; that Jehovah desired

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 20.

to destroy Aaron, and that Moses prayed for Aaron at the same time; and again after speaking of their rebellions at Taberah, &c., he apparently repeats the same account of the fasting and intercession of Moses.

> "But not a word is said in Exodus xxxii. about this fasting *after* his descent for forty days and forty nights, or about Moses praying for Aaron at the same time. On the contrary, Moses in Exodus xxxii. merely reproaches Aaron, and he intercedes for the people *before* he comes down from the mount, and Jehovah was pacified. . . . But this very statement again is contradictory to the account which follows."[1]

If, however, these contradictions show how little the Deuteronomist thought of, or cared for, the authority of the earlier record, it is clear that in this earlier record there are now statements and narratives of which the Deuteronomist was altogether ignorant; and it follows that these passages

> "cannot have existed at all in that older document which he had before him."[2]

In fact, we have proof here that these passages cannot have been written before the Captivity; and this proof is only a portion of that mass of cumulative evidence which shows that the Levitical laws form the latest portion of the Pentateuch. Thus to the splendid Tabernacle of Bezaleel the Deuteronomist makes not even the faintest allusion.[3] But according to Mr. Ferguson the measurements of the Tabernacle are exactly half of those laid down as the dimensions of the Temple of Solomon; and from the previous fact the inference precisely contradicts Mr. Ferguson's conclusion. He thinks that the Temple was copied from the Tabernacle: in reality the measurements of the latter were suggested by those of the

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 37. [2] *Ib.* p. 41. [3] *Ib.* p. 50.

former, and the description was framed deliberately, far away in the land of exile, along with the details of all the ecclesiastical system,[1] which there was no doubt a full intention of carrying out on their return from captivity.[2] It was indeed by no means impossible to carry them out within the narrow limits of the restored settlement, in which there seems to have been one priest to every ten laymen.[3] But without going further we see that the ecclesiastical or church history of the Jews runs in very different channels at different times, and that the Hebrew Scriptures, as presented to us, are on this subject, as on most others, self-contradictory, until we determine the order in which they were written, and then the true course of events becomes clear enough. The Levites and priests of the Book of Judges are despised and homeless outcasts and wanderers; in the pages of the Chronicles, they are exalted to a dignity loftier than that of the priesthood of Latin Christendom, their office being fenced round by terrible sanctions—"he that cometh near shall be put to death." The history of the Jewish kings shows that this separation from the rest of the people is of later growth.

"If such ideas," says the Bishop, "had prevailed in Israel in earlier times, we may be sure that David, and Solomon in his best days, would not have intruded on the priestly office, as the history represents them repeatedly as doing, without a word of reproof either from the historian himself, or from the prophets or priests around them. Least of all can it be imagined that Aaron, who was really the chief offender in the affair of the golden calf, should have been rewarded with such distinguishing pre-eminence as the later portion of the Pentateuch assigns to him. Nor, indeed, is there any sign that in the original story Aaron officiated as a priest at all. To the end he seems to have continued merely to act as an adviser, friend, and prophet, and, in his chief's absence, the principal substitute for Moses."[4]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 51. [2] *Ib.* p. 60. [3] *Ib.* p. 61. [4] *Ib.* p. 110.

But it is not merely with reference to the priests and Levites that the analysis of the Pentateuch reverses practically the notions of all traditional schools of interpreters. It strikes at the root of the commonly received ideas as to what is supposed to be the earliest moral legislation. The Decalogue in its present form, instead of having been delivered amid the thunders and lightnings of Sinai, was unknown to any age preceding that of Josiah. The passage in Exodus which contains the Ten Commandments is an insertion of the Deuteronomist.[1]

Assuming, as the traditionary view does, that this passage belongs to the original record,

> "we should," the Bishop insists, "have to suppose that Moses, having heard from the Divine mouth, in the third month of the Exodus, such phrases as 'house of servants,' 'the stranger that is within thy gates,' 'in order that thy days may be prolonged on the ground,' 'the ground which thy Elohim is giving thee,' with other like phrases, *never* employed any one of them again in his other writings, or in the words ascribed to Jehovah, until, in his last address, nearly forty years afterwards, he begins suddenly to use them all freely in Deuteronomy."[2]

The supposition is incredible; but the consequences of rejecting it are far-reaching. Whatever may have been the historical sense or conscience of the Deuteronomist, the fact remains that the ten precepts in the Book of Exodus are his handiwork. That the writer of the Book of Deuteronomy is the writer also of this passage in Exodus there can be no question; but it is quite possible or likely, as the Bishop suggests, that he may have inserted this passage

> "when he revised and enlarged the original story, and *before* he decided to write the address of Moses in Deuteronomy."

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 147. [2] *Ib.* p. 148.

Admitting these facts, we can have no difficulty in understanding

"how in that address he could venture to modify so remarkably as he has done the language of the Fourth Commandment, which is incomprehensible on the traditionary view, or even on the supposition that he regarded this section as a venerable record of an older legislation."

In fact, in modifying the precept he was doing nothing

"more than modifying his own work; but if we turn to what is really the older narrative in Exodus, we find that not a word is said about the people at Sinai having heard the Ten Commandments, nor is there the slightest reference to their having heard them in the chapters that follow." [1]

If, again, there be one point more than another on which stress is laid by what is generally supposed to be the Mosaic lawgiver, it is the duty of all the males of the Jewish people to go up yearly, for the three great feasts, to Jerusalem. The historical books furnish not the slightest warrant for the notion that such a command was known in the times of the earlier kings, or was then in existence.

"In the age of Solomon, for instance, the wide range of his territories made it simply *impossible* for the more distant tribes to present themselves at Jerusalem, for the purpose of keeping the feast of Mazzoth (Passover) in the very midst of the rainy season, and just before the beginning of barley harvest. . . . Thus just before the commencement of the season of harvest, all the males, if this law had been in operation in Solomon's time, would be asked to travel up to Jerusalem at one extremity of the kingdom—chiefly, we must suppose, on foot—a distance of more than a hundred miles from the more distant places, whose inhabitants would therefore consume the greater part of a week on the journey each way." [2]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 149. [2] *Ib.* p. 174.

In other words, to attend these three festivals they must spend some six weeks yearly on the road. How, again, could the males of the trans-Jordanic tribes attend at this season at Jerusalem, since that river, we are told, overflows all its banks at the time of harvest? It is true that when David fled from Absalom a ferry-boat carried over his household.

> "But how little," the Bishop asks, "could this have availed for the 120,000 warriors, who, according to the chronicler, lived in those days in the country under his rule beyond the Jordan, or for a much more moderate estimate of its male inhabitants?"

In short, the Bishop adds, and he is most fully justified in adding it,

> "it is *incredible* that a law could be laid down by any sane person,—not to speak of the Divine Wisdom,—which required the attendance at Jerusalem of all the males from all parts of the land east and west of the Jordan, on a certain precise day at the time of the Passover, on pain of death." [1]

In subsequent chapters the Bishop gives the original story as it is found in the Book of Exodus, in Numbers and Deuteronomy, and in Joshua, so that nothing remains beyond the later legislation, which has thrust itself chiefly into the Books of Leviticus and Numbers. For the student who is anxious only to get at the truth, this restoration of the earliest narrative is an immense boon. Every part of it is full of instruction; but perhaps the most important remark relates to the period of forty years assigned to the wanderings in the wilderness. Of these wanderings the original story takes no notice. The first mention of them comes from the Deuteronomist, who speaks of their journeyings from the days of their leaving Kadesh-barnea to the passage of the brook Zered as extending over thirty-eight years. But where did he obtain this

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 177.

datum of forty years? Not from any passage in the original story, for while the Book of Numbers (xiv. 22, 23) declares that they who came out of Egypt should not see the land promised to their forefathers, it says nothing about a term of forty years, and though this story may have involved the idea of some additional wandering, it did not seemingly contemplate a very long interval spent in this way.[1] Upon the whole, the Bishop concludes that the Deuteronomist himself imported into the story the exact number of forty years, which he is so careful to define by means of the datum of thirty-eight years in ii. 14, and the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year in i. 3. It follows that the original story did not contain this datum of forty years,

> "and intended no more than that the people should be punished by having to go down to the Red Sea once more, and make the circuit of Mount Seir so as to cross the Jordan, instead of making directly from Kadesh into the south of Canaan, as was at first proposed; and this would have been a severe punishment, since even the eleven days' march from Sinai to Kadesh is spoken of as a 'going through that great and terrible wilderness'; where they had seen how Jehovah their Elohim bore them as a man doth bear his son. . . . . But for the circuit of Mount Seir only a comparatively short time would be required;" [2]

and during this time Moses might well be supposed to prepare Joshua for his future duties.

The extension of the wanderings for some short time led to the choice of the favourite number of forty years; but even when that number was chosen, there is no indication in Deuteronomy viii. that this period was a time of punishment, during which every man of a whole generation was to be cut off.

[1] *Pentateueh*, Part VI. p. 232. [2] *Ib.* p. 370.

"The idea of such a doom seems not yet to have germinated in the writer's mind when he composed this address."[1]

If we take the doom to mean that those who left Egypt as fathers of families should not enter the promised land, this was only saying that they should live out the usual term of human life in the wilderness; and the discomforts of this time were to be lightened by a series of marvellous incidents or dispensations which should prevent their shoes from wearing out or their feet from swelling. The suggestions thus made might be worked out to any extent, but on examination we find that we are dealing with mere amplifications or embellishments. According to the narrative in Numbers (xxxiii.) they made in the thirty-eight years only forty-two stations, which after all cannot have been far distant from each other; and as

"they must have stayed on the average about a year at least at each of them, there would have been little occasion for their foot swelling."[2]

If the more bulky volumes in which the Bishop brought his examination to a close had answered no other purpose than that of bringing to light the mighty mass of exaggeration with which the Jewish history is overloaded, the toil bestowed upon them would not have been wasted. We have seen already some of the difficulties involved in the story of the 600,000 Hebrew warriors at Sinai; but what are these as compared with the gigantic hyperbole of the seven nations of Canaan, each "greater and mightier" than the Hebrews, who were to be conquered or driven out of the promised land? The Jewish warriors represented a population of about three millions; the seven mightier Canaanitish nations would therefore furnish a population of some thirty millions at least, all

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 383. [2] *Ib.* p. 384.

included within the limits reached by the kingdom of David and Solomon. The extent of this empire Von Raumer reckons as 500 square miles. On this Kuenen remarks:—

> "Adopting this last estimate, which is certainly excessive, and assuming further that Palestine belonged to the lands most thickly peopled, and therefore had 6,000 inhabitants for each square mile, we do not reach a higher population than 3,000,000 souls."[1]

We may allow, further (what is, to say the least, unlikely), that the population of Canaan at the time of the Exodus was as great as it was in the time of David. Still, this aggregate of 3,000,000 was made up of seven nations, greater and mightier than Israel, and thus we are brought to the conclusion that the whole Hebrew people at the time of the conquest cannot possibly have been much above 400,000, and could not have furnished more than 80,000 warriors. In other words, the history is untrustworthy from beginning to end.

We are compelled, therefore, to test every portion of the narrative. We have seen that the account of the institution of the Passover is riddled with inconsistencies; and we have been brought face to face with the crowning difficulty that the Levitical or Mosaic prescriptions with reference to it were never carried out before the time of Josiah, or rather before the time of the Captivity, and that they were not carried out for the simple reason that they were unknown. It is quite clear, therefore, that the origin of this festival, as given in the Book of Exodus, is not to be taken as historical fact; and if it cannot be so taken, then how, actually, did it originate? In one point at least the story is clear, that the feast was connected with the destruction of first-born children, as well as of the first-borns of flocks and herds; and the track thus

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 383.

indicated must be followed, if we would reach any sound conclusions on the subject. .To this inquiry the Bishop devotes himself in the twentieth chapter of his Sixth Part, laying special stress on the fact that *the pre-Captivity prophets never make mention of this festival.* Having first shown that the name Pesach (Pascha), or Passover, is connected with the feast of Mazzoth,[1] and denotes the special sacrifice belonging to that feast (the sacrifice of firstlings, not of brute animals only, but also of men), he remarks that Mazzoth, like the other two great festivals (Harvest = Weeks; Ingathering = Tabernacles), was essentially an agricultural feast; that these celebrations were not confined to the Hebrew people; and that of these three the spring festival of the Passover

> "was incomparably the most important, though the most severe, solemnity, as the future blessings of the year depended upon it." [2]

The conclusion forces itself upon us

> "that the Pesach meant originally the 'passing over' of the first-borns of man and beast to the sun-god, and that the Canaanites, *i.e.* the Phœnicians and others, did actually at this spring festival, on the fourteenth day of the month, *i.e.* the eve of the full moon, sacrifice the first-borns to that deity, from whom the Israelites adopted the practice of sacrificing their first-borns to Jehovah," [3]

which lasted through the reigns of all the Kings, and against which the prophets in vain raised their voice. These facts speak for themselves, even if we had not the express assertion that Ahaz offered up his son. It is unnecessary, therefore, to go back to the narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac, although this narrative proves that the practice was prevalent in the days of the early Kings. The purpose of this story is clearly to bring about the abolition of the practice by substituting offer-

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 417. [2] *Ib.* p. 422. [3] *Ib.* p. 424.

ings of animals; but no blame is attached to the intention of Abraham, nor are there any severe comments on those who practised the rite, and assuredly the writer does not, like the prophets of a later day,

> "condemn it utterly as impious, and abominable, accursed in the sight of God and man; and it may be that his own views were not yet sufficiently clear and decided to enable him to do so." [1]

But by the admission of the Jewish historians and prophets the besetting sin of their countrymen was to copy all that was idolatrous, superstitious, and vile in the worship of their subjects or their neighbours. There is, therefore, absolutely no room for doubt that the Pesach was celebrated with the slaughter of the first-borns, and that, just because it was thus commonly defiled with human blood, the pre-Captivity prophets never name it. What then are we to think?

> "If the service of the Pesach had really been instituted in so remarkable a manner and on such a memorable occasion, and enjoined with such solemnity, as would appear from Exodus xii., we might surely have expected one or more to indicate it, at least by some incidental reference; whereas it is, in fact, only once named by any prophet, viz. in Ezekiel xlv. 21, written during the Captivity. The Pesach, however, though not named by the original story, and only hinted at by it as existing in the command for the dedication of the first-born in Israel of man and beast, . . . had come down, with a practice more or less corrupt, to the days of the Deuteronomist; and he endeavours to quicken the observance into a holy sacrifice for all Israel, . . . but without the least allusion to the name having been derived from the fact of Yahve's 'passing over' by the houses of the Israelites. Down to his days, however, . . . the Pesach, like other sacrifices, was offered whenever they pleased, in

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 425.

any of their gates, *i.e.* at any of the sanctuaries scattered throughout the land, . . . where, it can scarcely be doubted, first-born children were actually sacrificed, being first slain and then burnt, in the Deuteronomist's own time. To provide against the unchecked continuance of these abominations, he now lays down the law that the Pesach shall in future be offered by the whole people at Jerusalem, as it was offered by Josiah's order for the first time in the history of Israel." [1]

Throughout the history, indeed, we seem to have laws, and no observance; institutions and no acknowledgement of their working; structures, and no hint that any one had ever seen them.

"Not a trace of the existence of the magnificent *Mosaic* tabernacle can be found anywhere in the more authentic history." [2]

Elaborate injunctions are given for the keeping of the sabbatical year; but there is "no sign that this law, which is manifestly an extension of the law of the Sabbath, was ever carried out in practice before the Captivity." [3] To a certain extent it was acted upon after their return; but not so the law of the Jubilee, by which at the end of each half-century two sabbatical years, during which the land was not to be tilled, came together. A special Divine provision was to guard them from any hurtful consequences of this seeming neglect; but the result was not always happy. When Herod took Jerusalem by storm, it was afflicted, Josephus tells us,

"with a cruel famine within, for now happened to be the sabbatical year, for it was at this melancholy conjuncture and during the time of it our law prohibits us from sowing any manner of grain."

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 431. [2] *Ib.* p. 471.
[3] *Ib.* Hupfeld, quoted in Part VI. p. 492.

As to the observance of the Jubilee, there is no indication whatever that it was ever really observed even after the Captivity;

"and there is certainly not the slightest proof of its having been celebrated before that event."[1]

It becomes, therefore, a superfluous task to examine the legal enactments for the remission of debts and the release of debtors in connexion with an ordinance which never had any existence except on paper.

Thus from the reputed history of the Exodus, and of the conquests which followed it, the whole of the elaborate religious, civil, and social legislation is summarily shorn away. No portion of the narrative, it is found, will hold water. Has it, then, any basis at all to rest upon? Adaptation is a very mild term to apply to the process which has shaped not a few of these stories, and given form to laws on which the history not only of the Jews but of Christendom also has turned. We have seen that the original story knows nothing of the priesthood of Aaron, or of any order of priests at all; that the position of the priests (a mere handful in number) was in the days of the earlier kings by no means pre-eminent, while that of the Levites was altogether insignificant. Yet the Levitical Law assigns a Divine sanction for the august functions and the high privileges of both; and on this subject the following is the judgement of Dr. Kalisch, himself a Jew.

"It was God who singled out the family of Aaron as His ministers, His representatives, and the teachers of His Law; and it was He who confirmed this election by miraculous interference, the budding staff of Aaron, and the fearful destruction of Aaron's opponents, Korah and his associates. What is the true scope and import of these

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 495.

statements? They imply the artful fiction of an author or authors, who attempted to promulgate their own devices as Divine or supernatural arrangements, and thus to awe an impressionable nation into their acceptance and reverential observance. If the laws of the priesthood had been represented as the work of human legislators, they would simply have been a human failure, because they degraded the people instead of elevating it. But as the pretended emanation of the Divine Will they are both a failure and a fraud; and to the weakness of human judgement is added the offence of human arrogance and deceit."[1]

But these laws, instead of being amongst the oldest, are amongst the latest of the Hebrew Scriptures. When Jeremiah, in the name of God, says, "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt-offerings," it is clear that he could not have so written if the sacrificial laws of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers had been actually laid down in the wilderness, orhad existed in his time in the story of the Exodus.[2] It is not less clear that Ezekiel could not have

"composed his rules for the regulation of the priesthood, their office and income, if these subjects had been already fully treated of in the middle books of the Pentateuch, nor in any case could he have presumed to lay down laws at variance with laws which were regarded as Mosaic, as even Divine."[3]

To any portion of the Levitical legislation there is not, indeed, a single reference in any pre-Captivity writer; nor have we any even to the Decalogue or the Book of Deuteronomy, until we come to Jeremiah. But the very fact that this prophet makes such very slight allusion to this book, with which, from the very striking circumstances attending its discovery and publication in Josiah's time, he must have been

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 529. [2] *Ib.* p. 593. [3] *Ib.* p. 594.

very thoroughly acquainted, and which, indeed, reflects everywhere his own language and tone of thought, is itself, as we have already seen, a very strong confirmation of the conclusion that he was himself the writer of it.[1]

The real history of the Exodus may be so distorted and so buried under a mass of arbitrary additions and perversions as to be lost beyond recall. With this no critic has anything to do. If we are dealing with the so-called history of the early Roman kings, and if the scrutiny brings us to the conclusion that none of it is trustworthy and much of it is mere fiction, our task is really ended. If from the materials at our command we are able to reconstruct all or some of it, well and good. If we cannot do so, no one can blame us for not accomplishing or attempting an impossible work. But why should the writer of the Exodus story, whoever he may have been, have represented his countrymen as miserable slaves in Egypt, and as having emerged from it to find their way back to their old abode and dislodge those who were in possession of it? Now, Josephus quotes from the Egyptian Manethon a strange tale which describes an invasion of Egypt by men of ignoble birth from the Eastern parts,[2] resulting in the establishment of a dynasty of six kings, who reigned for about two centuries and a half. Manethon further goes into a mysterious story of shepherds and lepers, who are sent by King Amenophis to work in the quarries, and, obtaining help from the shepherds in Jerusalem, break from their prison and commit dreadful outrages, under the leadership of a priest of Osiris, named Osarsiph, who, on going over to this people, changed his name to Moses. At last, Amenophis came up with one army, and his son Rameses with another, and routing these shepherds, pursued them as far as the frontiers of Syria.[3] The story is dark enough; but in Kuenen's judgement

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 596. [2] *Ib.* p. 597. [3] *Ib.* p. 599.

"its agreement with the Israelitish tradition about the Exodus is unmistakeable. The Egyptians regarded all foreigners as unclean: it cannot surprise us, then, if they called the nomadic tribes, who had escaped from their dominion, a leprous people. Still less does it surprise us that they ascribed their own defeat to the displeasure of their gods. It is further remarkable that, according to this account also, the harsh measures of the Egyptians, and in particular the slavish service imposed by them, gave occasion to the rebellion of those oppressed, and moreover that the distinction between the laws of Osarsiph and the Egyptian laws, especially his aversion to the gods of Egypt, is also here recognised. The Book of Exodus says nothing about the help rendered by the Hyksos, as generally the deliverance of Israel is viewed therein exclusively from the religious point of view, and is represented as the work of Yahve, and of Him alone. Yet we find in it some small traces of an indication that the Israelites found support from the nomadic tribes of Arabia—that is, from the Hyksos. In short . . . . we must hold that in Manethon's narrative we have the Egyptian reading of the account of the Exodus of Israel."[1]

"Such, then," the Bishop adds, "was very probably the basis upon which the Scripture story of the Exodus has been founded."

We ought not, indeed, to assume that the Egyptian version must necessarily be more true than the Hebrew. It is not unlikely that the latter may in some points be nearer to the truth of facts than the former; but there can be no question that the motives for misrepresenting or distorting events were much stronger with the Jews than with their opponents.

"No doubt," the Bishop remarks, "the Israelites on their march to Canaan experienced formidable difficulties, per-

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 600.

haps in crossing an arm of the Red Sea, and certainly in their passage through the wilderness. . . . It must be observed, however, that in the original story there is no sign of any very long period, such as forty years, having been assigned to the wanderings."[1]

It gives, in fact, no data of time, except the forty days and nights twice spent by Moses on Sinai, and the three days in Numbers x. 33.

"The people are carried on at once from Sinai . . . . under the guidance of Hobab . . . . till they reach the southern boundary of Canaan, when Moses sends forth spies to search the land, ... upon whose return the murmuring takes place; and, as a punishment for their offence, instead of being allowed to march at once into Canaan and make the conquest of the land, they are ordered to turn and go back again into the wilderness by the way towards the Red Sea, and so are obliged to pass around the southern extremity of Mount Seir, and then turn again to the north, coasting the land of Edom, and making their entrance into Canaan from the eastern side. For all this a comparatively short time was required, except that they are spoken of as 'dwelling' at Kadesh. It is not said how long they stayed at Kadesh. Perhaps they were supposed in the original story to dwell there for a short time only, as they afterwards 'dwelt' at Shittim. At least, according to the data of the Deuteronomist and the later legislator, as the story now stands, the last sojourn can have lasted only for a very short period, since after Aaron's death on the first day of the fifth month, and the mourning for him thirty days, they make the whole journey from Mount Hor to compass the land of Edom, and make the conquest of the territories of Sihon and Og—not to speak of the war against Midian—and yet are addressed by Moses in the land of Moab on the first day of the eleventh month. The extreme abruptness of the narrative at this point (if the story is supposed to

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 601.

make a sudden leap of nearly forty years between *v.* 1 and *v.* 14 of Numbers xx.) and the utter absence of all allusion to any events as having occurred in that interval, seem to make it certain that no idea of so long a wandering was entertained by the writer of the original story."

That a history so amazing in its incidents and so astounding in its character during the first and last months should have been interrupted by some eight or nine and thirty years about which there was nothing to tell is past all belief. The fancy rests on the solitary phrase of forty years, much as in the old Hindu cosmogony the tortoise rests on the serpent, and the serpent on nothing. But

"the fact that the Israelites abstained from disturbing Edom, Moab, and Ammon, while they did not spare the Amorite invaders of Moab, implies a special relation between Israel and these peoples, such as that which Manetho's story implies between the shepherd kings and the leprous people."[1]

From this point we can see our way more clearly. The historical works furnish abundant proof that the Canaanite tribes were not extirpated. The conquests ascribed to Moses and Joshua as the work of a few weeks were, therefore,

"effected in a much longer period, and by much more gradual and every-day processes."[2]

But our knowledge of this distant time is bounded, nevertheless, within narrow limits.

"How much of the original story may have been derived from traditionary or legendary matter still floating in the folk-lore of Israel, and how much is due to the writer's own imagination, it is impossible to say."[3]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 603. [2] *Ib.* p. 604.

[3] *Ib.* p. 614. That the deliverance from Egypt was effected under the

If we believe that story, only the seventy who went down into Egypt knew anything of the land of Canaan; and under all the harassing and distressing conditions of a hard servitude it is well-nigh, if not altogether, incredible that, when these seventy had multiplied into a nation of three millions, any knowledge of that country could have been kept up among them. Yet they, or at least their leaders, are said to have in many points a minute acquaintance with the land to which they were journeying. But these pictures we have seen to be fabrications of a later age; and we have seen also how scanty is the residuum of actual fact which by the largest concessions can be allowed to lie at the root of the narrative.

"When, further," the Bishop adds, "we take account of the possibility that these forefathers were never in the land of Canaan at all; that, in point of fact, they never existed as individuals, but correspond to the mythical founders of other nations, whose stories are for the most part composed of fabulous narratives, which, as far as they have any historical truth at their basis, shadow forth the doings of tribes and generations, instead of persons, we may fairly conclude that a very large portion, at least, of the stories in Genesis are merely fictions, intended to support the notion that the

guidance of Moses, the Bishop had little doubt; but the narrative says (and on this point there is, probably, no reason for mistrusting it) that he died before they entered Canaan. As to Joshua, he found himself compelled to speak more trenchantly. "He appears," he said, "to be entirely a mythical character, most of his great exploits having been recorded only by the Deuteronomist in Josiah's time, and apparently from his own imagination—not even from legendary traditions about him, if any could be supposed to have been handed down vividly through the lapse of eight centuries. For, surely, if such legends were current in the days of Josiah, and retained so strongly in the recollections of the people that the Deuteronomist could undertake the task of collecting them and recording them permanently on parchment, we should find *some trace* of the renown of this great conqueror in the Psalms and prophets; whereas his very name is never once mentioned."—*Worship of Baalim*, p. 9.

> Israelites had an old outstanding claim upon the land which they had seized," [1]

Abraham having bought Hebron, and Jacob Shechem, these two places being the chief centres of royalty in later days for the kingdoms of Judah and of Ephraim.

But the record was of slow growth. After the completion of the original story, in the early years probably of Solomon,

> "the work remained untouched, and perhaps lay deposited beside the ark in the Temple till the days of Jeremiah (the Deuteronomist), who, as a priest himself, his father Hilkiah being also, very possibly, the chief priest at the time, would in that case have had free access to this venerable manuscript, and (as we suppose) retouched and enlarged it throughout in his own prophetical style, and ultimately inserted the Law (in the fifth and following chapters of Deuteronomy, as 'the words of the covenant which Jehovah commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab'),"

the discovery of which led to Josiah's reformation. In such records there must be much matter for instruction, and not a little, it may be, for edification; but the lessons inforced by it must be absolutely antagonistic with the results of traditional interpretation. For any dogma, for any ritual or ceremonial, for any forms of religious or civil government, these writings become altogether worthless; and with the demonstration of the unhistorical character of all these writings the stories of marvellous incidents and prodigies are swept away. That they should disappear is a cause for thankfulness, not for regret. There will be no healthy thought and life in Christendom until Christians generally are convinced, in the words of Mr. Goldwin Smith, that, "if a religion is to be judged not by its contents but by its evidences, it must be

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 615.

the lowest and vilest religion in the world." [1] The examination of the record has shown the traditional idol to be, like the serpent thrown down by Hezekiah, Nehushtan, a thing of brass.

> "There is," the Bishop emphatically insists, "no infallible book for our guidance, as there is no infallible Church, or infallible man. The Father of Spirits has not willed it thus, who knows best what is needed for each individual soul, as well as for that of the race." [2]

The consequences are momentous indeed. The foundations of ceremonial and priestly religion are laid in the Levitical legislation; with the exposition of the true nature and origin of that law the system raised on it crumbles to its base, and a vista is opened before us along which our eye is carried through a series of reforms not acceptable to traditionalists. The fact is that the snake of tradition has been scotched, not killed. The Bishop quotes some words of Bishop Harold Browne in reference to Church of England schools.

> "We have not," says Bishop Browne, "troubled their little brains, as some people seem to think, with all kinds of dogmatic theology, though, by the by, I don't think people know what dogmatic theology means. The fact that there is a God, is dogmatic theology. The facts that there is a heaven, a hell, that our Saviour came down to save us,—that is dogmatic theology. But we have not been teaching them the meaning of Bishops and the Church; and if I went into our Sunday schools, and asked, What is the office of a Bishop? the children would lift up their eyes and hands and say, What does a Bishop mean?" [3]

The statement is in the highest degree doubtful; but if it be true, then it would be altogether better that the children should have some knowledge of early Church history, than

[1] See above, p. 363.

[2] *Pentateuch*, Part VI. p. 626.

[3] *Ib.* p. 641.

that they should learn what Bishop Browne is pleased to call the dogmas of a heaven and a hell, and the descent of a Saviour to save—terms which, for all we know, may be left (as they often are left) undefined, but of which the true meaning was expressed before the Norman Conquest in the good old English which spoke of Christ as the "Healer" and of His work as "healing" or making sound and whole. In sober truth, no terms can be kept with this language of Bishop Browne. It is equivocal, misleading, and false. The office of the Bishop may be so explained as to bring in the notion of apostolical succession "with its whole fitting apparatus of the sacrificing priest and the sacramental system;" and the dogma, as Bishop Browne terms it, of a heaven and a hell is used to set forth not merely a righteous judgement "to which the conscience of a child will witness as surely as does the conscience of each one of us," but

> "the everlasting torments of hell fire, that horrible dogma, which dooms to never-ending irremediable woe the vast majority of men, women, and children, with whom they meet upon their daily pathway; that blasphemous dogma, which makes the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation, into a very Moloch, reigning through endless ages in glory and blessedness, while shrieks and groans are ever resounding from the bottomless abyss,—the cries of young children, as Bishop Wilberforce teaches, and, as some Fathers of the Church have held, of little innocent babes among the rest."

This term "dogmatic theology" is utterly absurd. It applies to nothing but the result of human debates, and these do not, and cannot, affect the realities of the eternal world in which alone is our true life now and always. To tell children, or to tell heathens, that they have a Father, a Redeemer or Healer, and a Sanctifier, who is no respecter of persons, and whose will is that sin shall be destroyed in all, is not to teach

dogma, or to impose on them the yoke of a dogmatic theology. But so soon as we begin to deal in propositions and demand assent to formulæ (it matters not of what kind), the weight of this yoke at once makes itself felt; and sooner or later the result must be revolt, not against the Law or the Love of God, but against the system which has withheld men from seeing the righteousness and the light in which alone they can have life.

Eight years more passed away before the Bishop was able to bring his long and arduous examination of the Pentateuch to an end by the publication of his Seventh Part. The very nature of the inquiry, and the conditions under which he worked, made it most difficult, if not impossible, for him to avoid a certain amount of repetition and some appearance of prolixity. Whatever defects of this kind may be seen in his volumes, it is scarcely necessary to offer an apology for them. The superficial reader is not likely to discern them; the genuine student will not only not be offended by them, but will at once understand why inferences or conclusions, hinted at rather than worked out in the earlier Parts, called for more systematic elaboration later on, and why in the later volumes it became necessary to give the full evidence for judgements which had been impugned as being unwarranted or arbitrary. This remark applies especially to the later historical books of the Old Testament, on which a flood of light was poured by the analysis given in the Seventh and last Part of the Bishop's work. No part of his task, probably, has been more fruitful. It has shown us that in almost every instance the additions made by the chronicler to the narratives in Samuel and Kings have been made in the interest of the later ecclesiastical system; and we are further, in the Bishop's words, enabled,

> "to trace his hand in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and even in the Chaldee parts of Ezra, and to see that not only

the whole of the narrative in Ezra, and much of it in Nehemiah, but also decrees ascribed to Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes, letters purporting to come from Tatnai and Artaxerxes, the prayer of Ezra, and the Levite's prayer in Nehemiah, are all pure inventions of the chronicler, as much so as the letters of Hiram, Elijah, Hezekiah, the speeches of David, Abijah, Jehoshaphat, Azariah, Hezekiah, the prayers of David, Asa, and Jehoshaphat, the prophecies of Shemaiah, Azariah, Hanani, Jehu, Jahaziel, Zechariah, Obed, in the Books of Chronicles, all of which exhibit plainly the chronicler's own peculiar style, just exactly as all the speeches ascribed to different persons in Homer or Virgil, Thucydides or Tacitus, exhibit one and the same style, viz. that of the Greek or Roman writer to whose imagination they are due."[1]

The deliberate modification or invention of historical incidents is an act on which it is not easy to look with indulgence. But it is the fault of the traditionalists if a harder measure is dealt out to the chronicler than to other historians whose veracity is supposed by many to lie beyond reach of question. A large majority of Greek scholars would probably put the trustworthiness of the Hebrew chronicler far below the level of that of Thucydides; and yet in the pages of the latter we have in the case of Themistokles a history not less garbled than that of the priests and Levites in Chronicles, and also the insertion of documents which are, beyond doubt, sheer forgeries, and as to which the historian, even if he was not himself the forger, cannot be acquitted of all responsibility. There is no difficulty in the supposition that the chronicler may have had access to the text of a published decree of the Persian Sovereign. The only question is as to the fact of publication. It is quite otherwise when Thucydides professes to give us the exact text of a letter written by Themistokles to Artaxerxes. He tells us that Themistokles

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. xii.

wrote the letter. If he did so, the original must have gone to Artaxerxes. In this case we must (as I have had to say elsewhere)[1] suppose one of three things—either Themistokles kept a copy of it, or Artaxerxes sent back the original, or allowed a transcript to be made. The last degree of unlikelihood attaches to all these suppositions. The original could be recovered only from the archives of Sousa, and, apart from the unlikelihood that such documents would be preserved at all, there is the far greater unlikelihood that they would ever be given up to the king's enemies. If these alternatives fail us, one conclusion only is possible—namely, that the letter, as we have it, is a forgery. But this forgery is made to further a falsification of history as glaring as any of which the chronicler could be guilty; and it is only accident which has made the results of his fabrication more mischievous than those of the fictions to which Thucydides gave the sanction of his great name.

Since the publication of the Bishop's Sixth Part, the long-promised *Speaker's Commentary* has been given to the world. Of this we shall have to speak more particularly further on. For the present we need remark only some of the admissions which show the absurdity of Bishop Gray's or Bishop Wilberforce's notion of the futility or the childishness of Bishop Colenso's criticisms. These admissions are indeed fatal to the popular traditional views, and therefore, although they come from critics with an established orthodox reputation, they have been kept carefully out of sight by the so-called orthodox preachers and teachers. Thus we have the admission

> "that we have no correct record of the Ten Commandments, as supposed to have been uttered by the Divine Voice on Mount Sinai, in either of the two Decalogues given in the Pentateuch, which 'differ from each other in several weighty

[1] *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, i. p. 191.

particulars,' especially in the reason assigned for observing the Sabbath."[1]

We have, further, the suggestion that all the Ten Commandments may originally have been uttered "in the same terse and simple form, such as would be most suitable for recollection," which appears in the first, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth; although both in Exodus and Deuteronomy the Decalogue is put forth, with all its amplifications, as the actual words of Jehovah on Sinai, and although the assigning of a terse and simple form to a Divine utterance involves, on examination, a wonderful profanity. Still more significant is the assumption throughout this *Commentary* that, except in respect of the Decalogue, Moses himself was the lawgiver, and that the phrase "the Lord spake unto Moses" "does not imply that there was any oral communication," although, if there be oral communication to the extent of half a dozen or of ten sentences, it is as easy to imagine the like communication to the extent of a folio volume. Nor is this all. The *Commentary* declares that Moses simply prescribed certain laws and institutions for his people, which he had not unfrequently adopted from existing and ancient customs. One of the most prominent instances of such legislation is the loathsome and utterly futile law of jealousy, given in the fifth chapter of Numbers. This law is introduced as being not less emphatically "spoken by Jehovah to Moses" than any other, and yet the *Commentary* says, point blank, that

"this, like several other ordinances, was adopted by Moses from existing and probably very ancient and widespread *superstitions*."[2]

Nothing more than this is wanted. These words should be written up in letters of gold (if such a fancy may for a moment

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. xiv. [2] *Ib.* p. xv.

be allowed) for all men to see not only that there was a full justification for the work undertaken by the Bishop of Natal, but that this work was triumphantly accomplished. If it had not been for that work, it is not a matter of doubt, it is a certainty, that these admissions in the *Commentary* would not have been made. The only difference between the Bishop and the *Commentary* is this, that the former worked and spoke candidly and straightforwardly, while the latter makes admissions, not less fatal to all the traditional notions, and allows them to appear along with phrases which seem to lend a weak colour to those notions, while really they lend none. But admissions and qualifications are often of not less value than direct acknowledgments of defeat, and these admissions of the *Commentary* must be kept in the forefront, as justifying the application of the same method to the narratives of the New Testament as well as of the Old.

It is quite impossible to lay too much stress on this matter. The writer in the *Speaker's Commentary* has treated as derived from popular practices, or from popular superstitions, precepts which are said to come straight from God Himself. If these do not come from God, are there any others for which this claim can be urged? The commentators have used a two-edged sword, and their weapon has left them helpless. There is no so-called rationalistic conclusion which is not thoroughly justified by their language. This horrible law of jealousy, which, as we read it in the Book of Numbers, excites an irrepressible loathing, was not peculiar to the Jewish or Canaanitish tribes. A similar ordeal has been, and perhaps is still, in vogue in Western Africa, and, it may be, in other parts of the world. Of this the commentator is quite aware, for he says:—

"There is no evidence to show whether this usage sprang from imitation of the Law of Moses, or whether Moses himself

> in this, as in other things, engrafted his ordinances on a previously existing custom,"

that is, upon a "superstition," which, according to the record, was laid down or sanctioned by Jehovah Himself.[1]

In the same story the regulations for burnt-offerings and drink-offerings are said in the Book of Numbers (xxvii. 3, 8) to proceed directly from God; but the commentator has no hesitation in assigning the customs of other nations as their origin, and in saying that

> "this practice would *naturally betray* itself in the language now employed by Moses,"

or rather, according to the record, by God Himself.[2]

Still more, the commentators admit that others besides Moses may have had a share in the legislation which bears his name.

> "It is," we are told, "by no means unlikely that there are insertions of a later date, which were written or sanctioned by the prophets and holy men, who *after the Captivity* arranged and edited the Scriptures of the Old Testament."

The likelihood here asserted is nothing less than this, that these holy men inserted in the Pentateuch passages which they themselves had written, but which they *meant* to be regarded by their countrymen in all future ages as portions of a Divine revelation made of old to Moses;[3] and this is admitted in a *Commentary*, which, it is no breach of charity to say, was designed to exhibit the critical method of the Bishop of Natal as childish, and his conclusions as absurd. With irresistible force the *Speaker's Commentary* has proclaimed that his method and conclusions are not merely not childish and absurd, but are indispensable in any search

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. xv. [2] *Ib.* p. xvi. [3] *Ib.*

which is to guide us to the truth of facts. Critics do not and will not agree in everything. If they did, we should be compelled to infer that they were working and writing in collusion; but the substantial harmony reached by scholars during the present century is astonishing, and the agreement between the Bishop and Dr. Kalisch is in a special degree satisfactory. Approaching the subject from a very different point of view, the latter was brought to the conclusion that the laws in Leviticus are of later origin than the corresponding enactments in Deuteronomy. On this point hinges, he insists, the true insight, not only into the composition of the Pentateuch, but into the entire history of Hebrew theology. Hence, the Book of Leviticus did not exist, or, at least, was not regarded as authoritative, in the earlier years of the Babylonish Captivity; and the final revision of Leviticus and of the Pentateuch must be placed probably at 400 B.C.[1] It is also highly instructive, and to the Bishop it was most satisfactory, to find Kalisch asserting that the author of the "book of Balaam" was not the Jehovist, or Elohist, or final compiler of the Book of Numbers, but one of the greatest seers of Israel in the fresh and vigorous time of David, who wrote after the conquest of Moab, "inspired by those glorious triumphs which the last prophecy introduces with such peculiar power and pride." But the episode about the ass Dr. Kalisch regards as a later interpolation, and "the more so" as that passage interrupts the thread of the narrative, destroys the unity and symmetry of the conception, and is, in spirit and form, as a whole and in its details, strikingly different from the main portion.[2] The Bishop could now speak of

"the very late post-exilic origin of the Levitical legislation of the Pentateuch and Joshua, including both the laws and the historical narrative connected with them, ... as an

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. xxvi.

[2] *Ib.* p. xxvii.

established fact. . . . In short, not only are the composite character of Genesis and its non-Mosaic origin ascertained as fully by the researches of modern critical science, as the main facts of modern geological or astronomical science, . . . but the composition of Deuteronomy in the age of Josiah, and of the Levitical legislation during and after the Captivity, as also the fictitious character of the chronicler's variations and modifications of the older history in Samuel and Kings, are points upon which there may be said to be among Biblical scholars almost unanimous agreement, whatever differences may still exist as to minor details." [1]

Among these questions, of secondary importance would be the age to be assigned to the Jehovist. The age of the Elohist is a more serious consideration. The reasons which led the Bishop to fix it in the life-time of Samuel have been already laid with all practicable fulness before the reader. The arguments which induced Kuenen to bring it down to the Babylonish Captivity, or even to a later period, the Bishop gave with impartial exactness in the Appendix (125) to his Sixth Part. In the Seventh he returns (Appendix, 152) to the same inquiry, and with the same results. Even this scrutiny, whatever be the issue, cannot affect the one question of the non-Mosaic and non-historical character of the Pentateuch which, at starting, the Bishop set himself to answer. But on the whole he might well say that the theory rested on insufficient evidence, while the indications of the earlier composition of the Elohistic narrative seem very strong indeed.[2] For English students they can scarcely fail to be conclusive.

We have seen the havoc wrought by writers in the *Speaker's Commentary* on the traditional beliefs. But some effort is made to uphold these beliefs in the modified shape, that Moses originally published the Decalogue in an abridged form (that is, that he on his own responsibility abridged the utterances

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. xxix. [2] *Ib.* p. xxxi.

of God Himself), and therefore that he communicated to them the name Jehovah as that of the God of Israel, and must be supposed to have exhibited great energy and ability in ruling and instructing his people.[1] To this (the traditional ground being professedly abandoned on both sides) the reply is, that the original story did not contain the Ten Precepts, that there is positively no room for them, as the story goes on continuously in such a way as to show that the Decalogue could not have been inserted in the original narrative, and that it is really the work of the Deuteronomist. But there remains a further inference of no small moment.

> "If Moses did not publish the Decalogue in *any* form . . . . (and no prophet makes the least allusion to it), and if he was not the author of either the Deuteronomistic or the Levitical legislation, it is obvious that his action as a legislator, as exhibited in the original story, will be reduced within very narrow limits, and will be confined, in fact, to the series of primitive laws, the 'words and judgements,' in Exodus xxii. 22, which must have been written, originally, in the land of Canaan."[2]

In other words, even in the framing of these, he could have had only a small part; and therefore the Bishop found himself constrained to add

> "that it will advance greatly the criticism of the Pentateuch, and assist materially towards forming a true conception as to the civil and religious history of the Hebrew people, if the notion of the activity of Moses is altogether abandoned, and the name regarded as merely that of the imaginary leader of the people out of Egypt—a personage quite as shadowy and unhistorical as Æneas in the history of Rome or our own King Arthur."[3]

Such was his mature conclusion after the lapse of seven years from the publication of Part VI. During this interval

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. xxxi. [2] *Ib.* p. xxxii.
[3] *Ib.*; see also above, p. 649.

he had "gone over the ground again and again," with respect to every part of his criticisms. On some of the questions brought up by the inquiry critics were still divided. On the great points they were at one. But he felt assured that

> "no amount of thought and labour will be grudged, or will be reckoned as wasted, by those who have been closely engaged in this part of the work, which shall help in any degree to clear the way for the more thorough knowledge of the composition of the Pentateuch, and the age and authorship of its different portions—upon which depends so much the progress of true Christianity in the world, the work of missions among Mohammedans, Parsees, Buddhists, and heathens, and (in one word) the future religion of the human race."[1]

For the purposes of scholarship and criticism, the controversy had thus been brought to an end: and that this should in so short a time have been the result shows that his work was indeed an astonishing achievement. But the *Speaker's Commentary*, which made concessions decisive of the real matters in debate, made use at the same time of language under cover of which it was hoped that the old beliefs might yet be kept up amongst the multitudes, although in the eyes of the learned they had been utterly discredited. It may be said that such a method is highly disingenuous. If it be so, they who have practised it have themselves only to thank for the imputation. Assuredly their utterances do not redound altogether to their honour; but they will work immense good for generations yet to come. The orthodox students of the next century will start with the declarations made by such a writer as Bishop Lord Arthur Harvey, and will in greater or less degree carry them out to their logical consequences. From him they will learn that there is little difficulty as to the authorship of the two Books of Kings, inasmuch as

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. xxxiv.

"the Jewish tradition which ascribes them to Jeremiah is borne out by the strongest internal evidence, in addition to that of the language."[1]

These books, he urges, have a general character of trustworthiness; but their chronological details "are inexplicable and frequently contradictory." The very first date, that of the foundation of Solomon's Temple, is "manifestly erroneous," and the evidence of its being an interpolation is wonderfully strong. But if so, Bishop Harvey adds,

"it must have been inserted by a professed chronologist, whose object was to reduce the Scripture history to an exact system of chronology,"

and these insertions, he holds,

"are the work of a much later hand, or hands, than the books themselves."

These expressions, the Bishop of Natal tells us, are rather strong to come with the sanction of theologians, some of whom had declared that

"all our hopes for eternity, the very foundation of our faith, our nearest and dearest consolations, are taken from us, if one line of that sacred book be declared to be unfaithful and untrustworthy."

And here the Bishop of Bath and Wells has rejected scores of sentences as interpolations, and as interpolations of matter which is wrong, erroneous, and misleading.[2] This chronologist in Graf's judgement lived in Josiah's time. Bishop Harvey identifies him with the Deuteronomist. The two views are easily reconciled, if, as Bishop Colenso has shown, "the Deuteronomist was Jeremiah himself."[3] The fact of this Deuteronomistic revision removes many difficulties which press on readers who regard the whole narrative as the composition of

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 5. [2] *Ib.* p. 11. [3] *Ib.* p. 12.

a single historian. It explains the shocking contrast between the devout advice to Solomon put into David's mouth by the Deuteronomist, and the bloody suggestions of kingcraft with reference to Joab and Shimei in the older narrative.[1] The insertions and additions thus made to the original story in the Books of Kings are traced by the Bishop with wonderful patience and skill, to the immense benefit of all who do not care for edification derived from unintelligible or impossible narratives. The difficulties thus removed have been caused by efforts to whitewash or exalt the character of personages in the history. According to the Deuteronomist, Solomon fell into idolatry, and multiplied his wives, in his old age. In the older record there is no sign of the early piety from which he is supposed to have declined.

> "It fact, it is clear," the Bishop says, "that he must have married Naamah the Ammonitess, the mother of Rehoboam, in David's life-time, if Solomon reigned forty years, and Rehoboam was forty-one years old when he began to reign. He doubtless married this heathen wife . . . with David's consent; and probably, while still young, added many more such heathen wives to this one,—in all which there is nothing surprising, since the Deuteronomistic laws which forbid such marriages were not yet written. . . . In short, here we have another striking instance of the manner in which the history of Israel is rendered perplexed and contradictory by later additions which have been supposed to be portions of the original narrative."[2]

The authorship of these books (the work which has brought them into their present shape) may be ascribed, in the Bishop's belief, in the full sense of the word, to Jeremiah,

> "whose hand may be traced, not merely, 'selecting, collecting, modernising,' but *writing* history throughout;"[3]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 13. [2] *Ib.* p. 41. [3] *Ib.* p. 45.

and in truth, when we see brought together the whole work of this earnest and devoted servant of God, we stand amazed at his energy and perseverance. His hand is seen almost everywhere, and (whatever judgement our notions of literary honesty may lead us to form of him) always with the same purpose of weakening and crushing superstition, and raising his countrymen to higher and purer thoughts of God. But everywhere, also, he had something to work upon, and he often refers to older records, some of which are undoubtedly embodied in the present Book of Judges. In this genuine old matter, some of the most striking portions of the book are not to be included. The vigour and the beauty of the song of Deborah have led even critics so sagacious as Kuenen to speak of it as certainly genuine ; but, as the Bishop remarks, this argument would establish the genuineness of Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, or, at least, of some ancient source from which they were translated.[1] This song certainly points to the golden age of Hebrew literature, in David's time, and the fact that its opening verses are almost verbally identical with those of the 68th Psalm cannot be disputed. It is certain that one of these passages has been copied from the other, and it was the Bishop's belief that the Psalm must be the older composition.[2]

But this song of Deborah, although brought down to a time later than that of the 68th Psalm, still describes a condition of society entirely different from that which the chronicler would have us suppose was then already ancient. It names all the other tribes except Judah and Simeon, but makes not even an allusion to the tribe of Levi or the Aaronic priesthood, to the ark or to the tabernacle. Nor throughout the book is there any sign of the priests or Levites acting as judges (in accordance with Deuteronomy xvii. 8-13). Phinehas is indeed once mentioned, but this is an interpolated passage

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 79. [2] *Ib.* p. 81 ; see also above, p. 539.

belonging most probably to the later legislation ; and, as the Bishop remarks, if so eminent a person was really then living, it is strange that there is no sign of his activity in Deborah's song, or in any other part of the book.[1] Of Levites, the only two mentioned are homeless vagabonds. The story of Jephthah points indubitably to a time during which human sacrifices were neither rare nor reprobated.[2] This of itself would not go for much, for prophet after prophet down to the time of the Captivity mourns over the slaughter of first-borns offered to Moloch ; but although sacrifices of adults were sometimes made, the holocausts were no doubt generally of infants, and the burning of Jephthah's daughter would point therefore to a somewhat earlier age. The absurd notion that she was left to live, but condemned to perpetual virginity, really deserves no notice.[3] The idea that women were so devoted in Israel is a mere assumption. Whenever women are mentioned in connexion with the service of the sanctuary, their functions are strictly those of the Hierodouloi of Corinth.

For the due understanding of the Hebrew history it is a most unfortunate thing that the words Elohim and Jehovah should not have been retained, wherever they occur, without translation in the English version. The words "God" and "Lord" convey to us no contrast, and no very definite distinction ; and by the substitution of these words the story of the Book of Ruth becomes strangely indistinct. That book, as showing no acquaintance with the Deuteronomistic legislation, must be older than the age of Josiah, and it belongs to a time when religion was still strictly local. Thus, Naomi takes it for granted that Orpah in going back to her people will return to her Elohim, while Ruth declares that Naomi's people shall be her people, and therefore Naomi's Elohim her Elohim.[4] The Elohim of Israel is a national deity, in no other way distin-

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 86.
[2] See above, p. 607.
[3] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 93.
[4] *Ib.* p. 106.

guished from the Elohim of the nations round about. A few, a very few, rose above this belief to the conception of a Divine Ruler ordering and sustaining all things by the word of His power; but the idea that the Semitic nations were marked by any special monotheistic tendencies, while the tendency of the Aryan races was to polytheism, is the merest superstition. It is an assumption which goes in the teeth of facts, and simply reverses the truth.

The book which bears the name of Samuel points to a state of society in every way unlike that which is depicted by the chronicler as existing in his day. Eli and his two sons appear to have been the only priests at Shiloh. Here there was a house of Jehovah, which is called the tent of meeting; but as it had door-posts and doors it cannot have been the tent described in Exodus xxvi.-xxxvi. In this building Samuel slept, contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the ordinance in Numbers,[1] and, contrary also to the Law, the lamp was allowed to go out. The song put into the mouth of Hannah belongs to a later time. The idea of a kingdom, according to the story, was not conceived till Samuel was an old man; but in this song Jehovah is spoken of as exalting the horn of his anointed.[2] The comparison is forced upon us with the songs of Zacharias and of Simeon, and the Magnificat of the Virgin Mary. It is easy to see that of these three songs the first is a magnificent ordination hymn, in which the child is a young man admitted to the holy and blessed work of the prophetical office; the second an expression of thankfulness from one who has been permitted to see the accomplishment of some special Divine work; the third an utterance expanding the thought that God resists the proud, and gives grace to the humble. The whole narrative of the catastrophe in Eli's family was, in the Bishop's belief, written in Solomon's time, with the view of accounting for the violent expulsion of

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 116. [2] *Ib.* p. 117.

Abiathar to make way for Zadok.[1] The doom pronounced on Eli's house was certainly not fulfilled. As Eli died when his two sons were cut off, those of his house who survived that event cannot have "consumed his eyes, and grieved his heart;" nor did Abiathar, one of his descendants, and part therefore of the "increase of his house," die in his prime, since he was David's high priest during all his reign.

The Second Book of Samuel knows as little, seemingly, as the First, of that exaltation of the priests and Levites which in the later legislation and the books of Chronicles is represented as having been already achieved in the Mosaic age. The contradictions and impossibilities thus introduced into the narrative are disentangled by the Bishop in the eighth chapter of his concluding Part. In the following chapter he carries on the scrutiny through the First Book of Kings, and with like results. Solomon dismisses Abiathar to the city of Anathoth, and to his field there; and by Jeremiah Anathoth is mentioned as a priestly city. But this is no proof that the system of Levitical cities existed in this or any other age; for Nob (1 Samuel xxii. 19) was also a city of priests, yet was no Levitical city.[2] Nor must we fail to note that Solomon expels the aged high priest and puts Zadok in his place "as coolly as he puts Benaiah in the place of Joab."

From the matter contributed by the Deuteronomist the general story of Elijah and Elisha must be separated, as containing

> "so many miraculous stories, many of them of singular extravagance."

No trace of such a style, the Bishop remarks,

> "appears even in the exaggerated accounts by the Deuteronomist's hand of Solomon's wisdom and magnificence, much less in the more sober historical accounts of either

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 119. [2] *Ib.* p. 156.

the earlier, or the later kings, where the only miracle recorded is that of the shadow going backward on the sun-dial—and this is merely a copy of Isaiah xxxviii. 7, 8."[1]

When we reach the time of Hezekiah, we still find a state of things wholly unlike the pictures of the chronicler. When that king wishes for the help of Isaiah, he sends to him

"Shebna who was over the house, and Eliakim the scribe, and the elders of the priests;"

but nothing is said about the high priest, though he must have been included amongst these elders, and they are all placed here below the civil officers, and are not named at all as present at the conference with Rabshakeh.[2]

The Second Book of Kings brings us to events in which Jeremiah was personally and closely concerned. Bishop Lord A. Harvey notices it as remarkable that this prophet is never once named in the history of the later kings of Judah, though he filled so prominent a place in their reigns.

"This is indeed," Bishop Colenso adds, "a very strong additional proof of the fact that we owe the Books of Kings to his authorship, since no other writer could possibly have passed over in utter silence so important a personage, more especially when other prophets, Abijah, Jehu, Micaiah, Jonah, besides Elijah, Elisha, and Isaiah, are mentioned by name in the history."

But it was just at this time that the Book of the Law was found in the Temple; and he must have felt that a hundred questions would, either sooner, or in the dim future of the ages, be raised about this wonderful incident. On the traditionary view, as Bishop Colenso remarks, the event is amazing. How came Hilkiah not to have found it sooner? The book was not brought to light by reason of any

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 180. [2] *Ib.* p. 201.

disturbance caused by repairs in the Temple, for these were not yet begun. Why, again, should Huldah be consulted instead of Jeremiah? And why should not the latter be one of the deputation sent to inquire of Jehovah about the matter?

"The whole, of course, is intelligible enough, if Jeremiah himself was the writer of the book, and kept himself out of the way—at Anathoth, perhaps—while the first news of the discovery transpired; though we may believe that he includes himself among the 'priests and prophets' in whose ears Josiah read the contents of the book."[1]

But what was this book? The question has been answered already.[2] But Bishop Harvey, who had given up the chronology in the text of the Books of Kings as erroneous and misleading, and had made other admissions wholly opposed to all the traditional notions, suddenly turns round and asks us to believe that it was the autograph copy not merely of Deuteronomy, but of the whole Pentateuch written by Moses. The fact, he adds, cannot be proved; but

"it seems probable that it was, from the place where it was found, viz. in the Temple, and from its not having been discovered before, but being only brought to light on the occasion of the repairs; and from the discoverer being the high priest himself it seems natural to conclude that the particular part of the Temple where it was found was one not usually frequented, or ever, by any but the high priest. Such a place exactly was the one where we know the original copy of the Law was deposited by command of Moses, viz. by the side of the Ark of the Covenant, within the vail, as we learn from Deuteronomy xxxi. 9, 26."

This is pitiable indeed. The history of the Kings in the reign of Josiah brings before us the discovery of a book under very astonishing circumstances; and, for the fact that the

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 205. [2] See pp. 547, 628, *et seq.*

book ought to be in a certain place, we are referred, not to any collateral corroborative evidence, but solely to an injunction given in the book itself. But what is involved in Bishop Harvey's supposition? He holds it likely—in other words, he believes, or he professes to believe (for otherwise it would not be worth while to take the likelihood into account)—that it was the autograph copy of Moses, not only of Deuteronomy, but of the whole Pentateuch. The book is spoken of as one whole; and of this book, when it is read to him, the King, with grief and dismay, confesses his entire ignorance. He had neither seen it before, nor heard of it; he is simply amazed at the fact of its existence, and the more so as it spoke of impending judgements for the breach of laws and rules of the issuing of which he was altogether unaware. There is not a word to show that he was acquainted with one part of it, and not with the rest. We are to suppose then that the whole of the Pentateuch had been written by Moses, and that he had left an autograph copy of it. We are to suppose, further, that the whole of the Pentateuch had been lost. In truth, there is no escaping from this conclusion. For let us admit Bishop Harvey's belief to be right, and what must have followed? If the early history of the human race, if the lives of the Patriarchs, if the sojourn in Egypt, if the religious, ecclesiastical, and civil law styled Mosaic, were known to the Israelites down to the time of Josiah, then unquestionably the first four books of the Pentateuch were known to them. What, under these circumstances, must have been the language of Hilkiah and of Shaphan? If they had a spark of common honesty, if they were not knaves or fools, must they not have said—

"We have found in the Temple a manuscript which contains all the books of Moses already in our hands, but which has also another book of which we know nothing, have seen nothing, and have heard nothing"?

Had they taken to Josiah an autograph of *the whole Pentateuch*, what must he have said, as Shaphan began with the first chapter and read on with wearying persistency to the end of Numbers—a task not of hours but of days? As the familiar words fell upon his ear, must he not have said—

"Why do you read me all this? We know it all, and should have acted upon it all already."

If Bishop Harvey puts any faith at all in the story (and the worst of it is that language such as his leaves us in doubt upon the point), he must allow that, whatever the book was, it was read through by Shaphan at a sitting, and its words came to the King with the force of an electrical shock. Shaphan read "the book," the whole book, and the King rent his clothes. But, on the supposition of Bishop Harvey's notion being true, this is by no means all. Let us allow that "the book" (only one book is spoken of) was "the Pentateuch." Then how long had the whole Pentateuch been lost? For a space of time nearly equivalent to that which has passed over England since the days of the Norman Conquest. During all these centuries, if the written law and history had been lost, as Bishop Harvey holds that they were, the Hebrews had had nothing but oral tradition to trust to—the tradition of jealous and disunited tribes, the tradition of severed and hostile kingdoms. If, on the other hand, the Tetrateuch had not been lost, and only the Book of Deuteronomy was found by Hilkiah in the Temple, then how with any sense of truthfulness could Josiah have spoken as he is said to have spoken? The earlier books may present to us no language so magnificent, so heart-stirring, and so touching, as that of the Book of Deuteronomy; but, so long as he had these books, how could he, on hearing the new book, have expressed such surprise, anxiety, and dismay? Is there one single injunction,

one single duty, on which stress is laid in Deuteronomy, which is not set forth also in the other books? There is not one. If we dare to say that they possessed the Pentateuch, and that they paid no heed to it, we plunge, not into the mire of folly, but into the Serbonian bog of falsehood. It would follow then that all the upright judges, all the good kings, all the God-fearing prophets, had, with one consent, treated the words and the writings of their great and venerated lawgiver with contempt, and had done so systematically for six, seven, or eight centuries.

In the other books there were charges enough to think on the Divine commandments to do them; promises enough of blessings which should follow obedience; and warnings enough of punishments which would be the consequence of violating them. Is it possible, is it conceivable, that upright judges, godly kings, conscientious prophets and teachers, would thus neglect books which it was their duty, and could not fail to be their delight, to read and to know thoroughly? The inference is irresistible. They seem to us to have neglected these laws and to have contemned these books because *in their day* these books had not been written, and these laws had not been framed. In other words, this fact alone establishes triumphantly the whole work of the Bishop of Natal. The other theory is absurd, is monstrous. Bishop Harvey cannot believe, no man can really believe, that the whole religious, moral, social, ecclesiastical, political legislation contained in the Tetrateuch was put together, under the most solemn of sanctions, only to be forthwith lost and never seen or heard of again for some eight hundred years. The high priest alone, it is said, could discover it in the days of Josiah, because he alone had the right of entering the place where it was found; but, in the days of Moses, the Levites, it would seem, if we are to believe the Deuteronomist, were competent to handle it, and were bidden to place it "in the

side of the Ark of the Covenant of Jehovah Elohim"; and we are to suppose that these Levites did so—Levites belonging, according to the chronicler, to a powerful tribe invested with the most sacred privileges, charged with the most solemn functions—Levites who, instead of speaking of this injunction of the lawgiver to these tribesmen, and keeping up the memory of it among the laymen of the other tribes, forgot all about it themselves, and left the whole Pentateuch to lie for century after century forgotten and dead, as though it had never been. Nay, according to the Book of Deuteronomy, the Levites had been charged to place the book in the ark "that it may be there for a witness against thee," and this purpose of the lawgiver, it follows, was frustrated as soon as he had made an end of writing the words of the law in his book. But we will suppose that the whole Pentateuch was preserved through the life-time of Joshua. The dense ignorance of the days of the Judges, and all the phenomena of that time, are proof enough that neither rulers nor people were then acquainted with it. Even thus, can we go on to suppose that during all those ages no memory remained whatever of the book or books which had been written; that not the faintest tradition survived of the righteous law under which they should have been living; that neither judges, nor kings, nor prophets had ever had the least wish to recover it, the smallest thought of searching for it; that during all the changes and wanderings which the ark had undergone, and in spite of all the ransackings to which the various tabernacles had been subjected, no one had ever noticed, no one had ever seen, this bulky and once precious manuscript, as it lay like lumber in the case to which the Levites had committed it hundreds of years before? The whole story speaks for itself. Joshua, at least, inherited the full spirit of Moses. He, at least, surely obeyed the precepts of his master: he knew therefore that the change spoken of by the Deuteronomist would come,

that kings would reign in Israel, and that, by the special charge of Moses, each king was with his own hand to make a copy of the book discovered afterwards by Hilkiah in the Temple. Surely he at least would make due provision for insuring that the books could be so handed down as to enable them to act on that command. Of such provision there is not the faintest trace. Of the disingenuousness which may be supposed to mark the dealings of Jeremiah or Hilkiah enough has been said already ; but if, in order to acquit them of that which in their eyes was probably no offence at all, and on which, perhaps, they never bestowed a thought, we multiply absurdities, contradictions, and impossibilities, this is not to exercise the office of the critic or the judge. It is simply to lie.

It is time that this play-acting should come to an end. We must look at facts as they are. Whether it were the Tetrateuch, or whether it was only the one Book of Deuteronomy, the discovery of this book, on the supposition of its being the autograph of Moses himself, was a circumstance which would permanently and profoundly impress the imagination of such a man as Jeremiah. If this discovery was confined to the Book of Deuteronomy only, the impression made on him would, if possible, be even deeper, for this would be just that setting forth of the Divine Law, in its life-giving and healing aspects, which he most longed for. In the Tetrateuch the ceremonial enactments might be held to weigh down, or to put out of sight, the higher matters of justice, judgement, and mercy; but this could not be said of the Book of Deuteronomy. Yet, if we are to judge him from his own words, the event made on him no impression at all. In his prophecies he *never* appeals to this Book of the Law, and, except in the one Passover held after its discovery, Josiah himself seems to have made no effort to carry out its directions. It is the same with the prophet Ezekiel. He, therefore,

as well as Josiah, learnt after a while the real history of the book, which was, indeed, the result of the effort made to bring about the reformation of a most horrible state of things. Nor can we presume to say that it was unsuccessful. Many efforts are not fruitless, of which no results may be manifest for a long series of generations. It is our own fault, if of the condition of the Temple in the time of the Kings we choose to frame pictures which do not answer to the real facts. The list of abominations there practised, as given by Jeremiah himself, should be enough to remove all such illusions, and to disabuse the minds of all of any notion that the Temple was a pure sanctuary,

> "thronged with holy priests and faithful Levites and multitudes of pious worshippers, resounding continually with sacred melodies, with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs."[1]

The ritual there practised was purely pagan. There, at the north gate of the House of Jehovah, the women wept for Tammuz—that is,

> "for the dead Adonis (Yahve) whom they will hail on the third day as having come to life again."[2]

There the twenty-five men between the porch and the altar worshipped the sun towards the east; there the moon-goddess Ashera was adored under the symbol of a stock, or pole, or trunk, which could become a serpent, and from a serpent revert again to the form of a tree; and there was kept up all the apparatus of obscene rites which mark the ancient mythical religious systems of all countries.

It is hard to imagine that any popular delusions could be more thoroughly exposed than those which, before the Bishop undertook his work, flourished in this country as to the

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 216. [2] *Ib.* p. 219.

history of the Pentateuch. These delusions, it will be remembered, were asserted by Mr. Maurice to be truths; and, if these were removed, we could not, he contended, speak of God as a smiter of tyrants, as a deliverer of the oppressed, as a God of freedom, order, and justice. The Bishop's work was indeed done effectually. More corroborative evidence might be adduced for his conclusions; but the conclusions could not in their main lines be overthrown, and the strengthening evidence was not lacking. They are borne out by an examination of all the prophetical books. The prophecies of Amos, of the first Zechariah, and of Hosea make no reference whatever to the Ten Commandments, the Book of Deuteronomy, or the Levitical legislation of the Pentateuch. In Hosea, an Ephraimitish prophet,

> "there is no allusion whatever to the ark as the centre of the religious feelings of all Israel, or to the existence of the Aaronic priesthood, or to the duty having been laid by express Divine command upon all male Israelites to go up to Jerusalem for the three great feasts," [1]

or for other purposes. The same remark applies to the earlier Isaiah,[2] to Micah,[3] Nahum,[4] and Zephaniah.[5] Of Jeremiah enough may, perhaps, have been said already; but, as throwing light on the morality, the very thought of which so shocked Mr. Maurice, we must not forget the prophet's own narrative as given in the thirty-eighth chapter (24–27). Here Zedekiah, the king, orders him to prevaricate, or rather to tell a downright falsehood; and the prophet follows his directions. There is nothing in this to disturb our judgement. We can surely gauge the measure of veracity reached by Asiatics, and, we may also say, by Europeans, to say nothing of Englishmen. But

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 241. [2] *Ib.* p. 250.
[3] *Ib.* p. 255. [4] *Ib.* p. 256. [5] *Ib.* p. 258.

"it is very plain that Jeremiah knew nothing of the Levitical legislation of the Pentateuch, with its multitude of commands 'concerning burnt-offering and sacrifice.'" [1]

To the Ten Commandments he never refers, probably because the framing of them in both forms was his own work. In the same way Habakkuk betrays no acquaintance with the Ten Commandments or the Levitical legislation; but he might refer to the Book of the Law which in his time had been found in the Temple.

"There are, in fact," says the Bishop, "some remarkable points of resemblance between Habakkuk (iii.) and Deuteronomy (xxxiii.), which suggest the possibility that the Deuteronomist (Jeremiah) may have received and adopted this blessing of Moses from the hand of his contemporary." [2]

Joel, however, knows nothing of either Deuteronomy, the Levitical legislation, or the Decalogue. With Ezekiel we notice a change.

"He insists very strenuously on the observance of the Sabbath, which for the exiles was a point of great importance, since it helped to keep alive in them a sense of religion, when at a distance from the Holy Land, and deprived of the Temple services. Ezekiel was a priest, and in spite of his strong and healthy moral sense, or along with it, he shows a marked tendency towards the practice of a minute ritualism; but even his directions for ritual seem to show that he was not acquainted with those in Exodus xxv., &c. If he had these chapters before him, with their alleged Divine directions for the construction and arrangement of the sanctuary and its vessels, not only would they have answered his purpose effectually, but he would hardly have departed from them so freely as he does."

Further, his very denunciations of his countrymen for their idolatry show that they had not been trained in the so-called

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 266. [2] *Ib.* p. 270.

Mosaic monotheism. According to him the progeny of Abraham and Jacob, the chosen people of Jehovah, had always been idolatrous.[1]

"There never was a time . . . when they were not a rebellious house, an idolatrous people. It need hardly be said that this thoroughly agrees with the conclusions to which we have been led by the closer study of the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Bible." [2]

In the prophecies of the second Zechariah and of Obadiah, and in the Book of Lamentations, there is neither reference nor allusion to the Levitical legislation, to Deuteronomy, or to the Decalogue. The prophecies of the second Isaiah belong to a time not long before the end of the Babylonish captivity,

"when the triumphant career of Cyrus distinctly marked him out, in the writer's view, and in that of his fellow-exiles, as the conqueror of Babylon. This prophet was, therefore, subject to the same influences as those under which Ezekiel prophesied; but he was clearly less imbued with the priestly and ceremonial spirit. With him there is no special regard for the Levitical order. All Israelites are to be called 'priests of Jehovah,' 'ministers of our Elohim.' The true servants of Jehovah must be ready to suffer with, and for, and through their brethren; and he declares the blessed fruits which follow from such a 'taking up of the cross.' But even in the chapters of the third Zechariah, written after the Captivity, but before the Temple was finished in the sixth year of Darius, there is no reference to the Decalogue or the Levitical legislation. To the Law of Deuteronomy there may be, *perhaps*, an allusion in the sentence which speaks of the Israelites as making their hearts adamant so as not to hear the law and the words which Jahveh Zebaoth sent through his Spirit by the former prophets." [3]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 279. [2] *Ib.* p. 280. [3] *Ib.* p. 293.

It is much the same with the Books of Jonah and Malachi, a younger contemporary, probably, of Nehemiah. In the utterances of the latter it is not surprising to

"find great stress laid upon the punctual performance of priestly duties."

Nor would there be anything surprising if he had

"referred distinctly to the Levitical legislation, much of which was already in existence in his time, though probably not yet published. Nowhere, however, does he make any allusion to that legislation, except (possibly) in ii. 7, or to the Ten Commandments; though in iv., 4 he refers to the Book of Deuteronomy, which was now nearly two centuries old, reckoning from its discovery in the Temple in Josiah's time, B.C. 624." [1]

To the Daniel of the book which bears his name it might be supposed that Ezekiel was referring when he spoke of Noah, Daniel, and Job, as three men who should save their souls by their righteousness. But the very order in which the name occurs, and the fact that he is put forth with the other two as a model of righteousness,

"is enough to show that the Daniel here meant must be some traditionary character of a former age, and not a mere stripling carried to Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim, and only permitted to stand before Nebuchadnezzar three years afterwards—that is, just before the time when Ezekiel himself, then probably a priest in mature life, was carried away to Babylon." [2]

In this book there is no express reference to the Pentateuch, and not even an allusion to the Decalogue.

The result of the whole examination of the prophetical books is to show that from the oldest prophet, Amos, downwards,

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 297. [2] *Ib.* p. 298.

"there are traces of an acquaintance with incidents in the lives of the Patriarchs or the story of the Exodus, derived apparently from the original story, though sometimes varying from it, and then probably depending on mere legendary tradition. But in no single passage is there the slightest reference to the existence of the Ten Commandments, supposed in the traditionary view to have been graven originally by the 'finger of Elohim' upon stones, as the basis of Jehovah's covenant with Israel at Sinai. Nor in any of the earlier prophets is there the least sign of an acquaintance with the Deuteronomistic or Levitical legislation. In Jeremiah we find plain evidence of a familiarity, and, indeed, of a peculiar and intimate relation, in respect of views generally, and language, with the Book of Deuteronomy, which probably he himself had written,—but still no trace of the Levitical legislation. In Ezekiel we first find indications of acquaintance with some portions, at all events, of the latter, to which he appears to have himself contributed. And in the post-Captivity prophets we observe signs of acquaintance with both these legislations; but only in Malachi, iv. 4, and in Daniel ix. 11–13, is any mention made of the Law of Moses."

Thus again it is made plain that the Book of Deuteronomy was not known before Jeremiah's time, but was well known to that prophet; and from the fact that, although he quotes it,

"he never appeals to it, nor even names it, while the style of his prophecies resembles remarkably that of Deuteronomy, it can only be inferred that he was himself the writer of that book. . . . In other words, Jeremiah was the Deuteronomist, and therefore also the editor or compiler of the Pentateuch and Joshua, before the insertion of the Levitical legislation."

From the examination of the prophetical books the Bishop went on to scrutinise those which are styled historical. Of

the Chronicles, and of the spirit in which they were put together, something has been said already. The age of the chronicler himself cannot be carried further back than about B.C. 332, *i.e.* about two centuries and a half after the Captivity. Nothing is gained by attempts to determine all the sources from which he may have derived information. For some of his statements, and especially for some of his genealogies, he may have had the help of other records besides those of Samuel and Kings; but there is no question that he had these latter before him all along, and has frequently copied their language almost word for word. These, however, are matters of very minor importance. It is more to the purpose to note the mistakes and blunders which point out his incompetency as an historian, and the deliberate misrepresentation of facts which proves that without corroborative testimony he cannot be trusted anywhere. Thus he makes Hiram of Tyre send ships for Solomon to ports on the Red Sea, in which case they must either have been dragged across the isthmus of Suez, or gone round by the Cape of Good Hope. A blunder not less glaring is seen in the statement that Solomon's ships went to Tarshish for the gathering of gold, silver, tusks, apes, and peacocks, once in three years. Tarshish was not a town, but a region in Southern Spain, and the voyage to and from Spain would have taken only a few months; but, in fact, the Book of Kings (1, x. 22) merely says that Solomon had at sea ships of Tarshish, in other words, large merchant vessels, just as we speak of Indiamen. The chronicler, knowing nothing, and caring nothing, for the geography, has fallen into a blunder.[1] In fact, he does all that he can to discredit himself. He seems to work on more materials than those which were at the command of the writer of the Books of Kings; but his ostentatious references to 'the words of Nathan the prophet, the prophecy of Ahijah

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 315.

the Shilonite, the visions of Iddo the seer,' as though these were all independent works, mean probably nothing more than certain sections in the First Book of Kings. Having no historical conscience to restrain him, he amplifies at will the barest statements of the earlier annalists. The simple announcement that 'there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam,' is thus expanded into the circumstantial tale that Abijah fought with 400,000 warriors against Jeroboam, who headed no less a force than 800,000 mighty men of valour. To this huge host he makes Abijah from the top of Mount Zemaraim address a long speech, though how, for such an address, full of invective against the apostasy of the Israelitish kingdom, he would get any hearing, it is hard indeed to imagine. They were not his own soldiers, and there is no room here for the usual resource of supposing him to speak to a mere deputation of elders or other representatives.[1]

What little generalship there was, was on the side of Jeroboam, who places an ambuscade in the rear of his enemies. On Abijah's side shouts to Jehovah with blowing of trumpets by the priests soon settled the day, the result being that of Jeroboam's army there fell down *slain*, not merely wounded, 500,000 chosen men. This is "ecclesiastical history" indeed, if a history may be so termed because it is spun out of the brains of ecclesiastics.[2]

Except when he thus weaves fictitious additions to the older narrative, the chronicler is an almost servile copyist; and the mere fact that the language of these additions differs widely from that of the Kings would not of itself prove that these also were not derived from other sources.

"But these additions .... betray throughout the chronicler's own peculiar style."

If he has taken them from another source he must have

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 318. [2] *Ib.* p. 319.

re-written them, and this would prove at least that he did not regard these sources as equal in value to the history of the Kings. More probably, the Bishop concludes, he had no such source at all.[1] So his work goes on with the same wearisome monotony of invention. Thus, Jehoshaphat's standing army is made to consist of 1,160,000 warriors,

> "implying a minimum population of 1,480 to the square mile, which is more than three times greater than that of any other country in the known world."

At the same time he makes this king, with an army about twelve times as large as that of Great Britain, tremble through fear of a motley horde of invaders who come from beyond the sea, from Edom. "As for us," he is said to cry out in his dismay, "we know not what to do." As to charges, the chronicler sticks at none which will serve his own purpose. Thus he represents Joram as compelling his people to idolatry, whereas from the story of the Book of Kings,

> "it is plain that they were of their own accord idolaters. He further describes Joram as dying by an incurable disease, and as being buried dishonourably, not in the sepulchres of the kings; whereas the older narrative says nothing of the illness, and declares that he was buried with his fathers."[2]

It is impossible to reproduce here the contradictions involved in the chronicler's method of dealing with the story of Athaliah, which the Bishop draws out in full detail; nor is it necessary to bring together further instances of his monstrous and laughable exaggerations. It seems impossible for him to be accurate anywhere. In the Book of Kings, Ahaz is said to have offered his son as a burnt sacrifice. The chronicler speaks of him as burning his children generally. He deals in the same way with Manasseh,[3] of whom he further

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 325. [2] *Ib.* p. 332. [3] *Ib.* p. 337.

speaks as being taken captive by the Assyrians, and carried in chains to Babylon, where he repents, and is restored to his sovereignty. After his return, Manasseh is said to have strongly fortified Jerusalem, and put captains of war in all the fenced cities of Judah. Of all this the historian of the Books of Kings knows nothing. The incidents rest on the sole authority of a man in whom the sense of historical truth was dead. It is the same with the later and with the earlier kings. On all that tends to reflect discredit on David's character he is absolutely silent; and the whole account of his preparations for the building of the Temple rests, in the words of Graf, "on an imaginary foundation."[1] As to a genealogy, it must be either an exact statement of fact, or it must be worthless. The chronicler's genealogies may be drawn from other sources besides the earlier records; but, as they come to us, they rest on the sole authority of the chronicler; and "some portion of these notices are," in Graf's judgment,

> "so manifestly stamped with the character of being unhistorical, that the value of most of them can only be judged by their agreeing or not with otherwise credible history; and in many cases, in the absence of such a test, they must remain doubtful."[2]

His numbers are always vast and the numeration always artificial. As the choristers consisted of $24 \times 12 = 288$, so the king's body-guard consisted of twelve courses of 24,000 men each. On this statement Graf emphatically says that,

> "if anywhere, then certainly in this passage it is plain that we have only to do with pure fiction. Not only are the numbers in themselves fantastic, but Second Samuel and First Kings know nothing whatever of any such body-guard. How modest in contrast appears the small troop of Cherethites and Pelethites and the 600 Gittites whom

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 377. [2] *Ib.* p. 379.

David in his flight from Absalom sent forward in advance, 2 Samuel xv. 18. Moreover, what a peculiar light does it throw on the mode of preparing such imaginary and yet apparently documental narratives, when we find that the names are merely taken from the beginning of the list of David's heroes, and follow nearly in the same order as these."[1]

But the chronicler is convicted not of blundering, but of downright lying, when among the chiefs who took each his monthly turn with his 24,000 men at the court in Jerusalem, appears Asahel, Joab's brother, who was killed by Abner in the very beginning of David's reign, while he still lived at Hebron.[2]

Having thus examined the books which bear the chronicler's name, the Bishop turns to the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which in their present form are due also to him. The Bishop's scrutiny is directed to the ascertainment of the share which the chronicler had in the actual composition of these books; and it is scarcely necessary to say that the search brings to light the same phenomena. Thus in Ezra thirty golden chargers, thirty golden basins, making up with the silver vessels a total of 5,400 gold and silver vessels, belong to a temple which in King Zedekiah's time had only one chief priest, two second priests, and three keepers of the threshold.[3] The genuine passages are distinguished with but little difficulty, among these being Ezra iv. 9–22. Here we have no trace whatever of the chronicler's style, and the letters quoted refer not to the building of the Temple of which v. 1–5 is speaking, but distinctly to the building of the city walls, without any reference or allusion to the Temple. The contradiction to the chronicler's own narrative is complete.[4] The true history comes out in spite of his efforts to hide it.

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 385.
[2] *Ib.* p. 386.
[3] *Ib.* p. 389.
[4] *Ib.* p. 391.

The building of the Temple flagged or was for a time given up; but that this delay (of more than twenty-one years) should have been caused by the laziness of the Jews themselves, while Zerubbabel and Joshua were still living, was

"very abhorrent to the chronicler's mind. And he has tried to account for it by inventing a series of hindrances from the enemies of Judah, suggested, very probably, by the opposition which was really made seventy years afterwards to the building of the *walls*, and in doing this he has involved himself in the gravest inconsistencies." [1]

But these things gave the chronicler no trouble. He can forge letters from the Persian king, and also letters to him.[2] Thus,

"of the whole Book of Ezra (except chapter ii.) only the letters in iv. 9–22 appear to be genuine and of real historical value. The rest is the composition of the chronicler, of which some portions are manifestly fictitious, and the rest, unsupported by any other evidence, and partly in close connexion with these fictitious portions, can lay no claim to be regarded as history." [3]

The examination of the Book of Nehemiah brings the Bishop to the conclusion that a considerable portion of it is the genuine work of Nehemiah himself, in which we may throughout discern strong marks of his character as an individual, the rest being due to the chronicler,

"who also appears to have borrowed from the acts of Nehemiah ideas for his own more detailed accounts of fictitious doings which he ascribes to Ezra." [4]

The analysis of the Book of Esther is not less instructive. It is written to account for the origin of the Jewish festival

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 394.
[2] *Ib.* pp. 398–401.
[3] *Ib.* p. 410.
[4] *Ib.* p. 439.

of Purim, which was not one of the three great feasts of the Mosaic Law. The writer

"has simply set before himself the antiquarian purpose of explaining why this feast was called the feast of Lots, and to this end he has composed a romance full of exaggerations, contradictions, and impossibilities, and breathing a spirit of narrow national pride and bitter hatred against other peoples."

The story is one of wholesale massacre designed for the extirpation of the Jews, and carried out through the permission of the king by the Jews upon their opponents, of whom they slay more than 75,000, though all fear of their enemies was over. The whole thing is a ludicrous absurdity.

"The edict, showing the King's pleasure, the Queen's influence, and Mordecai's power, had been issued nine months. There is no sign that the people generally wished any harm to the Jews, or made any attack upon them, the decree for their extirpation being ascribed solely to Haman's wrath against Mordecai, and Haman had been executed nine months before the decree was carried out. But even this, it seems, was not enough to satisfy the vengeance of Esther and Mordecai, or rather of Esther alone, for without any prompting she makes a second request to the King, that the Jews might be allowed another day of butchery; and the request is granted, and on the second day 300 more are killed in Shushan. . . . In short, the whole account is manifestly fabulous. . . . Indeed, it is incredible that the King should have issued the first decree at the request of Haman, supported by a bribe of 10,000 talents of silver (£3,420,000), ordering the massacre of a whole nation of his subjects, 'to destroy, kill, and cause to perish all Jews, both young and old, little ones and women,' because their laws were diverse from all people, . . . though they are not charged with any acts of rebellion, and that this decree should have been published nearly a year beforehand to all the people,

including the Jews themselves (as we may gather from iv. 1–3). And it is still more incredible that when the second decree was issued, 75,000 of his other subjects, men, women, and children, should have been killed by the Jews, without, it would seem, the loss of a single Jew—no such loss, at least, is indicated or implied in ix. 17–19; and without the whole population rising *en masse* to overwhelm these blood-thirsty murderers who were butchering their families, though they did not pillage their homes—especially as they would have been supported by the King's first decree."[1]

This is by no means all; but it becomes wearisome to wade through the absurdities contained in a book which, according to Bishop Lord A. Harvey, "does not in the least savour of romance." His remark applies with equal force to the story of Robinson Crusoe and to De Foe's "Relation of the apparition of one Mrs. Veal the next day after her death to one Mrs. Bargreave at Canterbury."[2] Both are almost inimitable specimens of plausible fiction; and the practice of the art of plausible fiction stretches back to many a century before the Christian era. Traditionalists of every school seem to be always falling into this miserable trap, even though the bait may be of a sort to undeceive any but the most credulous of mankind. But, as in the case of the Passover, the origin assigned for the celebration of the Purim festival is not the real origin.

"It is here stated that the name arose from Haman's 'casting lots,'—for what precise object is not mentioned, but apparently with that of fixing by lot a day and month for the massacre. But this explanation of its origin is incredible, not only because this incident of Haman's casting lots would hardly have been chosen to give a name to a feast

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 445.

[2] See Sir Walter Scott, *Miscellaneous Prose Works: Biographies*. "De Foe," Appendix 2.

commemorating an escape of the Jews from a general massacre, but because the whole story of that threatened massacre is manifestly fictitious."

The real origin of the feast may be found perhaps in the missing portion of the memoir of Nehemiah, which the chronicler, in the Bishop's judgement, has suppressed after Nehemiah vii. 5, and

"which seems to have unfolded Nehemiah's plan for repeopling Jerusalem, B.C. 445, about a century after the return from exile, or two centuries before the Book of Esther was written, viz. by casting lots, as we may gather from the summary of the proceeding in question in Nehemiah xi. 1, 'and the rest of the people *cast lots*, to bring one of ten to dwell in Jerusalem the holy city, and nine parts in other cities,' and then it is added, 'and the people blessed all the men that volunteered to dwell at Jerusalem.' This must obviously have been a time of great excitement and commotion; and it would be very natural that a festival should be established, partly to commemorate the self-devotion of those who were willing to leave their country homes and lands for the public good, and partly to afford an opportunity for annual reunion with their brethren. This would carry the institution of the feast as far back as the reign of Artaxerxes, a few years only after the time assigned to it by this writer in the reign of his predecessor. If it be thought strange that a Persian name, 'the feast of Purim,' should have been given to a feast which originated at Jerusalem, we may observe that the Persian word Pekha = pacha or satrap, is used familiarly for a Jewish governor in the Books of Nehemiah, Haggai, and Malachi."

Few portions of the Old Testament writings have thus escaped the scrutiny into which the problem of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch forced the Bishop to enter. To what age or ages are these few remaining books to be

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 452.

assigned? By general admission the Book of Job betrays no acquaintance with the Pentateuch. From this fact Canon Cook inferred that the book was pre-Mosaic; and in strictness this would mean that it was written before the Israelites came up out of Egypt. Is this a sufficient reason for refusing to consider the post-exilic origin of the work? The Book of Esther was undoubtedly written after the Captivity, and it contains no reference whatever to the Mosaic institutions; and the same remark applies to the Book of Ecclesiastes,[1] which Dean Westcott regards as post-exilic. Canon Cook's conclusion was dismissed by Professor Kuenen as deserving no consideration. The notion that the Book of Job was written in pre-Mosaic times, or by Moses himself, is, he says, so utterly at variance with all the results of critical inquiry, that it cannot be worth while to judge and contradict it.[2] It matters not to what later date it may be assigned, since it proves that at the time of its composition, whenever this may have been, the Levitical legislation was either unknown or regarded as unauthoritative, and Mr. Cook himself admitted that, whenever the writer may have lived, he lived under circumstances which either kept him in ignorance of the institutions peculiar to Mosaism, or made him to a most remarkable extent independent of their influence.[3] But in this book we have many words which are characteristic of the Levitical legislation; and also, by Mr. Cook's admission,

"many words and idiomatic expressions which occur in the latest Hebrew writings."

In the Book of Proverbs, in which certainly we should have expected to find them, there are no signs of any acquaintance with the Levitical legislation, nor is there any reference to the Decalogue. The style of Ecclesiastes points to a time long after the Captivity, when the Hebrew tongue was greatly

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 454. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.* p. 456.

corrupted by Aramaisms. It may, therefore, have been put together about 200 B.C., not very long before the time when Antiochos Epiphanes mounted the throne of Syria and began his attempt to Hellenize the Jews.

"The writer shows no sign of Jewish exclusiveness, no special attachment to the Jewish worship and religion. . . . This agrees with the fact that many Jews in the time of Antiochos were indifferent to their own religion, and readily adopted Greek customs; in fact, the revolt of the Maccabees was a protest against such injunctions as those in viii. 2-5, x. 4, 20." [1]

For the Book of Canticles it is certain that Solomon at least was not the author. An Eastern despot cannot have written a poem which exhibited himself as an unsuccessful lover. Here also, as in so many other books, there is no reference to the Deuteronomistic or Levitical legislation or to the Decalogue.

The Bishop's Seventh Part concludes with a more extended examination of the Book of Psalms. It is full of interest and most valuable; but for the Bishop's main purpose it was in no way necessary for him to enter into the inquiry. Bishop Harold Browne wholly mistook the nature and aim of his work when he thanked him for resting his case so largely on the testimony of the Psalmists. The Bishop replied with an emphatic protest against this "unfair and unwarranted statement."

"I have not rested my case at all upon the Psalmists. I have only adduced the very remarkable phenomena in the Psalms, with reference to the use of the Divine Name, as a collateral evidence, confirming, as far as it goes, the view as to the later adoption of Jahveh as the name of the God of Israel, to which I had been led by entirely different processes of reasoning." [2]

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 469. [2] *Ib.* p. 483.

The general conclusions reached by the Bishop have been already given,[1] and in the concluding volume they are not materially modified. The whole inquiry is brought to a close in a chapter on the formation of the Hebrew canon of Scripture. The forming of this canon brings us down to times later than the Christian era. The notion that it was completed and closed by Ezra

> " is at once set aside by the fact that the Talmud . . . is not only silent about this remarkable fact, although laying so great stress on the services of Ezra, but especially mentions the uncertainty which still existed respecting some of the canonical books,"

and this cannot be reconciled with the idea of these having been placed in the canon by the authority of Ezra.[2] The wild notion that the canon must have been closed by Malachi because he was the last of the prophets, is set aside not only by the recognition of John the Baptist as a prophet, but by the fact that in the Gospel of St. Luke, Zacharias, Simeon, Anna, are

> " introduced as prophesying exactly after the manner of the ancient prophets of Israel."[3] " To all appearance no clear view was entertained as to what this collection should include, and no definite plan was followed in enlarging it. So far as the authority of the writers of the Epistles bearing the names of Jude and Peter may carry us, the book of Enoch was virtually a canonical book which had a legitimate claim for admission into the circle of the Hebrew and also of the Christian Scriptures."

The historical and prophetical literature of the Old Testament has thus been shown to be of immense importance in

[1] See above, pp. 534, *et seq.* [2] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 507.
[3] *Ib.* p. 508.

proving the very late date of the Levitical legislation and the so-called histories of the chronicler.

"If these thoroughly dishonest products of the priestly or Levitical mind in a very late age were removed from the Bible, the amazing contrast between the provisions of that legislation in the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua and the actual facts of the history under the best kings, in the earliest or latest times, would arrest the attention of most intelligent readers, and they would be soon led of themselves to the conclusion (without the evidence adduced for it in Part VI.), that no such laws could ever have been laid down in the wilderness, since no trace of them appears in the practice of the age of David and Solomon." [1]

The Bishop's work was thus completed; and succeeding generations will see more and more clearly how wonderful that work was. From beginning to end it has strengthened the belief of those who will not suffer the letter to crush the spirit; but while strengthening their faith, it has dealt the death-blow to all traditional theories and superstitions which first cramp and finally destroy the proper action of the human mind. Of few in the history of the world can it be so emphatically said as of him, that he sought for the truth with single-hearted resolution, and that the truth made him free. He had, what, after all, few have, the courage of his opinions; and he was ready, therefore, to put before what are called the masses the main substance of his examination of the Pentateuch. But he would not do this until he had challenged first the attention of the learned to the questions for which he insisted on having a valid answer, if such answer could be given.

"I should feel, indeed," he said, "that, unless I had first stated at length, for the consideration and examination of

[1] *Pentateuch*, Part VII. p. 513.

the learned, the grounds on which my conclusions are based I should not be justified in bringing the discussion of these questions in this form within the reach of the people at large. But a long interval has now elapsed since my First Part was published; and I have sufficiently tested the validity of my arguments by the character of the answers which are given to some of them."

He felt, therefore, not the smallest scruple in preparing a People's Edition which should, within the limits of a single volume, show them the real state of the case. The preparation of such a volume was a duty which he owed to the people of England, and in a yet higher degree to the people of Natal. The latter had heard him violently condemned by the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown, and it was right that they who could not be expected to make acquaintance with his books in the larger form, should be enabled to judge for themselves as to the contents and as to the whole tone and spirit of his work. In his advertisement to this popular edition he had to refer again to the absurd Bibliolatry of men who, like Bishop Bickersteth of Ripon, may have believed what they said, and of others whose good faith in the matter was, to say the least, uncertain. For the former there might be some excuse when he asserted that the whole Bible, like its Author, must be pure unchangeable truth, truth without admixture of error; for the latter there could be absolutely none when they contended that to deny the infallible authority of the Bible was to depart from the faith. But so long as Bishop Bickersteth and others who agreed with him could put forth their ludicrous propositions, and the Bishop of Capetown could enunciate the nonsense that

"the whole Bible is the unerring word of the living God,"

—a formula applied with equal earnestness to the Rig Veda and the Koran,—the Bishop of Natal was bound to say:

"I hold it to be my duty, as a servant of God and a lover of the souls of men, to do my utmost to counteract a system of teaching which I believe to be erroneous and mischievous, and one of the greatest hindrances to the progress of true religion in the land."[1]

[1] Advertisement to People's Edition of the *Pentateuch*, 1864.

APPENDIX, A.

See pages 279, 312.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 7, 1861.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"I thank you sincerely for your letter on the subject of my *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.* I cannot be surprised at your writing so earnestly and seriously, holding the views which you do on some of the points which I have discussed. But as you will have learnt from my last letter, it is too late now to stop the publication of the book, even if I desired to do so. Whatever you may think it right to say or do in the matter, I am quite sure that you will only act from a sense of duty to what you believe to be the truth, which compels you to set aside all personal feelings, in obedience to a higher law. In writing what I have written, and publishing it, I, too, have done the same, though conscious that I should thereby cause pain to yourself and others whom I entirely esteem and love. It is true that you have mistaken some of my expressions: others (forgive me for saying it) you seem to have misjudged. But in respect of others I am well aware that my views differ strongly from yours, though I believe that I have said nothing in my book which is not in accordance with the teaching of the Bible, or which transcends the limits so liberally allowed by the Church of England for freedom of thought on these subjects. I will now touch, one by one, on the several points to which you have drawn my attention.

"(1) I have no doubt whatever that the canonical books of Scripture *do* contain errors, and some very grave ones, in *matters of fact*, and that the historical narratives are *not* to be depended on as true in all their details. I have never stated this publicly; but surely

in this age of critical inquiry, every intelligent student of the Scriptures must be aware of the truth of what I say. It is vain to deny what is patent to any careful and conscientious reader, who will set himself to compare one passage of Scripture history with another. And, I must say, I had supposed that there were very few in the present day, except in a very narrow school of theology, who would contest this point."

[Here follows a summary of difficulties involved in the history of Hezron and Hamul. See above, p. 497.]

"Of course, the above are only a few instances, such as occur to me on the moment, of a multitude of others, which may be found in the Scriptures. And they are not mere *discrepancies* (such as that *one* blind man is named in *one* place, and *two* in another) which may admit of explanation, but absolute contradictions in matters of fact, to deny the existence of which would, for me at all events, be dishonest and immoral, and most unworthy, as it seems to me, of any one who really values the *general* historical truth of the Scriptures.

"But I have nowhere said what you have assumed for me in *addition* to the above, namely that 'inspiration apparently is exhibited not in the declaration of *the very truth*, which God has revealed to our faith respecting Himself and the way of salvation by Christ, *but* in the spirit and the life which breathes throughout the Holy Book,' &c. I say that 'the very truth' *is* 'the spirit and the life,' and not the mere words in which that truth may be conveyed to us.

"With respect to the latter portion of your remarks on this subject, I prefer using the language of the Consecration Service—namely, that I am persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation, which is identical with that of the Sixth Article; so that both together express sufficiently the mind of our Church. In this sense, of course, I *do* receive the Holy Scriptures as the 'rule of faith.' But I object to bind myself to such expressions as yours, which are neither in the Bible nor the Prayer Book, and may easily have a meaning given to them very different from what either you or I intend by them. It would be easy, for instance, for me to say that I believe the Bible to 'contain the unerring word of God's revealed truth.' The question then would be, What is meant by God's revealed truth? Is it the 'spirit and the life,' or the mere words of the Bible? And if the latter, as I understand you to say, then are *all* the words of the Bible part of

God's revealed truth; for instance, the story of the birth of Pharez and Hezron, above referred to? You once told me, I think, that you held the genealogies in Chronicles to be the Word of God, and therefore, I suppose, as inspired, 'unerring words of God's revealed truth.' Now I cannot believe this. I imagine those tables to be mere transcripts of family registers—perhaps not even that; and I *know* them to be full of errors and contradictions, which are not in any way to be accounted for by mistakes in the transcription of manuscripts.

"So, too, when you say that the dogmatic teaching of the Bible must be received by all Christians, of course I can assent to this. But then I believe that the dogmatic teaching of St. Paul in the Romans is just what I have set forth in my book; and you judge differently.

"I certainly do say, and will maintain, that to the man himself there is but one lawgiver—the law within the heart—to which, in some form or other, he must bring every question of morals or of faith for judgement. One man has fully persuaded himself that the letter of the Bible is the revealed Word of God. When his reason is satisfied of this, his conscience tells him that at all cost of bodily or mental pain he must hold to the letter of the Bible. Another's conscience keeps him, in like manner, subject implicitly to the dicta of his Church, when his reason is once satisfied that the Church has a right to command him. And each of these will test his conduct continually, by bringing it into comparison with the words of the Bible or the Church, before the tribunal of his conscience. If his heart does not condemn him in this review, he will be satisfied and 'have confidence before God,' though all the while his conscience may really be injured by slavery to a defective judgement of his reasoning powers. Another takes a different view of inspiration, as I do myself, and believes that God's Spirit is indeed speaking in the Bible to all who will humbly seek and listen to His teaching, but that even when we read the different portions of it, we are to 'try the spirits whether they are of God, to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good,' to 'compare things spiritual with spiritual,'—that it is a part of our glorious, yet solemn, responsibility to do this, —that, having the Spirit ourselves, 'an unction from the Holy One, that we may have all things,'—having the promise that we shall be 'guided into all truth,' if we seek daily to have our minds enlightened and our consciences quickened, by walking in the light already

vouchsafed to us,—we are not at liberty to shake off this responsibility of judging for ourselves whether this or that portion of the Bible has a message from God to our souls or not. God will not relieve us from this responsibility; He will not give us what, in one form or other, men are so prone to desire—an infallible external guide—a voice from without, such as men often wish to substitute for the voice within.

"(2) On the second point to which you refer, I believe that my language is entirely in accordance with the Second and Ninth Articles of our Church; and I must say that I am surprised that you should have remarked as you have done on this subject, when I have written in my book as follows."

[Here follow citations from pp. 65, 67, 68, 97, 106, 112 of the *Commentary*.]

"But indeed there are innumerable passages in which my book distinctly implies and expresses the belief that Christ suffered as a sacrifice for original guilt as well as for actual sin of men.

"(3) With regard to the Atonement, I believe, of course, that I have expressed the mind of St. Paul upon this point. I most assuredly do *not* deny that our Lord was a true propitiatory sacrifice for our sins, as you say; for I have distinctly said (p. 68) that 'we are privileged to look at Christ Jesus, through faith in His blood, and behold in Him the propitiation for our sins, the object which makes us acceptable to God.' I have no less distinctly expressed my belief that 'we have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins,' for I have said (p. 69), 'through that precious bloodshedding the whole race has been redeemed from the curse.' And I am sure that there are other passages where, in other like words, I have said the same.

"But I deny that His was a *vicarious* sacrifice, in the sense in which I understand you to use the word; namely, that He endured in our stead the weight of God's wrath, He bore the penalty due to our sins. I believe that neither the expression nor the idea is Scriptural; nor is either to be found in the Prayer Book. In the New Testament it is *invariably* said that our Lord suffered or died *hyper*, on behalf of, not *anti*, instead of, the children of men—the same expression being used as when the shepherd is said to lay down his life *for*, not instead of, the sheep, or where St. Peter says, 'he will lay down his life for his Lord,' or where St. Paul says, 'he is ready not only to be bound, but also to die, *for* the name of the Lord Jesus.' . . .

"When you say that my language is not always consistent with itself, that it is in some places more evangelical than others, I must respectfully contest this, and assert that my language is the same throughout, as evangelical in one place as in another; though it is not possible on every page to produce all that one would say upon the great subject concerned, especially when the thoughts of the commentator must follow those of the original writer. How it can be said that I maintain that our Lord came to 'release us only from the power or dominion, not from the guilt, of our sins,' with such passages as I have written, not only on the pages you have quoted (68, 94, 95, 161, 162), but in many others where the subject led to it, I cannot conceive. . . . .

"As to the former portion of the Second Article, I am sorry that the expression is there used, 'to reconcile the Father to us,' because it is not Scriptural, and it is liable to be misinterpreted. But these words of our Church cannot be meant to contradict or set aside the Apostle's own words, when he says that 'all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ,' that 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.' There is, of course, a sense in which a father displeased requires to be reconciled to his child, though tenderly loving all the while that he corrects him and manifests his anger towards him. I have thought that our Lord came, at His Father's command, to reconcile His Father and our Father in this sense to us; and I have used this expression on p. 89, 'one reconciled, or, rather, reconciling Father and Friend.'

"(4) The Scripture teaches us that God is love. Being perfect love, He *must* be perfectly holy, just, and righteous. And surely my book in a hundred places speaks as strongly of God's loving correction of the wilful and disobedient as of the loving delight in the faithful and true. It cannot, I say confidently, be justly laid to my charge that I overlook the holiness, and justice, and righteousness of God, though certainly I do not hold the dogma that God cannot forgive sin, even in an infant, without taking vengeance for it, without inflicting on some one pain and bitter anguish as a penalty.

"I do hold that *all* men are justified before God, using the word in the sense in which St. Paul uses it throughout this Epistle, not in that which modern theologians may perhaps assign to it. I do *not* hold that our justification depends on our faith, because that would make it a matter of works, in direct opposition to St. Paul's teaching. Our

salvation is a totally different thing from our justification. Being justified, we are to 'work out our own salvation,' and therefore for this we must have faith.

"But with St. Paul the word 'salvation' means something very different from the miserable notion commonly attached to the word, of mere deliverance from a pit of woe. He means by it the being saved from that Divine displeasure which is declared against all wilful unfaithfulness, and which will be manifested upon us Christians above all others, if we do not live according to the light vouchsafed to us, and answer to the gracious end to which we have been called. To 'work out our salvation' means, with St. Paul, to live faithfully as becomes the children of God, who are privileged to know that they are justified and brought near to their Father's footstool, and being prepared here on earth for His glory.

"I do not agree with your statement of my ideas about faith—viz., that 'what faith does for us is to make known to us, to give us a conscious assurance of what would be equally true, whether we have it or not, that God looks upon us as righteous in His Son.' I do not think that faith *does* this for us: it is the 'conscious assurance' of something which in itself is true, whether we believe it or not, the realising of things hoped for, the conviction of things unseen. The words, however, which you have quoted from p. 12 I entirely abide by: I am certain that this is what St. Paul intends to teach in this Epistle.

"I think you have not rightly read what I have said on p. 74. It was not said, as you appear to think, that 'justification *consists* in being justified in one's own conscience.' Quite the contrary. I hold that we are justified in *God's sight*, whether we know or believe it or not.

"But when you go on to say, 'If these views are true, I cannot tell why we need to preach the Gospel to the heathen; it seems to me that you take away the great motive for doing so: they are, without our teaching, accepted, righteous, justified, *saved*.' I really hardly know how to reply to this—not because I cannot reply to it, but (pardon me for saying so) because I am amazed that it should be necessary to make a reply to it.

"In the first place I have taught that neither they nor we shall be 'saved' if we die in impenitence, each according to the light he has received. But it is plain that you are speaking only of endless horrors in the pit of woe, whereas I am thinking of the Divine displeasure,

which every human being will incur who lives unfaithfully in proportion to the light he has received, and dies in impenitence. I have said accordingly (p. 95), "We shall be saved from that wrath by having our faults freely pardoned for His sake *when confessed* and repented of.' . . .

"But have we no motive to preach such a Gospel as St. Paul's, according to my views of it, to the heathen? To tell them that God loves them, that He, after whom they have been groping in the darkness, has been caring for them all along, and now calls them near to Himself, that they may know Him more fully and the rich treasury of His love? Why, this is the very life and soul of missionary work. It has been my joy for some years past thus to publish the Gospel of the grace of God; and if you could witness the effect upon those who heard the message, you would not doubt that it was at least as effective as that Gospel 'which is not a Gospel,' which is so often preached to them. Is the Gospel, then, only a means for 'saving' men's souls from endless misery? And because they who are faithful with their fraction of a talent without it, may be as *safe* as, that is, not more or less *safe* than, Christians with their ten thousand talents, is there no work to be done among the heathen that the hearts of our fellow-men may be gladdened and their eyes enlightened, and their spirits filled with life, and, above all, that God's gracious command may be obeyed and His name be glorified?

"I do believe that my teaching on this subject in this book is 'in full accordance with the plain teaching of the Church which I am pledged to guard and maintain as laid down in her Articles,' and, above all, with my consecration vow.

"(5) You have been long aware that I do not agree with those who hold what is called the sacramental system, and that I regard their views as unsound and unscriptural. But I have not spoken of sacraments as *only* signs, and not also 'means of grace' when duly received.

"With respect also to the Lord's Supper, I have taught in this book, and more fully in my *Sermons on the Eucharist* that we are all partakers in like manner from our birth-hour of the benefits flowing from the body and blood of Christ, which is the 'free' gift of God, set forth to us in that sacrament. But this sacrament, as the Church Catechism teaches, is ordained for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby; and coming to it faithfully, we shall be privileged to

draw continually by it, as a means of grace, more and more from the Fountain of Life.

"Having my book on the Romans before you, and having so recently had occasion to read with some attention my *Sermons on the Eucharist*, I cannot conceive how you can find any just reason for quoting against me the words of Articles 25, 28, and 29, the Communion Service, Homilies, and Catechism, with which, as I believe, the views which I have expressed in these publications as to the nature of the two sacraments are in entire accordance. I cannot say the same of the 'sacramental system,' which I believe to be opposed to the Prayer Book. You say that these Articles, &c., exclude my saying that all men are partaking everywhere, at all times, of Christ's body and blood, whether in the sacraments or out of them, whether they feed upon them by living faith or not. I have shown more fully in my *Sermons on the Eucharist* my grounds for making this assertion—viz. that all men have life, spiritual as well as bodily; that they could have no life (as our Lord tells us) without 'eating His flesh and drinking His blood'; that consequently they do partake of His body and blood, and so (as Waterland says) 'our Lord's *general doctrine in John vi.* seems to abstract from all particulars, and to resolve into this, that whether *with faith or without*, whether *in the sacraments or out of the sacraments*, whether before Christ or since, whether in covenant or out of the covenant, whether here or hereafter, no man ever was, is, or will be accepted, but in and through the grand propitiation made by the blood of Christ.' I know that you do not agree in this view; but I am at least not singular in holding it.

"(6) I must confess that it does appear to me that you are finding grounds of objection in my book which do not really exist, when you say that my language on the Judgement 'leaves you in doubt whether I believe that God has *appointed a day* in which he will judge the world in righteousness,' and this, notwithstanding that I had written thus, p. 48, 'Whenever Christ shall appear, to visit and judge in His Father's name, now amidst the affairs of daily life as well as on *the great day of future account*. . . .

"There are other passages of a like nature. But I must say, with all deference, that this is not the only suggestion made without the shadow of a ground for it (except it would seem a presentiment or prejudgement that so it must be) which has surprised me in your letter.

"(7) With regard to the eternal world, I have expressly refused to carry out any scheme to its full and logical conclusions. *I have maintained* no points at all upon the subject, but that He whose name is Love will deal according to His name with His creatures. I have said that I entertain 'hidden hope'—and I say not even that—for all; and I am very far indeed from saying that the great majority of mankind will be 'saved' from God's wrath, because they are all 'justified,' though I dare not assert that such wrath will certainly take effect in inflicting endless, unutterable woe; and I have shown abundant reason, as I think, for checking the utterance of that fearful dogma, which so many profess to hold (though they never boldly teach it, and follow it to its consequences), without any authority from the Bible or the Church for holding it—I mean that the wicked shall not only go into everlasting fire (as I have taught) but shall *remain there in helpless torment for ever and ever.* You would have stated my views upon this subject more correctly if you had written thus, 'You maintain these points—that the doctrine of *endless* (not eternal) punishment of the wicked is not found in the Bible or the Prayer Book—that all punishment is an act of love and *may* be remedial—that our training and discipline *may* not end here, but may extend to the next world, and, for aught we know, to infinite other worlds beyond it—that our chastisement *may* be purifying—that sin may be purged out from God's universe in some way of God's wisdom—that, however, there is no purgatory, where penalties are measured by time and intensity, and can be remitted by favour or importunity. . . .

"I do not believe that my doctrine contradicts at all the language of Holy Scripture, or the formularies of the Church, including the Athanasian Creed, when perfectly interpreted.[1] . . .

"As to the Athanasian Creed, it is notoriously a stumbling-block to thousands of pious souls, not in the least degree because of the doctrines set forth in the statement of the 'Catholic Faith,' but because of the harsh language of the damnatory clauses. It is very noticeable that in the oldest manuscript of the oldest commentary (by Fortunatus) on this Creed (preserved at Oxford), the particular clause which you have quoted, the second verse, is left out altogether. Do you yourself really believe in the sentence of sweeping condemnation contained in this verse, as ordinarily interpreted, in the most obvious and natural sense of the words? Have

[1] See pp. 17-319.

you not also reservations of your own, though not, perhaps, as extensive as mine, by which you would except innumerable cases from the judgement here pronounced, which at first sight would seem to be included in one general doom of endless, irremediable woe? I am sure that nine clergymen out of ten have; and, at all events that they will not dare to take this sentence of the Creed into the pulpit and preach the doctrine which its words, taken in their most simple and natural sense, obviously contain. . . .

"That God may guide us both in the path of duty, and teach us to buy the truth at all cost, is the fervent prayer of, my dear Brother,

"Yours ever affectionately,

"J. W. NATAL."

The postscript of this letter consists of citations from Dr. Hey's *Lectures in Divinity*, a book to which the special attention of candidates for holy orders was directed by the Bishop of Ely, by whom Dr. Colenso was ordained deacon and priest. These citations are prefaced by the remark, "I find strange resemblances between his language and some parts of my teaching to which you have so strongly objected."

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS FROM 1848 TO 1870.

Archbishops of—			
Canterbury	Jn. Bird Sumner	appointed	1848.
	Chas. Thos. Longley	„	1862.
	Arch. C. Tait	„	1868.
York	Chas. Thos. Longley	„	1860.
	Wm. Thomson	„	1862.
Bishops of—			
London	Arch. C. Tait	„	1856.
	John Jackson	„	1868.
Durham	Hon. H. Montagu Villiers	„	1856.
	Charles Baring	„	1861.
Winchester	Charles R. Sumner	„	1827.
	Saml. Wilberforce	„	1869.
Bangor	Jas. Colquhoun Campbell	„	1859.
Bath and Wells	Robt. J. Eden (Lord Auckland)	„	1854.
	Lord Arthur Hervey	„	1869.
Carlisle	Hon. S. Waldegrave	„	1860.
	Harvey Goodwin	„	1869.
Chester	John Graham	„	1848.
	Wm. Jacobson	„	1855.
Chichester	Ashurst Turner Gilbert	„	1842.
	R. Durnford	„	1870.
Ely	Thomas Turton	„	1845.
	E. Harold Browne	„	1864.
Exeter	Henry Phillpotts	„	1830.
	Fred. Temple	„	1869.
Gloucester and Bristol	Wm. Thomson	„	1861.
	Chas. Jn. Ellicott	„	1863.
Hereford	Renn W. Hampden	„	1848.
	James Atlay	„	1868.

Bishops of—			
Lichfield	Jn. Lonsdale	appointed	1843.
	Geo. A. Selwyn	„	1867.
Lincoln	Jn. Jackson	„	1853.
	Ch. Wordsworth	„	1868.
Llandaff	Alfred Ollivant	„	1849.
Manchester	Jas. Prince Lee	„	1848.
	Jas. Fraser	„	1870.
Norwich	Hon. J. T. Pelham	„	1859.
Oxford	Sam. Wilberforce	„	1845.
	Jas. F. Mackarness	„	1869.
Peterborough	Geo. Davys	„	1839.
	Fras. Jeune	„	1864.
	W. C. Magee	„	1868.
Ripon	Rob. Bickersteth	„	1856.
Rochester	Jn. Cotton Wigram	„	1860.
	Thos. Legh Claughton	„	1867.
St. Asaph	Thos. Vowler Short	„	1846.
	Joshua Hughes	„	1870.
St. David's	Connop Thirlwall	„	1840.
Salisbury	Walter Kerr Hamilton	„	1854.
	Geo. Moberley	„	1869.
Worcester	H. Pepys	„	1841.
	H. Philpott	„	1861.
Sodor and Man	Hon. Horatio Powys	„	1854.

END OF VOL. I.

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LONDON AND BUNGAY.

00022830

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 05 October, 2018